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THE HISTORY OF POPISH TREASONS AND USURPATIONS.

THE HISTORY OF ROMISH Treasons & Usurpations:

Together with

A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT

Of many gross

CORRUPTIONS and IMPOSTURES

In the

CHURCH of ROME,

Highly dishonourable and injurious to

Christian Religion.

To which is Prefixt

A Large PREFACE to the ROMANISTS.

Carefully Collected out of a great number of their own approved Authors,

By *HENRY FOULIS, B.D.*

Late Fellow of *Lincoln-Colledge* in *Oxford.*

S. Joh. 18.36.

Jesus answered, My Kingdom is not of this world.

S. Luke 12.14.

Who made me a Ruler over you?

LONDON:

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BODLEIANA · BIBLIOTHECA

THE PREFACE.

Gentlemen,



Am apt to fancy, that at the firſt ſight of theſe Papers, I ſhall be loaded with your ſevereſt Cenſures, condemn'd as the worſt of Hereticks, nay, and branded as the greateſt of Lyers and Slanderers. And all this, becauſe I onely tell you, what the Pope and his boldeſt Champions would have you to believe; becauſe I tell you what grand Authority his Holineſs hath, what great power and juriſdiction lyeth in your ſelves, what bloudy actions have been done to maintain theſe priviledges; and as a Preparative to all, have afforded you the Glories, Commendations, and Prerogatives of your Religion, from Brutes and Blocks, Fools, and Devils themſelves; with ſuchlike odd Arguments, as ſome of your Graver Wits have troubled themſelves, confirm'd their Religion, and pleaſured us with.

But, My Maſters, I may aſſure my ſelf of a mitigation of your Fury, when you have ſeriouſly conſidered, that here I ſay nothing but what is aſſerted and vindicated by your own Authors, approved of by your own Authority, and agreeable to the Sentiments and Doctrine of the Pope himſelf. From whence will follow, that with what ill will or names you proſecute me for theſe Collections, you muſt do the ſame to his Holineſs, and the greateſt Aſſertors of his Religion; I being but the Compiler or Tranſcriber of their words and actions, which uſed to be your Patterns and Examples to live by: and now to turn tail, to oppoſe and contradict the Pope and his Learned Doctors, not to believe in his infallible Documents, might renew a Diſpute about your diſagreements, or that there might be two contradictory Truths; this may be true at *Rome*, and yet the quite contrary alſo true in *England*; as Father *Coton* and other Jeſuits affirm'd at *Paris*. In ſhort, thus to withſtand the Pope, would ſhew your ſelves no good

ſons of his Church, though it might good ſubjects to your King; which is a great part of a good Chriſtian.

But by way of Apology for my ſelf, I muſt add, that your own Writers occaſioned and provoked theſe Collections; that their ſlanders ingaged me to a Vindication, and this Retort: and I think Duty and Truth obligeth me to juſtifie my Mother the Church of *England*, as well as they theirs of *Rome*. And to deny us this favour, would be a Reſtraint beyond all Story: for if yours take upon them the liberty to oppoſe and defame our Church, it would be ſtrange, if you would not allow us in *England* to vindicate her. And by the *by*, it had been well, if they had not ſo much troubled themſelves in oppoſing our *Oath* of *Allegiance*, and clamouring againſt the Magiſtrates for requiring it (which yet is more talk'd of then done) ſeeing theſe Papers will ſhew, both from Principles and actions, that ſome mens Doctrines are ſo dangerous and pernicious, that the ſtricteſt Oaths are ſcarce ſtrong enough for them; and that this eſpecially is favourable enough, conſidering the occaſion of its making, and the ſeditious Principles of ſome people.

'Tis ſaid, that thoſe of ill names are half hang'd; and the poor woman that durſt not kill her Landlords ill-lucky Dog, got her deſigne by crying out he was Mad, whereby the Neighbours preſently knockt him on the head. And thus it fares with our Religion. Of all names, nothing more odious then a *Traytor*; and the *Romaniſts* will ſcarce have any to be ſuch, but thoſe of the Reformed Church; which Charge they lay ſo heavy upon us, and with ſuch often Repetitions, that moſt of their Gentry (who in this and other things are apt to be Prieſt-rid) now uſe it as the onely Argument to beſpatter the Church of *England*; and I fancie, have got ſome Proſelytes by the ſtrength of theſe Reproaches.

But I would have them to remember once for all, that every one in *England* is not of the *Church* of *England* [and for other Churches, at this time, I ſhall not concern my ſelf] and for ought that I know, our *Presbyterian* and *Independant* are as great enemies to our Church as the *Romaniſt*.

Certain I am, the Papiſts ought to be cautious in their Accuſations againſt theſe miſchievous *Non-Conformiſts* alſo, leſt at the ſame time they do but condemn themſelves: and I (*a*) wiſh there were no reaſon for ſuch a ſuppoſition; yet it is too true, that at the ſame time that the former were Rebels againſt the King in *England*, the *Romaniſt* was as active in *Ireland*, deſpiſing and vilifying his Majeſty through his Viceroy (then Marqueſs of *Ormond*) as much as thoſe did the King in *England*. And though here the *Presbyterians* impriſon'd the King, renounced him by their *Non-Addreſs*, and by their other villanies ſet up the Scaffold; and the *Independants*, and other Phanaticks ſtruck off the Head: yet will the *Iriſh-Romaniſts* gain ſmall honour by this Objection, ſeeing they did as much as lay in their power to act the ſame to their Viceroy, by fighting againſt him, excommunicating him, combining to take away his life, or to deliver him up to the *Independant* Army; by trayterouſly offering themſelves and Kingdom to the command of Forreigners, as *Lorraine*, the *French*, the *Spaniard*, nay the Pope himſelf. Not to inſiſt here how grateful the Kings Murther was to ſeveral *Romaniſts*, and how for-

a — Utinam eorum nonnulli qui rectiſſime damnant, non peſſimè imitarentur. Bp. *Sanderſon* de juramen. Præl. 7. § 3.

formerly they have gloryed in the Murther of other Princes.

Yet will their Writers take the confidence to declare their innocencie and loyalty to the face of the whole world; and thereby not onely ſeem to quit and clear themſelves, but at the ſame time beſpatter and aſperſe, what in them lyeth, us wicked Hereticks, as they are apt to call us.

Pedro de Ribadeneyra, a Jeſuit of no ſmall Sanctity and credit amongſt them (being a Diſciple and acquaintance of their Founder *Ignatius*) though as arrant a Railer as the beſt of them, would gladly perſwade the world that (*a*) *Lying*, *Perjury*, *Deceipt*, *Flattery*, *Hypocriſie*, *Tyranny*, *Sedition*, *Deſtruction*, *Murther*, and what not? is nothing but the fruit and reſult of our Religion: upon which the man wonders how we dare intitle it to God or Chriſt; but never remembers the treaſonable Principles of himſelf and his Brethren, with the Practices of his Church.

a Hoc [i.e. *Evangelium*] mentiri docet, hoc pejurare, hoc fingere, hoc diſſimulare, hoc adulare, hoc Hypocritas eſſe, hoc Principes ovinam pellem induere, & nihilominus laniare, occidere, ſanguinem profundere, & more luporum gregem dominicum devorare. Quantas, Deus bone! ſeditiones, quantas turbas & tumultus novum hoc veſtrum Evangelium, ab eo tempore quo primum emerſit, in mundo excitavit? Quot Civitates evertit, deſtruxit & ſolo adæquavit? quot Provincias vaſtavit, quot Regna depredatum eſt, quantum deniq; innocentis ſanguinis profundere non dubitavit? dicat hoc *Gallia*, dicat *Belgium*, dicat *Scotia*, dicat etiam veſtra hæc *Anglia*: Siquidem omnis illa tyrannis, barbaries, crudelitas, & ſævitia, quæ hodie apud vos obtinet, aliud nihil ſunt, quam veſtri Evangelii fructus. Quibus ita conſtitutis, Evangelium adhuc veſtrum, Deo attribuere, & ad illum referre auderis? Poteſtne blaſphemia major iſta reperiri? *Pet. Ribad.* Appendix five *Lib.* 4. ad *Nicol. Sanderſ.* de Schiſmate *Angl.* cap 17. *You may ſee the ſame alſo in his Spaniſh Hiſt.* Eccleſiaſtica del Schiſma del Reyno de *Inglaterra*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 17.

Jacobus Gretſer, another of the ſame ſtamp, will have our Religion not onely to be the off ſpring, but alſo the (*b*) Mother of War and Sedition; to deny which, he looketh upon as a grand piece of Impudence. And (*c*) *Leonardus Leſſius*, of the ſame Order, but diſguiſed under the falſe name of *Guilielmus Singletonus*, is much of the ſame opinion; and we need not doubt but theſe men ſpeak the ſentiment of their whole Order.

b Sectam veſtram *Martis* & *Bellonæ* eſſe filiam & parentem, clarius eſt quam ut ſine impudentia negare poſſis: loquatur *Gallia* & utraq; *Germania*, *Anglia*, *Scotia*, *Jac. Gretſ.* Apol. pro vita *Ignat. Loyolæ*, *lib.* 3. *pag.* 475.

c —— Ubiq; ſeditiones & tumultus prætextu Religionis movent, ubiq; jugum Principum quantum poſſunt excutiunt, & ſibi omnem gubernationem vindicant. *Diſcuſſio Decreti Magni Concilii* Lateran. *pag.* 129.

But to come neerer home. No ſooner was King *James* ſetled in the Kingdom here, but the *Engliſh Romaniſts* drew up a (*d*) *Supplication* to his Majeſty and the Parliament, in which they do not a little vaunt of the loyalty of their Religion, in theſe words: ——*The Catholick Subject is* (*if any other*) *the Glory*, *ſtrength and perpetuity of the Kingdom*, *becauſe he principally ſeeking Heaven in this world* (*and will not for the world be diverted*) *cannot be treacherous or diſloyal*, *or undutiful to your Highneſs*; *but in every ſervice and diſtreſs occurring*, *valiant*, *reſolute and moſt faithful*: and all theſe fair words were to the ſame King and Parliament, whoſe deſtruction they intended, and had at that time contrived it.

d 1604. pag. 7

Towards the latter end of the ſaid King *James* his Reign, Prince *Charles* was ſent a wooing into *Spain*; at which time, the *Romaniſts* were fill'd with hopes (though upon no certain grounds) of the Converſion of the Prince, a Free Toleration of their Religion, or rather that the whole Kingdom would be at their Devotion. As a preparative to this grand Expectation, Father *Pateſon* drew up a Book under the Title of *Jeruſalem and Babel*, or *The Image*

of both Churches (collected mostly out of the Answers to *Anti-coton* and *Brerely*.) This Treatise he dedicateth to the Prince; the main designe being to vindicate the Popish Loyalty, and to declare the Protestants to be absolute Rebels. For proof of which, he boldly affirms — (a) *Now it is manifest, that in the short space of her Reign,* [viz. *of Queen* Mary *of* England] *which was not much above five years, she had more open Rebellions and Insurrections made against her, from such of her Subjects as were not well-affected unto her Religion, then Queen* Elizabeth *had from Catholicks in full forty and five,* &c. And to testifie farther what loyal people they were to Queen *Elizabeth*, let Pope, *Spain*, or any other confederate against her never so much, thus the same Penman taketh upon him the confidence to testifie, — (b) *Among so many Priests as by that time there were both in* England *and beyond the Seas, and in so long a time as this pretended Confederacie was in framing, when Spies and Intelligences were many, and well paid by the State; was there so much as one Priest nominated and accused to have been so corrupted, or induced any way by these Princes or their Ministers, to practice ought to the prejudice of their Country? was there any one apprehended or convicted of such a Treason? was there ever any subject of* England *call'd in Question, for entertaining Priests that were sought after upon that account? In a word, when the* Spanish Armado *was under sail for* England, *was there so much as one Priest or Seminary-man found or known to be in it? Or at any time since discover'd to have been imploy'd in that service?* And lastly, thus the same man characters the two Religions: The — (c) *Catholicks seek onely by way of Petition, Supplication, Prayer and humble Remonstrating of their sufferances; the other,* viz. *Protestants, seek chiefly by Fire and Sword, and Cannon-Bullet, and by thundring of Ordnance.* —

a Pag 347. Editionis *Lond.* 1653.

b Pag. 491.

c Pag. 560.

With these Arguments or Weapons did *Pateson* endeavour to force the Prince from his Religion; but they were too weak and blunt against such a noble and knowing Champion: yet when he was in *Spain*, he is there assaulted again, and that by no less man then *Zacharias Boverius*, the old *Cappuchine*, who wrote a Folio Book, call'd *Orthodoxa Consultatio*, and dedicated it to the said Prince; where he endeavours by might and main to bring a dislikeing in Prince *Charles* to the Church of *England*, by hinting to him the *Divisions* of it; as if, forsooth, the *Romanists* agreed in all things. He would also perswade him to turn *Romanist*; one of his encouragements being, that the Pope can (d) *Depose* Kings: a very excellent complementive Argument, to convert a man out of his Rights and Dominions. But this (e) Doctrine *Boverius* had taught in his former Writings; from which his *Orthodoxa Consultatio* (if a man may be a Plagiary to himself) is stoln for the nonce.

d Ortho. Consult. *part* 2. *Reg.* 6. *p.* 286.

e Cæterum si Reges se oves esse ægre ferent, ac luporum more Ecclesiasticum potestatem invadant: sciant profecto eam potestatem Pontifici totius Ecclesiæ Pastori à *Christo* esse collatam, quæ vero Pastori adversus Lupos gregis vastatores ipso naturali jure permissa est: nimirum ut Lupos à grege arceant. Id enim postulat commissa sibi à *Christo* Dominici gregis cura, qua Ecclesiæ conservationi sedulo invigilare debet, ut Lupos gregem invadentes expellat, ac modis omnibus Ecclesiasticæ Reipub. utilitati atq; incolumitati consulat. Præstat. namq; Principem à grege expelli, quam gregem totum corruere. *Zach. Bover.* Demonstrationes Symbolorum veræ & falsæ Religionis, *Tom.* 2. *Art.* 5. *pag.* 150.

Dr. *Benjamin Carier* having plaid the *Turn-coat*, would gladly perswade King *James* to change too, undertaking to make him believe,

believe, that true Policie would really oblige his Majeſtie to it: thus—— (a) *The firſt reaſon of my hope that Catholick Religion ſhould be moſt available for the honour and ſecuritie of your Majeſtie and your Children, is taken from the conſideration of your Subjects, which can be kept in obedience to God and to their King by no other Religion*, i.e. then Popery. But ſomewhat after he confeſſeth that there may be ſome few *Romiſh* Traytors, but with this difference—— (b) *It is certain there be Traytors againſt God and Man of all Religions; and Catholicks, as they are the beſt Subjects, ſo when they fall to it, they are the worſt Traytors. But if we look upon Examples, or conſider Reaſons, the Catholick is the onelie Religion, which as it doth duelyſubordinate Kings unto God, ſo doth it effectually binde ſubjects to perform all lawful obedience unto their Kings.*

a Letter to King *James*, vid. Dr. *George Hakewell's* Anſwer to it, *pag.* 94. B. C.

b Ib. *pag.* 102, 103.

Another Runaway, *viz.* Dr. *Thomas Baily*, is very zealous for the loyalty of the *Romaniſts*; and yet at the ſame time, bravely tells us, what good Subjects the *Romaniſts* were to *Oliver Cromwell*, whereas the other people of *England* were againſt him: but take his own words—— (c) *Where ſhould a man finde better Subjects?* [*i.e.* then Romaniſts] *and yet theſe are the men who have been traduced all along as inconſiſtant with politick Government. And why ſhould the ſame loyaltie be ſuſpected at any time ſtill to remain within the ſame breaſts; ſince that their Religion, Laws (both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical) Cuſtom, Proviſion for the future, preſent Practice, Oaths and Proteſtations all along, evermore obliging them to ſuch Obedience: eſpeciallie whereas at this preſent, all other Sorts and Sects of Chriſtian Religion (excepting thoſe who are for all Sorts and Sects) appear againſt this* (d) preſent Government, *like* Aries, Scorpio, Leo, Sagittarius, *&c. as if they would all and everie one of them wound each* part *and* member *of this bodie politick; the Roman Catholicks, like* Piſces (*the emblem of the Fiſherman*) *are contented to remain quiet under foot.* A little after he renews the former compariſon betwixt Queen *Mary*'s and Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, thus; —— (e) *It is moſt notoriouſlie evident, that there were more open Rebellions during the five years of her ſhort Government, then during the four and fortie years of her late Majeſties after-Reign.*

c Dr. *Baily's* life of Biſhop *Fiſher*, *p.* 179.

d 1655.

e Id. *pag.* 183, 184.

But *Bailie* need not talk much of Loyalty, either to Kings or Queens, ſince nothing liketh him ſo much as a *Protector*, whom he hopes (conſidering his vertuous actions) will be no ſmall friend to the Loyal *Romaniſts*; and ſo alluding to *Henry* VIII his *Cromwell*, he goeth on and tells us of his hopeful *Oliver*—— (f) *And who knows but that it* [*i.e.* the Reſtoration of the *Roman* Religion] *may be effected by the ſame* NAME? And then obſerving that the then Pope, *Innocent* X, had as part of his *Arms* a Dove with an *Olive-branch* in her mouth, he thus proceeds with his Worſhipful hopes and compariſons between that *Olive* and his *Oliver*.

f Id. *pag.* 260.

(g) Oliva vera *is not ſo hard to be Conſtru'd* Oliverus, *as that it may not be believed, that a Prophet, rather then a Herald, gave the Common Father of Chriſtendom, the now Pope of* Rome (Innocent *the Tenth*) *ſuch Enſignes of his Nobilitie* (viz. *a Dove holding an Olive-branch in her mouth*) *ſince it falls ſhort in nothing of being both a Propheſie, and fulfilled, but onely his* (h) *Highneſs running into her Arms, whoſe Emblem of Innocence bears him alreadie in her mouth.*

g Id. *pag.* 260, 261.

h *Oliver Cromwell.*

Thus

Thus you ſee his hopes of *Cromwell*: yet the ſame man can (*a*) tell the world, that the Beheading, Baniſhment, and other Miſeries of our late Kings, was a juſt judgement of God upon them, becauſe they were not of the Popes Religion. But a great deal more might be ſaid of this man; but enough at this time, if not too much.

a His *end to Controverſie*, in his *Epiſtle* or Preface.

One tells us that the effects of Proteſtant Religion in all Countries is (*b*) *Licentious Libertie, Rebellion, and other horrid Vices*; and this is argued to the Lady to have a care of our Religion, and to imbrace that of *Rome*, as if they were all good people, and never taught Rebellion: yet it may be he will not allow the depoſing of Kings to be Rebellion or Treaſon.

b *W. W.* The Catholick Doctrine of Tranſubſtant. *pag* 115.

Another deſiring of the bloudy and murdering *Rump*, or the Remnant of the wicked long Parliament, that the Papiſts might have a freedom or liberty for their Religion, amongſt others is pleas'd to give this encouraging Reaſon. —— (*c*) *I am confident they will neither be ſuch fools, as to forfeit their Libertie, nor ſo ungrateful to forget them that gave it; ſince out of all our Hiſtories not one Example can be aſſigned, that they ever offer'd to move the leaſt ſedition, in a time when they enjoyed but half the Liberties of Free-born Engliſhmen.* And it is a wonder to ſee how this man doth magnifie the *Rump*, and (*d*) declareth that moſt of the *Romaniſts* who ſeem'd to be of the old Kings ſide, onely fled to his Garriſons for ſhelter, and not to take up Arms to offend the Parliament. I ſhall here ſay no more of him, but that he calls the *Rump* the (*e*) *Renowned Parliament*, for delivering us *from the Tyranny and Oppreſſion of the Prelates.* And indeed, our Reverend Biſhops and their Clergy were the onely men that the *Romaniſts* ſtood in aw of, the Ignorant Phanatick wanting Learning to cope with ſuch penmen.

c The Chriſtian Moderator, *part* 2. *p.*7

d Id. *p.*12, 29.

e Id. *pag.*32.

But to come yet neerer our preſent time; ſince the happy Reſtauration of his Majeſty, there came into the World a Book under the Title of *Philanax Anglicus*: who was the Author of it, I know not; but this I can tell the Reader, that be who he will, he was an arrant *Plagiary*, it being all ſtoln out of *Pateſon's Image of both Churches.* The Publiſher calls himſelf *Thomas Bellamy*, but upon enquiry there is no ſuch man found; but (*f*) *Cambden* will tell him of two of that name; *Jerome Bellamy* hang'd for Treaſon; and his Brother hang'd himſelf, to avoid publick Execution.

f Annal. *anno* 1586.

This pretended Fair-friend would make the world believe that —— (*g*) *It is plain that in the poor five years of her* [viz. *Queen* Maries] *Reign, there was* de facto *more open and violent Oppoſition and Rebellion made by her own Subjects, then Queen* Elizabeth *had in fortie five years, or any Prince before or ſince the* Wickliffian *Doctrine.* Thus what one boldly affirmeth, others as ignorantly believe; which is too common with ſuch people, whoſe deſigne is not ſo much to ſearch out the truth, as to expoſe another party.

g *Phil. Angl.* pag.71.

Well, the ſame *Pamphleter* proceedeth to tell us, that, —— (*h*) *If we mark well, we ſhall find that in this laſt* Century *of years, there hath been more Princes* Depoſed *and* Murthered *for their Religion by theſe* Proteſtants *of Integritie, then have been in all others ſince Chriſt's time, by the Popes Excommunication, or the attempt and means of* Roman *Catholicks.* —— (*i*) *By all which it is plain*

h Id. *pag.*93.

i Id. *pag.*98.

plain that Rome *is ſo far from being the Author and Fountain of theſe Rebel-Doctrines, that all* Loyalty *is in the Reputation of theſe* Proteſtants *of Integritie,* Popery. For he would make you believe of the *Romaniſts*, that they ——(a) *are to fight onely with Prayers; Arms againſt Princes have no warrant.* Quis eſt Judex, ſi Rex tranſgreditur Conditiones Regni? ſolus Deus: *Who is Judge if the King tranſgreſſeth the Conditions of his Kingdom? onely God.* Navar. Cunerus, *and all the Catholick Doctors that ever I have ſeen, agree perfectly in this ſame ſentence.* a Id. pag. 104.

But who ſo bold as blinde Bayard? And therefore whence muſt theſe Treaſonable Doctrines, Opinions and Practices come? he will tell you, and hopeth you will as freely credit him.—— (b) *From* Rome *it cannot be, for its Doctrines with the Opinions and Practices of all its Doctors are ---- quite contrarie; and all that is ſaid againſt that Church, in this particular, is meer Calumnie.* b Id. pag. 110.

And ſo much for this ſhameleſs Libel, which is ſince well Anſwer'd by the Reverend Dr. *Peter du Moulin*, the Learned Son of a Learned Father.

T. C. or be who it will, that was the Author of *Labyrinthus Cantuarienſis*, will by no means allow the *Romaniſts* to hold any diſloyal Aſſertions. His words are ----- (c) *Neither doth Mr.* Fiſher, *or any of his Profeſſion allow or uſe any ſuch nets as the Relator* [viz. *Archbiſhop* Laud] *mentions; that is, they neither practice nor hold it lawful to diſſolve Oaths of Allegiance, to depoſe and kill Kings, to blow up States for the eſtabliſhing of* Quod volumus, *&c.* But I would know of the Author, for what things they do allow them? And in another place he thus undertakes to Apologize for the Popes.---- (d) *Nor did the Popes ever attempt, or ſo much as pretend to bring the Emperours under them in Civil Affairs; which is another aſperſion the Biſhop layeth upon them.* Gregory VIII *and* Innocent III, *were indeed very prudent men, and worthy Champions of the Church, to aſſert her juſt Liberties; but they never endeavour'd to ſubject the Emperour to themſelves in Temporal matters.* c Preface. d Labyrinth. Cant. p. 226. §. 7.

And Mr. *Serjeant*, according to his uſual way, will thus in a few Idle words vindicate the Popes---- (e) *Nay but the Court of* Rome *trod upon Crowns and Scepters. An Hyperbole fetcht from the Horns of the Moon: When? where? what Crowns and Scepters?* e *J. S.* Anſwer to Dr. *Pierce's* Sermon, *pag.* 116.

Another who undertook to anſwer the ſaid Sermon, would gladly thus cleer the *Romaniſts*. ---- (f) *We Catholicks declare Kings to be free from any Coercive power from their own Laws and Subjects, to which they are not bound* civiliter, *but* naturaliter *onely: for if once a* Coactive *power be allowed,* Ex coactione ſequitur ſaltem paritas & ſummitatis diviſio, *as the* Civilian *ſpeaks: and Kings once compell'd by their Subjects*, are no more Scripture-Kings, Gods Kings; Titular, Popular Kings onely. *For* Gods Kings, *ſaith* Otho Friſigenſis, being above all Laws, are reſerved to the Divine judgement hereafter; they may not be puniſhed by the ſecular Laws.---- (g) *As for Catholicks, and their fidelitie to Kings, none ſpeak it more, none adviſe or practice it more, in all ſecular obediences, then the* Roman *Paſtours, and the Catholicks in their Communion.*-- (h) *Yea, ſo far is this Sea Apoſtolick from frequent practices of that nature upon Kings* [viz. to depoſe them] f The Primitive Rule before the Reformation, in the Afternoons Exhortation, *pag.* 18. g Id. *pag.* 20. h Id. *pag.* 22, 23.

of

of which the Reformed *Churches are ſo guilty, that it is evident more* Rebellions *have been rais'd againſt Princes for Religion, onely in this laſt* Reformed *age, in a few* Proteſtant *Countries, then have been rais'd by* Catholicks, *for any cauſe whatever, in ſeven Ages before throughout all Chriſtendom. And whereas this* Indirect Power *of the* See Apoſtolick *is ſo much traduced, as derogatorie from the Rights of Kings; the Hiſtories of this laſt confuſed Age do manifeſt, that even this Power is and hath been rather a Fortreſs to Princes againſt their Rebellious Subjects.* Yet he is unwilling to ſpeak too plain; and therefore tells us, that as for the *Popes* Indirect Power *over Kings* in Ordine ad Spiritualia, *to Cenſure and Deprive Kings, I leave that Queſtion to be decided by the two Supreme Powers* [*viz.* Pope and King] *when occaſion ſhall be for it.* And then probably our Author will declare for the Pope, as ſome Prieſts did in Queen *Elizabeths* time, *anno* 1582.

Id. *pag.*22.

Laſtly, for in theſe aſſertions a man might be endleſs, one in his Animadverſions upon Dr. *Bates* and his *Elenchus Motuum*, in which the Doctor is ſometimes partial or faulty; this (*a*) Animadvertor, I ſay, will by all means have it to be an old and falſe Calumny to think that the *Romaniſts* were not always the beſt Subjects. But words are cheap; and why did he not Anſwer my poſitive proofs againſt it as well as make (*b*) uſe of my Book to ſhew the villany of our *Non-conformiſts*, and by them to inſinuate a diſcredit of our Church of *England* to thoſe beyond Seas, who through ignorance may ſuppoſe the Presbyterians to be true ſons of our Church?

a Elenchus Elenchi, *pag.* 17,20,21.

b Id. *pag.*26.

But what they cannot anſwer, ſome make it prudence to paſs by with ſilence; and then the Gentile *Romaniſt*, who ſeldom troubles himſelf with reading any thing but what makes for himſelf, faileth not to vapour that his Champion hath got the day; putting moſt of his confidence in the Title-page, ſeldom or never examining the honeſty or exactneſs of the Writer. Thus ſelf-intereſt perſwades, and then aſſures him of the Conqueſt; ſo that with him, to write againſt the Church of *England*, is the ſame to confute and confound.

Thus we ſee how they would cunningly bear the people in hand, what peaceable men they are, what good ſubjects they are; and always make a noiſe of their Obedience and Loyalty, as a main Argument to perſwade our Kings to embrace their Religion. But as for us of the Church of *England*, alas! we are nothing but Traytors and Rebels; Treachery and Sedition being the chief Articles of our Faith whilſt at *Rome* nothing is taught but peace and loyalty. And if we muſt believe Father *Parſons*, we muſt thus know the difference of the two Religions: for with the *Romaniſts* out of *England*,----(*c*) *All Modeſtie, Gravitie, Learning, Pietie, Devotion, Peace, Concord, Unitie and Charitie was carryed away. And in the new* Goſpelling Ship, *came in all the contrary vices; namely of Sedition, Diviſion, Pride, Temerity, Curioſity, Novelties, Senſuality, Impiety and Atheiſm.* But,

c Three Converſ. of *Engl.* part 2. pag. 581,582.

Quis tulerit Gracchos *de ſeditione querentes?*

Juv. Sat. 2.

Who can with patience hear
A Guizard *blame a* Scotiſh *Covenanteer?*

The

The *Oſtrich*, with great pains and oſtentation of his Feathers, endeavours to make a great flight, yet cannot get an inch higher from the ground; like the lying Hypocrite, whoſe goodly ſhews and cheats will little avail him. The *Jeſuits* tell us, that the Founder of their Order, *Ignatius Loyola*, imitated the Devil, uſing all his tricks, ſleights, cheats and cunning, to convert Souls, as the other did in perverting of them: And I wiſh ſome of his Diſciples had not made uſe of Falſities to inveigle and abuſe their Proſelytes.

Jo. Pet. Maffeius, in vita *Ignat.* l. 3. c. 11

All is not Gold that gliſters, nor all good Ware that is commended by a fair-Tongued Sales-man; and when you ſee a Religious face, ſuſpect a knaviſh heart. Our *Engliſh* Fugitives made the people at *Rome* believe, that in Queen *Elizabeths* days, there was no *Church* or *Biſhop* ſtanding in *England*, but that *the people heard their Miniſters in Woods and Fields amongſt Trees and Brute Beaſts*. The *Spaniards* were made believe, that here they worſhipt the Devil. When [1623. 5 of *November*, according to the *Roman* account] the Chamber fell at *Black fryers*, killing by its fall almoſt an hundred, with Father *Drury* the Jeſuit their Preacher; ſome had the impudence to print beyond Seas, as if the ſtory had been a judgement of God upon ſome Proteſtant Hereticks in *Holborn*. How oft have they printed the lye about the Nags-head Conſecration; and belyed Biſhop *Morton*, as if he acknowledged the truth of it in a Speech in Parliament? We need not tell what Tales they have publiſh'd of the Deaths of *Beza*, *Calvin*, *Luther*, *Henry* VIII, Queen *Elizabeth*: nay, ſome had the confidence to give out, that King (*a*) *James* was turn'd *Romaniſt*, and had ſent to the Pope about it. And to conclude this, no leſs man then *Monſieur de la Milletiere* hath, without queſtion, truely placed King *Charles* the *Martyr* in Heaven, but had a great deal of Aſſurance, when he could hint and inſinuate to us, as if the ſaid King dyed in the (*b*) *Roman* Religion. And as for his affirming that none can go to (*c*) Heaven but of the *Roman* Church, I believe it like the former ſtories, and ſo joyn it with them; and ſo he might have ſpared his pains in dedicating them to King *Charles* II.

Sir *Geo. Paul's* life of Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, p. 79. & 116.

a Vid. *Purchas* Pilgrimage, *l.* 9. *c.* 3. *pag.* 831. *Edit.* 1614.

b La victoire de la verité, Epiſt. au Roy de la *Gr. Brit.* p. 78, 79, 80.

c Second Diſcourſe Politick, p. 37.

But, Gentlemen, to take off theſe ſlanders from my Mother the Church of *England* (the freeſt from eſtabliſh'd blemiſhes of any in the World) and as we ſay, to ſet the Saddle upon the right Horſe, was this Treatiſe by way of a retort undertaken. And for my ſo doing, I need no other Apology, then the words of your own (*d*) Mr. *John Brerely*, or as ſome think *Anderton*; thus.

d Proteſtants *Apol.* Preface to the Reader, & 7.

—— Being therefore thus provoked, or rather urged, it will not, I hope, ſeem offenſive to the Diſcreet and Sober [Romaniſt] *againſt whoſe confeſs'd loyalty I hereby intend nothing, if I but a little examine, not what I can, or am provoked to object, but what is by our Learned Adverſaries themſelves confeſs'd and reported on the contrary part. Wherein (courteous Reader) if much contrary to my diſpoſition and thy liking, I do ſomewhat enlarge my ſelf in more fully opening thoſe things,—— I am not without all hope of Pardon, eſpecially conſidering that the foreſaid Occaſion, which compelleth me (ſo unwilling thereof) is in it ſelf ſo provoking, uncharitable, and exceeding.*

But here it may be objected by ſome *Roman* Catholicks, that in the following Aſſertions, and Hiſtories of King-depoſing, I do but belye and ſlander them, falſifie and corrupt mine Authors, and ſo cheat and abuſe my Readers: For the *Romaniſts* (forſooth) never taught diſobedience to Magiſtrates, never allowed Kings to be depoſed; nor could the Pope and Cardinals (the true (*a*) Repreſentives of the *Roman* Church) being infallible, eſpecially in ſuch ſolemn things as *Bulls* and *Breves*, publiſh ſuch deſtructive Doctrines.

(*a*) *Mar. de Alteriis de Cenſuris Eccleſ. Tom 1. lib. 5. diſp. 14. cap. 1. pag. 655.*

In Anſwer to this Charge, I hope I ſhall return enough to clear my ſelf, by affirming, firſt, that the Doctrine or words are none of mine, but their own, as appeareth by the Quotations of their Authors. Secondly, If in the multitude of theſe Citations, I have by haſte or chance (not by deſigne) miſtaken ſome, it no way contradicts the Doctrine it ſelf, which is held ſo Univerſally by them, as will appear preſently hereafter, by the Teſtimonies and Confeſſions of the *Romaniſts* themſelves. Thirdly, That herein I do not intend all, that pretend to be the ſons of the *Roman* Religion; there being both in *England* and *France* many Noble and worthy Perſons of that Perſwaſion, who do deteſt and abhor this King-depoſing Principle. But whether in ſo doing the Pope doth look upon them as true ſons to him and his Church, I ſhall leave to the determination of the *Romaniſts* themſelves: And if in this there be any doubt or diſpute, we may ſuppoſe the Pope, Cardinals, and their chiefeſt Doctors about them, may beſt underſtand the meaning of their *Roman* Church, and ſo more capable to decide the Queſtion; which is one reaſon that I all along uſe the word *Romaniſts*, as thoſe adhering to the Church at *Rome*, or that which is taught there by the Pope as true Doctrine. Fourthly, For the better Confirmation of this Aſſertion, I have ſhew'd and proved theſe Treaſonable Poſitions from above two hundred of their own approved Authors. But if this number be not ſufficient, (*b*) *Julianus Taboetius*, a *French* Civilian, doth aſſure us long ago, that there had been ſix hundred thouſand famous Writers in behalf of the Pope's Authority to Depoſe Kings and Emperors at his pleaſure.

(*b*) Sexcentæ doctorum & Pontificum Myriades, omnibus Eloquentiæ nervis & emuniſſimè laborant perſuadere à ſummis pendere Pontificibus uſum Imperialis Gladii, & Regios faſces dare & adimi, *Romani* Præſulis arbitratu. *Jul. Taboet.* Ephemerid. Hiſt. *Tom. 2. pag 30.*

Fifthly, You ſhall plainly ſee that it is not I, that lay theſe King-depoſing Principles to your Charge, but your own ſelves or Brethren, the Chieftains of your Church. So if you deny the Point, do not ſay that I have ſlander'd you, but rather ſay, that your Popes, as *Gregory* VII, *Boniface* VIII, *Sixtus* V, *Pius* V, *&c.* rather ſay that your Cardinals, as *Bellarmine*, *Baronius*, *Allen*, *Perron*, *&c.* rather ſay that theſe, with your other chiefeſt Doctors, Divines, School-men, Canoniſts, Lawyers, with your greateſt Scholars and Writers, have belyed and ſlander'd you and your Religion; rather then I, who am onely the Inſtrument to convey to you the Words, ſentiments and belief of theſe your grave Oracles; leaving at your own diſcretion, either to approve or reject them.

Rather ſay that your *Saints*, as *Bonaventure*, *Aquinas*.

For if you doubt, or queſtion the truth of this Aſſertion, — *According to the Church of* Rome, *Kings may juſtly and lawfully*

be

be depoſed —— [it being nothing to the purpoſe, which way, or by what knaviſh diſtinction]. The true-blew *Romaniſts* will poſitively aſſure you, that it is a truth ſo certain, that not ſo much as *any one do make any doubt of it. For*, as ſaith *Bellarmine*, —*It is agreed on by all*: —— *Nor amongſt the School-men is there any Controverſie about it, nor can they ſhew one Catholick Author againſt it.* And to ſay that Kings may be depoſed, *is a golden ſentence*; and this is not a *meer Opinion, but a certain truth amongſt all Catholicks.* And that this may be *juſtly done, none but a Madman will deny.*

Decianus ſaith that it is *the true and common Opinion*; ſo that *Germonius* affirmeth, that *it is madneſs not to believe it*: *It is now evident and conſpicuous to all*, ſays *Mancinus* and *Capiſtranus*. *Botero* would have us believe that it is *ridiculous to think otherwiſe*; or as *Gretſer* ſaith, to deny this King-depoſing Doctrine, as the ſame to *deny the Catholick faith*: And this he repeats over and over again, that he might be the better believed; and offers at ſome reaſon for it too: which he need not have troubled himſelf with to have convinced King *James*, ſeeing his Majeſtie would eaſily believe him, if by the *Catholick Faith*, he meant the *Roman* Religion, as we need not queſtion but that he did.

In behalf and vindication of Allegiance in King *James* his time, was here publiſh'd by Authority a little Book call'd *God and the King*. In oppoſition to this Tract, is another Dialogue printed by the *Romaniſts* beyond Seas, and alſo call'd *Deus & Rex*; wherein is affirm'd that this King-depoſing Doctrine is *doubtleſs the ſuffrage of all men.*

Gregorius Nunnius Coronel telleth us, that if we ſhould *read all the Ancient and Modern Divines and Lawyers*, we ſhall finde *that they do unanimouſly affirm this Doctrine*; and thoſe who think otherwiſe, *are not onely far from truth, but madmen.* If you ask Cardinal *Perron* of this thing, he will tell you, that it was *always the judgement of the* Roman *Church, that all Magiſtrates and Divines maintain'd the ſame*; *and to believe the contrary, would make them* Schiſmaticks *and* Hereticks, *or elſe the Church muſt have* fail'd, *and ſo the* Pope *not to have been Chriſts* Vicar, *but a perfect* Heretick *and* Antichriſt. If you adviſe with *Adolphus Schulckenius* Vicar-General of *Colen*, he will plainly tell you, that it is the *judgement of all their Divines, Lawyers, Councils, and Popes*: that he *is no good Catholick that denyeth it*, which cannot be oppoſed *without great raſhneſs and blaſphemy*: and no leſs man then Cardinal *Allen* aſſureth the Catholicks, that by maintaining this Principle, *they are no Traytors, nor hold Aſſertions Treaſonable, falſe or undutiful.* His friend Father *Parſons* ſaith that it is *aſſerted and taught in all the Schools, both of their Divines and their Lawyers*; *and that the Doctrine is certain, and muſt be believed as an Article.* And again, that it *is the moſt certain undoubted Common Judgement of all the learned Catholicks.* And in another of his Books, thus he aſſures his good *Romaniſts*: —— *All Catholick Subjects alſo of other Countries do hold and acknowledge this Doctrine.*

If this Doctrine be not true, *Sanctarellus* will have the *Church to erre*; and *Suarez* affirms that *it is as certain, as it is certain that the Church cannot erre*: That to believe otherwiſe, is *againſt Eccleſiaſtical*

cleſiaſtical Cuſtom, the practice and agreement of the General Councils; againſt the opinion of all learned Catholicks, and againſt reaſon it ſelf: Nay, in ſhort, that to believe the contrary is downright and flat *Hereſie*, as ſeveral of them tell us: *Carerius* calls it the very *Hereſie of* Calvin, *and ſuchlike Hereticks* [meaning in not allowing the Pope to have power to depoſe Kings] and *Solarzanus* teſtifieth the ſame, with this addition, that it hath *been formerly condemn'd as Heretical.*

No leſs man then *Leonardus Leſſius* (though under the diſguiſe of *Singletonus*) tells us, that to think that Kings may not be depos'd, is expreſly againſt the great *Lateran* Council: whence he makes theſe following Concluſions; and the ſame method and arguments are alſo uſed and approved of by Cardinal *Bellarmine.*

I.

If Kings may not be depoſed, then of neceſſity muſt that General Council of *Lateran* have *erred*; and not onely this, but alſo that of *Lyon*, that of *Vienna*, that of *Conſtance*, *&c.* nay, that the very Council of *Trent* it ſelf muſt alſo have *erred*; and alſo not onely theſe his General Councils, but alſo ſeveral Provincial ones.

II.

If this King-depoſing Doctrine be not true, then muſt the Popes themſelves alſo be *fallible*; for then muſt *Gregory* VII have *erred*, *Urban* II have erred, and ſo muſt alſo *Gregory* IX.

III.

If this Principle be not true, then muſt alſo the *Church* it ſelf have *erred* for many Ages; nay farther, to have *erred* willingly or maliciouſly, with a deſigne or on purpoſe: And that Hell hath prevail'd againſt the Church; and ſo the *Roman* Church not to be a true Church, nor the Church of Chriſt.

IV.

And if the Church, Councils, Popes, have *erred* in this, they may alſo erre in other Articles, as the Sacraments, Trinity, Incarnation, *&c.* and that with greater eaſe and facility; whereby Chriſt muſt be a Deceiver; and ſo we may *ſuſpect the whole Chriſtian faith it ſelf.*

Thus you ſee the judgement of their ſo much cryed up holy *Leſſius*, who farther aſſures us, that to deny this Doctrine, is the meer *cunning and inſtigation of the Devil.* Again, *That there is ſcarce any Article in the Chriſtian Religion, the denying of which is more dangerous to the Church, then this Doctrine.* Again, *That it is more pernicious and intolerable, then to erre concerning the Sacraments.* And to conclude with him, he at laſt conjures all that call themſelves Catholicks, upon their Salvation, to have a care how they deny this.

For as *Coquæus* will tell you, this King-depoſing Doctrine is agreeable to the holy Scriptures, and the Rules of Chriſt. Another

ther assures us, that to doubt of the truth of it, would seem not onely to *oppugn the verity of the Christian Faith, but to savour of perfect Heathenism.*

But not to trouble my self or Reader with their zeal and resolution in defence of this King-deposing Doctrine (in which I might be endless) I shall tell you, that no less man then our Cardinal *Allen* declares his judgement in these very words — *God had not sufficiently provided for our Salvation, and the preservation of the Church and Holy Laws, if there were no way to deprive or restrain Apostata Princes.* The foresaid *Coqueus* saith, that otherwise *Christ had not sufficiently provided for the safety, either of the Common-wealth, or of our Souls.* And *Petrus Bertrandus* positively declareth for the former Principle, that if such a deposing Authority had not been, that *then Christ Jesus had not shewn himself wise or discreet*; or, as Father *Parsons* saith, *Gods providence had been defectuous.* And when *Johannes Mariana*, the so noted *Spanish* Jesuit, had in one of his Books so expresly maintain'd the lawfulness of *killing* bad Kings, upon which the said Book was censured; I meet with an *English Romanist*, thus to vindicate or justifie the said Book.— *They are enemies to that holy Name* [i.e. of Jesus] *that condemn'd* Mariana *for any such Doctrine.*

Nay, so zealous are some for this King-deposing Doctrine, that with *(a) Laurentius Ortiz de Iberrola*, they will assure it the onely safety and preservation for Princes. But King *James*, who thought himself not a little concern'd; and therefore thus deliver'd his opinion to his Parliament:— *(b) As on the one part many honest men seduced with some errors of* Popery, *may yet remain good and faithful Subjects: so on the other part, none of those that truely know and believe the whole grounds and School conclusions of their Doctrines, can either prove good Christians or good Subjects.*

a De Politia & Immunitat. Eccles. part 4. cap. 50.

b Speech in Parliament 1605. *Vid.* his works, *pag.* 504.

And yet, if for all these grand Testimonies, they should plead their Allegiance, and their respect to Princes; I could ask why all Books writ against this King-deposing Doctrine, are censured and prohibited by their *Indices Expurgatorii*; whilst on the contrary, those who affirm it, are publish'd with honour, as true and authentick: and if *Agapetus* above a thousand years ago, speak honourably of the Imperial Authority, the *(c) Expurgatorian* Index must stifle it with some worshipful gloss or other. And if any should deny this to be the Doctrine of the *Roman* Church, I should gladly know, where is the judge? whether the Popes themselves, the Cardinals, their greatest and most famous Writers, as *Bellarmine, Baronius, Perron, &c.* do not understand what are the Tenents, and the meaning of the *Roman* Church, as well as some private *Englishman* here; and whether we are not to believe the Popes Cardinals, and their learned Doctors, before the said private person.

c V. Bibliotheca Patrum.

Thus are the *Romanists* as stout and zealous for this King-deposing Doctrine, as the *(d) Chineses* were for their Beards; and do adore and worship this destructive Tenet, as the old *Cainites* did *Cain*, because he was the first man-killer; or the *Ophitæ*, who worshipt the Serpent, because he was the first deceiver, and, as they say, the Author of good and evil.

d *Mart. Martin.* de bello Tartar. *pag.* 45, 107, 121, 157.

Thus the *Romanist* may perceive what danger he runneth him-

himſelf into, if he dare but offer to oppoſe this Treaſonable Principle, ſeeing to deny it is madneſs, flat Hereſie; nay Paganiſm, contrary to the judgements of Popes, Councils, and the whole Church, nay, the Goſpel of Chriſt; a more intolerable Hereſie then to *erre* concerning ſome of the Sacraments; nay, ſo groſs an one, that it doth deſtroy the very Church and Goſpel it ſelf: wherefore they perſwade us, that all good and ſound Catholicks muſt believe that Kings may be depoſed, ſeeing all who are truely *Romaniſts*, and Sons of that Church, do and muſt believe ſo.

Thus theſe men are like *Polychronius*, who would rather erre with *Macarius*, then be in the right with others; and this Doctrine muſt be the *Shibboleth* to diſtinguiſh them from other Chriſtians. There is a Sect in *Spain* call'd (a) *Saludadores*, who are known by a knack of curing many Diſeaſes, as a gift peculiarly belonging to them: thoſe of the Houſe of (b) *Auſtria* are known by their long chins, and thick lips; and, as they ſay, are particularly bleſt with other Graces, as to cure Wens by giving onely a Glaſs of Water, and to unlooſe the Tongue of him that cannot ſpeak plain, onely by kiſſing. Thus the Monarchs of *England* do the Kings-Evil; and in *Brecknockſhire*, within two Miles of *Brecknock*, there is a Lake call'd *Lhyn Savathan*, or *Linſavethan*, or *Brecknock-mere*; of which (c) *Giraldus Cambrenſis* tells us, that the birds there will ſing at the deſire of the Prince of *Wales*, but no man elſe; ſo that it is the beſt Rule to know the true Prince; of which matter (d) *Ranulph Higden*, Monk of *Cheſter*, thus Poetizeth.

a *Anton. de Torquemeda*, Dialog. 3.
b *Luis Du-May* Eſtate of the Empire, *p.* 73.
c Itiner. *Cambr.* lib. 1. cap. 2.
d Polychron. *lib.* 1.

Si Terræ Princeps venerit,
Aves cantare juſſerit:
Statim deprome modulos
Nil concinunt ad cæteros.

Which I finde thus tranſlated to my hand by *John Treviſa*, the old Vicar of *Barkley*, almoſt three hundred years ago.

Yf the Prynce of the Londe hoote,
Briddes ſinge well mery noot,
As merily as they can,
And ſinge for none other man.

And ſo this King-depoſing Principle they will have to be the Characteriſtical note, whereby a through-paced or true *Romaniſt* may be known, who muſt anſwer to none but their Prince at *Rome*, and whoſe commands they muſt not diſobey. And ſhould any one now begin to teach them Allegiance, and the pernicious conſequences of this Doctrine, which by length of time hath had ſuch a ſway with them; probably it might be as great a novelty and ſtrange to them, as the (e) people, who after a long *Interdiction*, were ſo unuſed to Devotion, that they laugh'd at the Prieſts when they came again to ſay *Maſs*, and pray with them; for ſome will not leave an old *Mumpſimus* for a new, though better *Sumpſimus*.

d *Sextus* de Sentent. Excom. c. *Alma Mater*. Gloſſ. v. *Inſurgunt*.

As for the *Romaniſt*'s diſtinctions (the better to maintain theſe Treaſonable Aſſertions) of *Directe*, *Indirecte*, *Proprie*, *Improprie*, *ſimpliciter*, *ſecundum Quid*, *Abſolute*, *in Ordine ad Spiritualia*,

alia, and ſuchlike whimſical Save-alls, they have not onely been derided by thoſe of the (*a*) Reformed Church, but alſo by ſeveral *Romaniſts* themſelves, eſpecially of the (*b*) latter ſtamp: and of ſuch cheats as theſe, thus ſaith Father (*c*) *Welſh* —— In Ordine ad Spiritualia, *and the cheat of a verbal diſtinction, the trick of abuſing two other words*, Direct *and* Indirect, *and theſe two very new, altogether unheard-of in this matter, till ſome Caprichious heads brought them unfortunately to the* Schools, *of meer deſigne to make people looſe themſelves in words, by confounding right and wrong together, and the ſignification of both*--- And ſo nothing need be ſaid againſt ſuch childiſh inventions, being nothing to the true and real deſigne of the poſitive Doctrine of King-depoſing, which is the thing we treat of, without any idle evaſions: A knack or knavery, onely fit for thoſe *Romantick* or Melancholy *Don Quixot* Virtuoſi, who love to be call'd *Schoolmen*, whoſe Trade is onely to rack Divinity and Reaſon, and to ſmother up Truth with inſignificant diſtinctions, and never think themſelves knowing enough, till they can tell the colour, dimenſion, weight and contexture of all Vices, Vertues, or Actions; a ſort of people that can be zealouſly grave upon empty nothings, and like the little Spirits in *Mines*, idly keep a great deal of clutter and toyl without any proficiencie; like (*d*) *Ariſtotles* madman, who took as much pleaſure, and was as obſervant in an empty Stage, as others at a real Act. But it may be theſe may take it ill to have their diſtempers corrected, like the fellow in (*e*) *Horace*, who was angry at his friends for curing him of his Madneſs, proteſting he had loſt his life and greateſt happineſs: yet in ſome men, this ſtudy is convenient, becauſe 'tis fit our enemies ſhould be fought with at all their reſpective Weapons.

a *Pet. Molin.* de Monarch. Temporal. Pont. *pag.* 87. *Jo. Buckeridge* Epiſc. *Roffenſ.* lib. 2. cap. 5.

b *Caron* Remonſt. *Hybern. p.* 236, 237.

c More ample accompt, *pag.* 28.

d Lib. de Mirabilibus.

e Epiſt. lib. 2. Epiſt. 2.

But why ſhould we blame the good-natured *Romaniſt* for eſpouſing this King-depoſing Doctrine, ſeeing he hath ſuch grand incouragements for his ſo doing; and hath ſuch fine, pretty, ſweet Rules laid down for his guide, that it is almoſt an impoſſibility for him to ſin? and to make him the more bold and confident in any daring Enterprize, they have invented two excellent Crutches to ſupport the undertaker, and help every lame Dog over the Stile; and are call'd by their Maſters in this Science,

The two *Rules* of { *Directing the Intention.* / *Probable Opinion.*

By which is taught (if we may credit either the (*f*) *Janſeniſt* or (*g*) *Jeſuit*) that if you mean well, though your actions and deeds be bad, all is ſafe; and that the judgement of one or two Doctors or Divines, is enough to make an Opinion to be probably true; and that which is thus render'd a *Probable* Doctrine, may honeſtly without ſin be followed and perpetrated; and the Prieſt and Confeſſor is obliged by his Office to abſolve ſuch an one, for his thus acting according to the probable opinion. And what wickedneſs may be committed under the protection of ſuch deluding *Salvo's*, is no difficulty to conceive.

f Vid. *les Provinciales.*

g Vid. Reſponces aux Lettres *Provinciales*, pag. 103, 104, 105, 108, 110, 111, 115, 116, 334.

But ſuppoſe, that for all theſe Guards and Protections, it were poſſible

poſſible for a *Romaniſt* to ſin in any of theſe his undertakings, yet is there Pardon to be had Dog-cheap, according to the old and careful Cuſtom of their Mother-Church of *Rome*; for it is but trudging thither, and they are cock-ſure of Abſolution: of which a few inſtances, for their greater comfort, take as followeth.

At St. *Peters* Church in the *Vatican*, from the Aſcenſion of *Chriſt*, to the Calends of *Auguſt*, is every day granted pardon for 14 *years*.
At St. *Pauls* Church is every day granted pardon for 18 *years*.
Pope *Silveſter* granted to any one that ſhall but enter ſuch Churches at *Rome*, pardon for 47 *years*.
In the Church of St. *Agnes* are pardons for 46 *years*.
In the Church St. *Maria Maggiore* is every day granted pardons for 48 *years*.
In St. *Pauls* Church, upon every day of his Converſion, is granted pardon for 100 *years*.
In the Churches of St. *Lucia*, of St. *Elizabeth*, of St. *Clara*, are every day granted in each of them pardons for 100 *years*.
In the Church of St. *Catherina* are granted pardons for 200 *years*.
In St. *Agnes* Church, on his Feaſt-day, are alſo granted pardons for 200 *years*.
In St. *Suſanna's* Church are pardons for 200 *years*.
In the Church *Del S. Croce*, upon every Sunday and Wedneſday are granted pardons for 254 *years*.
In St. *Sebaſtians* Church there is a pit where the bodies of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* (as they ſay) lay hid an hundred years before they were found; at this place pardons are granted for 300 *years*.
In St. *Martins* Church, where St. *Silveſter* was buryed, are every day granted pardons for 300 *years*.

But becauſe ſome may think, that theſe few hundreds are not enough to ſatisfie for the journey, their Indulgent Mother hath enlarged her bounty to thouſands, as followeth.

In St. *John's* Church, in the *Lateran*, is a Chappel call'd *Sancta Sanctorum*, not far from which is an aſcent of 33 ſteps; and how if a man ſhall aſcend them, for every ſtep he ſhall have 1000 years pardon, in all 33000 *years*.
In St. *Peters* Church, upon every Feaſt of St. *Peter*, St. *Paul*, and the Virgin *Mary*, and the Aſcenſion of Chriſt, are pardons granted for 1000 *years*.
In St. *Sebaſtians* Church, from *Chriſts* Aſcenſion to the Calends of *Auguſt*, are every day granted pardons for 1000 *years*.
In St. *Maria Maggiore*, upon every Feaſt-days of St. *Mary*, the Birth and Reſurrection of Chriſt, and St. *Laurence* his day, are pardons for 1000 *years*.
In St. *James* his Church, they ſay, there is a ſtone upon which *Chriſt* ſtood, when he was preſented in the Temple; and at it are granted pardons for 1000 *years*.
In St. *Catherina's* Church, upon her Feſtival, are pardons for 1000 *years*.
In St. *Petronella's* Church are pardons for 1000 *years*.
In St. *Minerva's* Church are pardons for 1000 *years*.

In

In the Church St. *Maria Annunciata*, for every day one ſhall viſit it, are granted pardons for 1040 *years.*

In the Church St. *Maria del Popolo*, are every day granted pardons for 2800 *years.*

In a Cloyſter adjoyning to St. *Pauls* Church, upon every Sunday, and ſome other holy-days, are pardons granted for 3000 *years.*

To whomſoever that ſhall drink of the three fountains where St. *Paul* was beheaded, whoſe head, when cut off, gave three leaps, and ſo made them; is granted from every Fountain a thouſand years, in all 3000 *years.*

Whoſoever ſhall but viſit the Sepulchre of St. *Stephen* and St. *Laurence*, in St. *Laurence's* Church, to him is granted pardons for 7000 *years.*

In St. *Pauls* Church, upon the day of its Dedication, are pardons granted for 8000 *years.*

In St. *Peters* Church in the *Vatican*, in the high Altar, is the Hankirchief, which, they ſay, Chriſt wiped his face with, and ſince that bears his picture; which is ſome times ſhew'd to the people; by vertue of which the *Roman* people have pardons granted for 7000 *years.*

Thoſe that dwell out of *Rome* have 9000 *years.*

Thoſe that live out of *Italy*, and come to ſee it, have pardons for 12000 *years.*

In ſhort, in St. *Sebaſtians* Church, there is a vault wherein the Chriſtians in old time of perſecution uſed to hide themſelves; and to this Vault, they ſay, do belong ſo many pardons and Indulgences, as none can number but onely God.

But what need we ſtand fiddle-fadling about the numbers of years, ſeeing the Church of *Rome* is ſo brisk, debonnaire, frank and free to her ſons, that rather then to give them any diſincouragement, ſhe will venture all her intereſt and credit for their ſake; and in this her ſtock is ſo great, that we cannot ſuppoſe her to be bankrupt; for rather then fail, ſhe will pardon them for ever and ever, as may appear in what followeth.

In the Church of St. *John* the *Lateran*, is a Chappel call'd *Santa Sanctorum*, in which there is every day pardon and remiſſion for all ſins, both from the puniſhment and the ſin alſo.

In St. *Peters* Church in the *Vatican*, by the Font, is every day remiſſion of all ſins to be had.

Alſo in the ſame Church, upon St. *Martins* day, there is to be had full remiſſion of all ſins.

In St. *Pauls* Church in the *Vatican*, upon the XXIX of *January*, being the day when the Church was conſecrated, there is then to be had remiſſion of all ſins.

In the Church of St. *Croce*, is a Chappel call'd *Hieruſalem*, where is to be granted full remiſſion of all ſins, both *à pœna & à culpa.*

In the Church St. *Maria Maggiore*, upon *All-Saints* day, there is granted full remiſſion of all ſins.

In the Church St. *Maria Rotonda*, upon the third of *May* and *All-Saints* day, are pardons for all ſins to be had.

In the Church St. *Maria del Popolo*, on the day of *Assumption* of the Virgin *Mary*, are granted remission of all sins.

In the Church of St. *Peters ad Vincula*, are remission of all sins to be had.

In the Church call'd *Ara Cœli*, or St. *Maria Ara Cœli*, where, they say, is the first *Altar* that ever was made in the world; at which *Altar* there is every Sunday, and upon the *Assumption* of the B. Virgin, granted full pardon and Remission of all sins.

These and such other like Indulgences were formerly (*a*) publish'd in *England* by Mr. *Crashaw*, from an old Manuscript which he had; and I have also seen an old (*b*) Manuscript to the same purpose. But what need we trouble our selves with Manuscripts, seeing the same things may be seen in several (*c*) Books, made, printed by them, and publish'd by their Authority, to procure the greater credit and belief for such like pardons as these.

a Fiscus Papalis, sive Catalogus Indulgentiarum, &c.

b MS. 196. *K Digby* in Bibl. *Bodl. Oxon.*

c Indulgentiæ Ecclesiarum urbis *Romanæ*, Impressum *Romæ* 1509. Le Cose maravigliose dell' Alma citta di *Roma* 1625. *Onuphrius* de urbis *Romæ* Ecclesiis. *Le Sieur de Villamont* ses voyages. Vid. *Weavers* Funeral-Monuments, *pag.* 160, 161, 162, &c.

This occasion'd so many Pilgrimages to *Rome*, to the great inriching of that City, and the wonder of *Johannes* or *Janus Pannonius*, the *Hungarian* Poet, and Bishop of *Funfkirken*, or *Eutegyhazac*, in Latine *Quinque Ecclesiæ*; who, though of the *Roman* Religion, yet could thus jest at the gadding of People from other Countries to *Rome* for Pardons at their *Jubilees*.

Delit. Poet. *Hungar.p.*274.

Hispani, Galli, Solavi, Teutones & Hunni
Clavigeri petitis limina Sancta Petri:
Quo ruitis stulti Latios *ditare penates*,
Salvari in patria sicine nemo potest?

The *Spaniard*, *French*, *Pole*, *German*, and the *Hun*
Unto St. Peters *Chair for Heaven doth run:*
Whither, O fools! to inrich the Popes do you gad?
As if salvation can't at home be had.

Yet Indulgences were also granted to particular places in other Countries: amongst the rest, *England* (being then free-handed to *Rome*) did not want such pretty Indearments, whereby the people were made as free from sin as (*d*) *Nightingal* the Priest in Queen *Mary*'s days; and of them might be said, as was thus in an old (*e*) printed Pardon,

d Jo.Fox, vol. 3. pag 223

e Tho. Becon's Relicks of *Rome*, fol. 193. *b.*

John *or* Joan, *as free I make thee*,
As heart may think, or eye may see.

And their Power and Prerogative is so great, forsooth, that they cannot onely pardon past sins, but sins to come, or what you will commit afterwards; of which King (*f*) *James* doth protest that he hath seen two Authentical *Bulls* with his own eyes: And of this the (*g*) Princes of *Germany* at *Nurnberg* (1523) did publickly complain; and that your friends soul should skip out of *Purgatory*, when the cash ratled in the Bason. And how liberal they used to be with their Pardons, (*h*) *Theodorick à Niem* (who was

f Meditation on the *Lords Prayer*, p. 58.

g Gravam *Germ.* § 3.

h De Schism. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 68.

Se-

Secretary to three Popes) hath of old hinted; and Dr. (*i*) *Thomas James* will refer you to ſome more abuſes.

And though they are willing to be no looſers by theſe favours, yet their prices are cheap enough; which probably may the ſooner ingage or oblige ſome truſty ſon to act any Villany, the rates of their Abſolutions being ſo cheap; of which take this following Taſte, as I finde them ſet down in their *Taxa S. Cancellariæ Apoſtolicæ.*

i Manuduction to Divinity, *pag.* 64, 65, &c.

Sect. III. Tit. 2.

Abſolution for him who lyeth with a Woman in the Church, and committed other crimes, is rated at 6 (*a*) *groſſos*

He that keeps a Concubine, if a Prieſt, muſt pay for his Abſolution 7 *groſ.*

If he be a Lay-man, he muſt pay 8 *groſ.*

If a Lay-man commit Sacriledge by taking holy things out of holy-places, he is well uſed, ſeeing he payeth no more for his Abſolution then 7 *groſ.*

If a man carnally lye with his Mother, Siſter, or other Kinſwoman or God-mother, he ſhall have his Abſolution, paying 5 *groſ.*

Abſolution for him that deflowers a Virgin, is dog-cheap at 6 *groſ.*

If a Prieſt commit Simony, he ſhall have his Abſolution for paying 7 *groſ.*

Abſolution for Perjury is but 6 *groſ.*

a The common value of a *groſſo* is about 4 penny farthing of *Engliſh* money; but ſome in this occaſion will make it about 1 *s.* 6 *d.*

Ib. Tit. 6.

If a Lay-man kill an Abbot, a Monk, a Clerk, or other Prieſt leſs then a Biſhop, he ſhall onely pay for his Abſolution (according to the Quality) 7, 8 *or* 9 *groſ.*

But if a Lay-man onely kill a Lay-man, he ſhall then onely pay 5 *groſ.*

If a Woman be with Childe, and ſhe willingly and on purpoſe deſtroy the ſaid Infant within her, ſhe ſhall have an Abſolution for 5 *groſ.*

And if one kill his Father, Mother, Brother or Wife, he muſt pay for his Abſolution 1 *Ducat, and* 5 (*b*) *Carlins.*

b This is ſometimes valued at the ſame with a *Groſſo.*

This Book was publiſh'd by their own Authority, it may be the better to let the *Romaniſts* ſee what a kinde, loving, and indulgent Mother they have: But how oft it hath been publiſh'd I cannot tell.

It was (*c*) firſt made and printed at *Rome*, in the time of Pope *Leo* X, and was after printed at *Paris* (1522) the (*d*) Kings Priviledge, and the Popes *Bull* being joyned to it. 'Twas the next year (1523) printed at (*e*) *Colen*; and afterwards in that Noble Collection, call'd *Tractatus Illuſtrium virorum*, printed by the King of *France* his Priviledge at *Lyons* 1549. This *Taxa* was alſo then publiſh'd (*f*) amongſt them. And though *Claudius Eſpenceus*, the famous *Sorbonne*-Doctor, was ſo aſhamed of this Book, to be thus by Authority ſo publickly printed and ſold, that he ſolemnly com-

c W. Craſhaw's Mitrimus *to the Jubilee of Rome*, Epiſt. to the Reader.

d Pet. Molin. de Monarch. Temp. Pont. *pag.* 355.

e Laur. Banck. Taxa Epiſt.

f Tract. Illuſt. *Tom.* 16.

(a) complaineth againſt it, yet he gain'd nothing by it, but the ill-will of the Grandees of the *Roman* Religion; thoſe his Comments upon *Titus*, being call'd to an account by their *Index Expurgatorius*, and this paſſage againſt their *Taxa* commanded to be daſht out, leſt, it may be, it ſhould diſcredit their ware, and ſo ſpoil their Trade and Market. And afterwards when theſe foreſaid *Tractatus Illuſtrium* were by the command of Pope *Gregory* XIII augmented, and by the care of *Franciſcus Zilettus* publiſh'd at *Venice* 1584, this *Taxa* was alſo (b) reprinted, and with the reſt dedicated and preſented to the ſaid Pope.

a Liber palam ac publicè hic Impreſſus hodieq; ut olim venalis. *Cl. Eſpenc.* Com. in *Titum*, cap. 1. Digreſ. 2.

b *Tom.* 15. *part* 1. *fol* 368, &c.

Theſe ſeveral Editions (and probably ſome others) of this *Taxa* publiſh'd by Authority of the *Romaniſts* themſelves, take off all Replies, as if it might be a cheat: and to this may be added, that the Learned (c) *Laurentius Banck* [who alſo of late reprinted this *Taxa* with his Notes upon it] doth aſſure us, that to his knowledge and eye-ſight, the ſame pardons and abuſes are at this day publickly practiſed at *Rome*. And it is not unworth the obſervation, that though of late Pope *Alexander* VII hath in his *Index Expurgatorius* placed the *Taxa*, yet he excepts nothing againſt the foreſaid Editions, or thoſe printed by the *Romaniſts*, but onely againſt that lately put forth with *Bancks* his (d) Notes or Annotations, or which have been corrupted by (e) Hereticks; though I think it would puzzle him to prove any ſuch corruptions.

c De Tyran. Papæ, *p.* 544, 545, 546, 547.

d V. *Taxa.*

e V. *Praxis.*

Thus you ſee, you may name your ſin, and pardon is to be had at a ſmall rate; nay, they have been ſo kinde, that rather then want your cuſtom, they have ſold Pardons for Sixpence, a Groat or Twopence, a game at Tennis, a Cup of Ale; and with ſome kinde-natured Women they have made more pleaſant bargains.

And here, for the honour of theſe *Money-pardons*, a merry ſtory or two ſhould not be taken amiſs. In the time of *Leo* X, *Tetzelius* was ſent into *Germany* with multitude of Pardons to advance money for the Pope (which were then firſt oppoſed by *Luther*). 'Tis ſaid that this *Tetzelius* affirm'd that he could alſo pardon ſins to come; whereupon a *German* Gentleman bought ſuch an one of him, and afterwards rob'd the *Dominican* Pardoner: *Tetzelius* threatning him, the Gentleman pleads he had bought his Pardon for it, declaring that was the ſin he determin'd to commit: to which *Tetzelius* could not reply.

Mart. Chemnit. Examen Concil. *Trident. part* 4. de Indulg. *Otho. Miland.* Joco-ſeria, *fol.* 44.

About the ſame time, a Shooe-makers Wife buyeth a Pardon, in which was expreſly indulged her, that her ſoul ſhould fly to Heaven as ſoon as ſhe was dead. At laſt the woman dyeth, and is buryed; but her Husband giveth nothing to the Prieſt to pray her ſoul out of *Purgatory*: Whereupon the Shooe-maker is accuſed to the Magiſtrate, who chides him for having no care of his Wives ſoul: the fellow pleads that there is no need for any *Maſs* for it, ſeeing her ſoul was in Heaven before ſhe was buryed; for proof of which, he ſheweth the Popes Pardon: a Teſtimony ſo Authentick, that they durſt neither deny it, or the Pontifick Authority; whereby the Cobler came off clear.

Wulph. Muſcul. loci communes, *pag.* 394.

But another ſtory I meet with, where the Judge being a party, he was not ſo honeſt in his determination; in ſhort thus: A *German* Gentleman, according to his Fathers will, paid yearly ſuch a ſum to a Neighbouring Monaſtery, that the Monks therein ſhould pray for the deliverance of his Fathers ſoul out of *Purgatory*. At laſt

Mat. Flav. Illyric. de Sectis Pap. *pag.* 220.

laſt, the Gentleman underſtanding that they brag'd that they had Pardons which could deliver any ſoul, he buys one of them for his Fathers ſoul; which for more certainty was confirm'd by their Monaſteries Seal, and ſubſcrib'd by their General and themſelves. Thus being cock-ſure of the happineſs of his Fathers ſoul, he refuſed afterwards to pay them the Annual Stipend he uſed formerly to do: whereupon the Monks appeal to the Biſhop, who gravely Decreeth, that the Gentleman muſt continue the payment, though his Fathers ſoul were quit from Purgatory by the former Pardon.

But becauſe ſome may be unwilling to trudge as far as *Rome* for Pardons, or to go any whither elſe upon ſuchlike Pilgrimages; and others, either through poverty or covetouſneſs, may grudge to give any thing for their Abſolutions, which they ſuppoſe ſhould be given them freely: therefore the Popes (good ſouls) not willing to give the leaſt diſcontent to any of their Children, have, out of their good nature, and fulneſs of Authority, afforded them Pardon and Heaven at as eaſie and lazie a rate as heart could wiſh; and they need not queſtion the Authority of their Popes, ſeeing 'tis a ſure Rule, that when his Holyneſs giveth Plenary Abſolution, (a) *It is to be underſtood, that he abſolveth as well from the Puniſhment, as the ſin, be the ſin never ſo great or abominable.*

a Quando Papa concedit plenariam Abſolutionem, intelligitur, quod abſolvit tam à culpa quam à pœna quoad omnia peccata quantumq; enormiſſima. Vid. *Domin.* Card. *Tuſch.* Practicarum Concluſionum juris, Tom. 4. v. *Indulgent.* & 6.

And as for theſe ſo frankly and freely beſtowed Indulgences, for the honour and comfort of the *Engliſh-Romaniſt*, I ſhall go no farther for them then the

Horæ Beatæ Virginis Mariæ.

And this according as it was uſed at *Salisbury*: and in this I ſhall onely follow the Edition of *Paris* 1527, becauſe the greateſt coſt and care hath been taken in that Impreſſion, both for Pictures and Ornaments, of any I have yet ſeen. And now bleſs your eyes, and behold the Popes Treaſure open'd.

Pardon for days. *Vid.* Fol. 165. *a.*

Pope *John* XXII hath granted to them that ſhall ſay this Prayer, *Ave caro, Chriſti caro*, &c. at the Elevation, pardon for 100 *days.* Fol. 73. *a.*

Pope *Celeſtine* hath granted to them that ſhall ſay in honour of the B. Virgin this Prayer, *Ave mundi ſpes Maria*, &c. pardon for 300 *days.* Fol. 58. *a.*

Pope *John* XXII hath granted them that ſhall ſay this Prayer, *Stabat Mater doloroſa*, &c. pardon for 300 *days.* Fol. 61. *b.*

Pope *Anaſtaſius* hath granted to them that ſay this prayer, *Domine Jeſu Chriſte*, &c. pardon for 500 *days.* Fol. 84. *a.*

Pope *John* XXII hath granted them that ſay this prayer, *Anima Chriſti ſanctifica me*, &c. after the Elevation, pardon for 3000 *days.* Fol. 72. *b.*

Pope *John* hath granted to them who ſhall ſay this prayer, *Precor te amantiſſime Domine*, &c. before a Crucifix, as many days of pardon as there were wounds in Chriſts body at his Paſſion, which the Rubrick ſaith were 5465. Fol. 76. *a.*

But

But another Edition [*viz.* at *Paris* 1534.] tells us thus:

Fol. 40. *b.* Pope *Benedict* XII, made this prayer (*Gratias ago tibi Domine*, &c.) and gave to all them that devoutly said it, as many days of pardon as our Lord had wounds, that is 6646 *days.*

So here you must take your choice, but consult first, which of the two Popes is to be believed.

Fol. 86. *a.* Pope *Innocent* II hath granted to them that shall say this Prayer, *Ave vulnus lateris*, &c. pardon for 4000 *days.*

Fol. 165. *a.* Pope *John* hath granted to them who shall say this prayer, *Miserere Domine animabus*, &c. as many days of pardon as there are Christian bodies buryed.

Pardon for years.

Fol. 73. *b.* Pope *Innocent* hath granted to them that shall say this prayer, *Salve lux mundi*, &c. at the Elevation, pardon for 7 *years.*

Fol. 61. *b.* Pope *Boniface* hath granted to them that shall say this prayer, *Stabat Mater dolorosa*, &c. pardon for 7 *years and* 40 *Lents.*

Fol. 79. *a.* Pope *Gregory* hath granted to them that shall say these five little prayers, *Ave manus dextra Christi*, &c. with five *Pater Nosters*, five *Ave Maria*'s, and a *Credo*, pardon for 500 *years*

Fol. 72, 73. Pope *Boniface* VI hath granted to them that shall say this prayer, *Domine Jesu Christe*, &c. pardon for 10000 *years.*

Fol. 92. Pope *Alexander* VI hath granted to them that say this prayer, *Ave Maria gratia plena*, &c. pardon for 10000 *years.*

Fol. 56. *b.* Pope *Sixtus* IV hath granted to them that say this prayer, *Ave Sanctissima Maria*, &c. before the Image of our Lady, pardon for 11000 *years.*

Fol. 80. *b.* Pope *John* XXII hath granted to them that shall say these three prayers, *Domine Jesu Christe*, &c. pardon for 1000000 *years.*

And though this last pardon be for a pretty number of years, *viz.* ten hundred thousand, yet they will go a little farther, and assure the *Romanists*, that whosoever of them shall say a prayer, beginning *O Deus Propitius esto mihi*, &c. that his soul shall not enter into Hell. And they will give you another prayer, at the saying of which you shall be [illegible] both Hell and Purgatory. And of late days the *English* have been very careful to procure such Pardons and Absolutions, as appears by some of them publish'd by Mr. (*a*) *Gee*, to whom I shall refer the Reader.

Fol. 77. *a.* Fol. 86.

a New Shreds, p. 77, 78, *&c.*

But as for *Purgatory*, whose particular description of every hole and cranny in it, and what pretty sport the Devils have there, you have at large described to you by *Matthew Paris*, *Philip Osullevan*, and others; and of the particular cheat of St. *Patricks* little hole, Bishop *Jones* hath given a sufficient Narrative. I say, as for *Purgatory*, there need no great care or trouble to be taken, seeing that *Mass* is not worth a rush that cannot deliver a soul thence, especially if said by the Monks of *Cluny* Abby; in the time of whose Abbot (*b*) *Odilo*, the place and intrigues of this tormenting Cavern were fully discover'd to mankinde: And it was an unlucky observation of a *German*, that if there be a Purgatory

b See their Legendaries, 1 *Jan.* and 2 *Novemb.*

gatory, ſouls could not ſtay long there: of which take the ſtory thus in ſhort.

This merry fellow of *Antwerp* was accuſed to the *Inquiſitors*, for ſaying amongſt his companions, that there was no Purgatory; and in behalf of himſelf thus pleaded,—— *That according to the Sermons he us'd to hear, there was either no Purgatory, or no ſouls in it; for we are taught that* Turks, Jews, Pagans, Hereticks, *and the wicked go forthwith to Hell, and none goeth to Purgatory but Penitent* Chriſtians; *of which there is no great number, as you daily lament and complain. We are alſo taught that every* Maſs *delivers one ſoul out of* Purgatory; *and beſides, multitude of ſouls are deliver'd by* Pardons *and* Indulgences; *and it is plain that there are more* Maſſes *ſaid then Penitent* Chriſtians *dye; whereby it followeth, that there is either no Purgatory, or that it is empty.*—— At which, the *Inquiſitors* knowing this uſed daily to be preach'd, let the Wag go, but chid him for medling with that which did not belong to him. *Lod. Lavater. de Spectris, part 2. c. 13. M. Fl. Illyric. de ſectis Pap. pag. 219.*

According to this, *Purgatory* is no ſuch Bug-bear; ſo that nothing is now left to deter a *Romaniſt* from committing what he pleaſeth, but the fear of Hell it ſelf: Yet the bold *Roman* need not cool or ſtagger his reſolution for this, ſeeing the Pope hath ſuch an Intereſt and Authority in Hell alſo, that even thence he can deliver the tormented ſoul, as ſome (a) *Romaniſts* affirm; elſe why ſhould they tell us that Pope *Gregory* the Great redeem'd the Emperour *Trajan's* ſoul, and St. *Tecla* did *Falaonilla's*? and in Vindication of the former, no leſs man then *Alphonſus Ciaconius* hath publiſh'd a particular Book, where you may ſee more: and if they can do thus for Pagans, what may they not do for the ſons of their own Church? And no queſtion but that his Holineſs will venture much of his credit to redeem a ſoul of one of his ſons from Hell, when he would allow his friends to make uſe of the Devil for the amendment of their bodies, as it is ſaid Pope (c) *Nicholas* V. once indulged an intimate friend of his. (a) D. *Damaſcen.* Serm. de defunctis. *Jo. Diac.* vit. *Greg.* apud *Surium. Vincent. Bellucenſ.* Spec. Hiſt. *l.* 10. *c.* 68. *Antonin.* Chron. part 2. Tit. 12. c. 3. ☞ 8. *B. Brigittæ* Revelat. *lib.* 4. *c* 13. *Abulenſ.* 4 Regum, *c.* 4. *q.* 57. *Barth. Medina* in 3. D. *Thom* q. 52. art. 5. *Ric. de Media* villa in 4. ſent. diſt. 45. art. 2. q 1. *Sigebert. Gembl.* Chron. an. 592. *Gotfrid. Viterbienſ.* Panth. *part* 15. *Sixtus Senenſ.* Biblioth. *lib* 6. Annot. 47. *Fil. Bergamo* Chron. fol 284. *Zac. Lippello.* 12 *Martii.*

b Vid. *Sennert.* lib. 6. part 9. cap. 8.

The *Predeſtinarian Turks*, under the notion of having their Fortune writ on their Foreheads, joyfully venture their beings upon the greateſt hazards: and it hath (c) formerly been obſerved, that the true *Romaniſt* would boldly commit any villany, under the ſecurity or ſhadow of theſe *Pardons* or *Indulgences*, which he by Tradition ſuppoſed to be Protection enough both to himſelf and ſins.

a His mercium nundinationibus fimul & ſpoliato eſt ære *Germania* & Chriſti pietas extincta quando quilibet , quod in has merces expenderat, modo peccandi impunitatem ſibi pollicebatur: hinc Stupra, Inceſtus, Adulteria, Perjuria, Homicidia, Furta, Rapinæ, Fœnera, ac cœtera malorum Lerna ſemel originem ſibi traxerunt. Quod enim malorum amplius jam horrebunt mortales, quando ſibi peccandi licentiam ac impunitatem nedum in vita, ſed & poſt obitum (ære licet immodico), comparari poſſe à Nundinatoribus illis Indulgentiariis, ſemel perſuaſum habent? —— —— Verum ſi quis unde numerer, habeat, jam nedum Præſentes ſadulgentur harum conſtitutionum tranſgreſſiones, ſed & in futurum impune, ut eas ipſas tranſgredi liceat, indulto permittitur. Quo fit ut anſam inde accipiant ii, cum quibus ita diſpenſatum eſt, Perjerandi, Homicidia, Adulteria, & ſimilia flagitia perpetrandi, quando quilibet ex Sacerdotum vulgo, Abſolutionem emptitiam virtute indulti his impartiri poteſt. *Gravam.* Germ. ☞ 3, 6.

But what need we talk of guilt or ſins, or trouble our heads about procuring Indulgences or Pardons? as if he that is obedient

to the commands of the Pope, and a through-paced ſon of the *Roman* Church, could in his ſo doing, either commit the one, or ſtand in need of the other.

As for the *Church* of *Rome*, to which this grand *All-obedience* is due, 'tis nothing elſe but the (*a*) Pope and his Cardinals, as ſome ſay; or, as others will have it, by the *Church* there is nothing elſe to be underſtood but the (*b*) Pope, whoſe almighty Infallibility is not to be call'd in queſtion.

a Cardinales cum Papa conſtituunt Eccleſiam Rom— Quare Epiſc. jurans fidelitatem Eccleſiæ Rom. & Papæ & ſucceſſoribus ejus, obligat ſe non tantum ipſi Papæ, ſed Collegio Cardinalium. *Mar. Alterucſ.* diſput. de Cenſuris Eccleſ. *Tom.*1. *lib.*5. *diſp.*14. *cap.*1. *pag.*655.

b *Jacob. Gretſer* defenſ. Catd. *Bellarmin. lib.*3. *cap.*10. *col.*1450.

Andr. du Val de Eccleſiaſtica & Politica poteſtate, *pag.* 88,89.

Therefore if there be any doubt of any thing, the Holy Scriptures, and other ſuch means muſt be thrown aſide, as being doubtful, and like the *Lesbian* or Leaden Rule, may be bended this way or that way, and ſo may ſerve for any mans turn; they muſt therefore not be credited or truſted to. And ſo none is to be judge but the Pope, who in his determinations cannot erre, neither of right, or matter of fact: for which we need go no farther then the poſitive ſentiment and judgement of their grand Maſters the Jeſuits of their Colledge of *Clermont*, in their publick *Theſes*, publiſh'd by themſelves to be held, vindicated, and maintained againſt all the World; and that of very late days, as appears by part of it as followeth.

XIX *Chriſtum nos ita caput agnoſcimus, ut illius Regimen dum in Cœlos abiit, primum* Petro, *tum deinde Succeſſoribus commiſerit, & EANDEM QUAM HABUIT IPSE INFALLIBILITATEM conceſſerit, quoties ex Cathedra loquerentur.*

We acknowledge *Chriſt* ſo to be the Head (*of the Church*) that during his abſence in Heaven, he hath given the Government thereof, firſt to *Peter*, and then to his Succeſſors; and beſtowed unto the Popes his Succeſſors THE VERY SELF-SAME INFALLIBILITY WHICH HE HIMSELF HAD, as often as they ſpeak *e Cathedra.*

XX *Datur ergo in* E.R. *Controverſiarum fidei Judex Infallibilis, ETIAM EXTRA CONCILIUM GENERALE, tum in Queſtionibus Juris, tum FACTI,* &c.

There is therefore Conſtituted in the Church of *Rome* an Infallible Judge [i.e. the *Pope*] of Faith, and that even without a General Council, as well in queſtions appertaining to Right, as in matters of Fact.

Propugnabuntur, Deo Duce & auſpice Virgine, in Aula Collegii *Claromontani*, Societatis Jeſu, die XII *Decembris* 1661.

Theſe ſhall be defended, by the aſſiſtance of God, and the favour of the Virgin, in the Hall of the Colledge of Clermont, *belonging to the Society of Jeſus, the* XII *day of* December 1661.

And by their *Canon-law*, 'tis as plain as a Pike-ſtaff, that the Popes (*b*) Decretory Letters, not onely carry Authority along with

b Diſt.19. c.*Si Romanorum.*

with them, and what he (*a*) commands to be obey'd, and are to be received as if they were the very words of (*b*) St. *Peter*; but they are alſo to be reckon'd and eſteem'd as authentick as the Word of God, or (*c*) Holy Scriptures themſelves.

Therefore, they ſay, 'tis (*d*) Sacriledge to queſtion the Popes actions, and downright (*e*) Paganiſm not to obey him: and he is (*f*) curſt of God who violates the Popes Cenſures; ſo we muſt be (*g*) obedient to him upon peril of our Souls.

a Ib. c. *Enimvero.*
b Ib. c. *Sic Omnes.*
c Ib. c. *In Canonicis.*
d Diſt. 40. c. *Non nos* Gloſſ. *Quis enim*
e Diſt. 81. c. *Si qui ſunt.*
f 25 q. 1. c. *Generali decreto.*
g Extra. Com. l. 1. Tit. 8. c. *unam Sanctam.*

And no leſs man then their late great Saint, *Ignatius Loyola*, layeth this down for a certain and perpetual Rule of Obedience:

> *If the Church affirm that to be black, which our own eyes judge to be white, we ought alſo then to declare that it is black.*

—Si quid quod oculis noſtris apparet album nigrum illa eſſe definierit, debemus itidem, quod nigrum ſit, pronunciare. *Ignat.* Exercitia Spiritualia apud finem, Regulæ aliquot ſervandæ ut cum Orthodoxa Eccleſia verè ſentiamus. Reg. 13.

And we are not to queſtion the Truth and Authority of this Rule, being ſo ſtrongly confirm'd, commended and ratified by the (*h*) *Bull* of Pope *Paul* III, as every thing alſo is, which is contain'd in the ſaid *Exercitia Spiritualia*: and how can any thing be amiſs in it, if it was, as ſome ſay, by Inſpiration from Heaven dictated to *Ignatius*?

h 1548.

And now who dares call himſelf a ſon of the *Roman* Church, and not be of the ſame Religion with the Pope? be of the ſame Opinion? Obey his commands and dictates, ſeeing there is no difference between the ſentiment and judgement of the (*i*) Pope, and that of God: and what a grand Power and Authority the Pope hath, for diverſion ſake take them thus in verſe, out of *Andrew Melvin*, from their own Writers.

i Sententia Papæ & ſententia Dei una eſt ſententia. *Auguſt. de Ancona*, Q. 6. art. 2.

Quod Papa Romanus *vult, norma eſt juris & æqui;*
Quod Papa cumq; facit, ratum habet Deus æthere in alto;
Poſſe Papam quodcunq; Deus; par, æqua poteſtas
Cumq; Deo Chriſtoq; Papæ commune Tribunal.
Eſt major Paulo *Papa: major fœdere priſco.*
Contra Evangelium ſtatuit Papa, Scriptaq; Pauli,
Articulos fidei condens, Oecomenicumq;
Concilium cogens, decretaq; ſancta reformans.
Si currus plenos animarum ad Tartara trudat
Secum ipſe, haud quiſquam potis eſt contendere contra;
Dicere cur facis hoc? Stat pro ratione voluntas.

Delit. Poet. Scot. vol. 2. pag. 150.

The Papal Fiat *of all right is the guide;*
What he doth here, in Heaven is Ratifi'd:
He acts as God, their Powers ſo equal are,
And God, Chriſt, Pope, have but one judgement-chair.
Then Paul *or th'* Old-law, *he's more great and true;*
He can command 'gainſt Paul *and* Goſpel *too.*

Can frame new Rules of Faith, the old Caſheer;
And over General Councils domineer.
If he to Hell millions of Souls ſhould draw,
Tet none muſt aſk him why? *His will is Law.*

40 Diſt. c. Si Papa.

Nor need this ſeem ſtrange to thoſe who are aſſured by good Authority, that ſome have held the Pope for no leſs then a (*a*) God, and accordingly could command all both in Heaven and Earth.

a—Æſtimant Papam eſſe unum Deum, qui habet poteſtatem omnem in Cœlo & Terra. *Johan. Gerſon.* Tom. 2. Reſolut. circa materiam Excommunicationum & Irregularitat. Conſid. 11.

Tindal diſputing with one thought a Learned Doctor, drave him to that iſſue, that he burſt out,—— *We had better be without Gods Laws then the Popes.* —— *Tho. Fuller's Abel Redivivus*, pag. 127.

Thus you ſee the more then Hogan Mogan Authority (of which you ſhall hear more hereafter) of your Infallible Lord; whereby you cannot do amiſs, as long as you obey his heſts and commands, be it againſt King, Country or Parents; for againſt all theſe 'tis ſaid that he hath a juriſdiction to hound you. And for a farther incouragement, he maketh no ſmall uſe of the word *Heretick*; and all muſt be ſuch, who do not ſwear, right or wrong, to him or his Church. And if a Governour be not of the *Roman* Church, and ſo by their conſequence be an Heretick, this following Treatiſe will tell you what is to be done with him: and their *Bulla Cœnæ Domini*, publiſh'd every year at *Rome* and other places on *Maundy-Thurſday* [the *Thurſday* before *Eaſter*] will tell you how they are Curs'd and Excommunicated to the purpoſe. And according to the (*b*) *Canon-law*, he that kills an Excommunicated perſon, in meer Zeal for the *Roman* Church, doth not incur the crime of Homicide.

b Non enim eos homicidas arbitramur, quos adverſus Excommunicatos Zelo Catholicæ matris ardentes aliquos eorum trucidaſſe contigeret. 23. q. 5. *cap.* 147. Excommunicatorum.

Amongſt other things, this *Bull* damns to the Pit of Hell all thoſe who ſhall aſſiſt or carry Arms to any Hereticks: upon which (*c*) *Marius Alterius* ſtarts this *Quære*:

c De Cenſuris Eccleſiaſticis, *lib.* 5. *Diſput.* 8. *cap.* 2. *pag.* 527. & poſtulabit quis.

If ſuch prohibited things be convey'd to the ſubjects of a Prince expreſly by the Papal ſentence declared an Heretick; whether then, the Conveyers are by this Bull *Excommunicated?*

To which the ſaid *de Alterius* giveth this doughty and *Roman* Anſwer:

If the Subjects (under the Heretical Prince) to whom the Arms are carryed, be of the Roman *Religion, hate their Prince, and deſire (if they have ability) to free themſelves from his Tyranny or Government; and to that end, do ſecretly ſeek Arms, to imploy them at the firſt opportunity for the deſtruction of the ſaid Heretical Prince; then,* as this great Doctor thinketh, the Aiders or Aſſiſters *do no ways incur Excommunication.*

Thus would they intrude upon us a pretty *Salvo* for Treaſon, and

and no ſmall incouragement for Rebellion, if to Depoſe Kings may be titled ſuch.

Again, the Popes Infallibility, being by ſome ſo highly cry'd up, it is no hard matter to make a good-meaning *Romaniſt* believe, that it is his beſt and ſafeſt way to obey the Pope in every thing he commandeth, though it were againſt his King and Country; of which this following Hiſtory will afford many inſtances: and this King-depoſing Doctrine being ſo ſtifly maintain'd as a grand Article, by their moſt Authentick Papal Writers, the inferiour *Romaniſt* will think himſelf obliged to credit it, and his great Judge the Pope, who if he *did erre in this point, how can they reſt aſſured that he did not erre in other points of Faith?* to retort (*a*) *Michæas* his Rule.

(*a*) *Joh. Clare* The converted Jew, *part* 3. *pag.* 17.

But concerning *Infallibility*, I finde a war amongſt themſelves; and our *Engliſh* men, when it cometh to a pinch, are as unſetled as they think their Neighbours are.

Father (*b*) *White* (one of very deſperate Principles as to Government) doth in the name of the *Romaniſts, flatly deny* that the *Pope* is *Infallible*, affirming the contrary to be *Injuriouſly impos'd upon* them *by Sectaries*: And Father (*c*) *Caron* (of better Tenents then the former) is of Opinion that the Pope with any other aſſiſtance whatever (unleſs a General Council) may erre; and this of late he undertakes to prove at large. And farther, *White* confeſſeth, that it is not yet known where this *Infallibility* lyeth: For, ſaith he,— (*d*) *ſome place it in the Pope, ſome in a General Council, ſome in both, ſome in the whole Church.* And a later Writer, grants ſeveral *Infallibilities*.— (*e*) *The Infallibility of the Church, Councils and Tradition, depend ſo neceſſarily upon each other* (*that*) *whatever Authorities prove the Infallibility of any one, do in effect, and by good conſequence prove the ſame of all the reſt.*

(*b*) Controverſie-Logick, *pag.*212,213.

(*c*) Remonſtr. Hibernorum, *part* 5. *cap.*28. *p.*85,86, *&c.*

(*d*) Controverſ. Log. *p.*96.

(*e*) Labyrinth. Cantuarienſis, *pag.*177.

But methinks we need not ſtand ſo reſolutely upon Religion or Church, ſince the Author of *Fiat Lux* aſſures us, that Time will alter any Religion.— (*f*) *A Religion once eſtabliſh'd, be it true or falſe* (*when it is once received, it is then taken for true*;) *in the ſpace of ſome ſucceeding ages is reformed anew by other Teachers or Interpreters, who in time lead men out of the former way into their own; ſometimes ſlowly, gradually and inſenſibly, that they are brought into another Religion before they be aware: ſometimes by open hoſtility to the former, which whether by Covin or violence, yeilds at laſt to the Ingreſs of a new one.*

(*f*) Fiat Lux, *pag.*73,74.

If thus Religion it ſelf will vary and alter in time, there needs not be ſuch a confidence placed in their Infallibility: and yet 'tis pretty to obſerve, that this their grand Rule, which on all occaſions they call to their aſſiſtance, they do not know where to fix or finde; and that which muſt judge the reſt, is of it ſelf unſetled and uncertain. And they grant that a Church that is (*g*) fallible may lawfully be forſaken. But this by the by, and I ſhall confeſs nothing to the purpoſe, as being beſides my deſigne, and ſo the leſs careful in its haſty ſcribling.

(*g*) *S. W.* Schiſm. diſarmed, *pag.* 22,26,28.

As for this King-depoſing Doctrine, though it be poſitively taught and believed at *Rome*, by Pope, Cardinals, their greateſt Doctors, and every where by thoſe whom his Holineſs looks upon as through-paced ſons to him and his Church; and thoſe who abſolutely deny this Article (as *Widdrington, Caron, Barckley*, &c.)

&c.) are with their books cenſured and prohibited, as rotten, unſound and falſe ware: yet in Countries far enough from *Rome*, when this point cometh to a pinch and a ſerious debate, then we ſhall ſee ſome of them, like *Coton*, and the other *French* Jeſuits, to have two Conſciences, one at *Rome*, and another at home.

As when any miſchief is done, the Childe cryeth Nobody did it, thereby thinking to ſecure it ſelf: ſo now, when ſome Kings and Princes have look'd upon this King-depoſing Doctrine as wicked and dangerous; we have ſome of the ſecular Prieſts, and ſome *French* of a freer humour, will throw all the fault upon the *Jeſuit*, and would gladly make the world believe that all other *Roman* Catholicks are innocent as to theſe accuſations, being true Subjects to their Prince, and Enemies to Treaſon or Sedition; and that the contrary Principles are onely taught by the Jeſuits: to which Order, many other Catholicks having no good will, make it their buſineſs to expoſe them, as much as they can; and this Quarrel is now grown to ſuch an height, that there appears no ſignes of a Reconciliation; which every day weakens the Papal Authority, and may in time ſqueez that juriſdiction within its own narrow limits.

The truth is, ſome other Orders think the Jeſuits carry too high an hand, and others ſuppoſe them too buſie and active in State-affairs, and have been the Fomenters of many troubles and Wars in *Europe*; to which purpoſe I meet with this biting Character.

Martem norunt animare
Et Tumultus ſuſcitare
Inter Reges & ſedare.

Tanquam ſancti adorantur,
Tanquam Reges dominantur,
Tanquam Fures deprædantur.

Dominantur temporale,
Dominantur ſpirituale,
Dominantur omnia male.

Hos igitur Jeſuitas
Nebulones Hypocritas
Fuge ſi Cœlica quæras.

Vita namq; Chriſtianv
Abhorret ab hoc doctrina
Tanquam ficta & Inſana.

Another will offer theſe Anagrams upon the word JESUITA,

ES VITIA,
and
SEVITIA.

I, non es vita at VITIA ES & mortis Imago,
Et Sævitia *dans vim tibi nomen erit.*

But

But this following, for its brevity and pithineſs, may carry away the Bell:

Seductor Sueco: Gallo *Sicarius*: Anglo
Proditor: Imperio *Explorator*: Davus Ibero:
Italo *adulator*: *dixi teres ore*, ---Suitam.

Nay, the very *Spaniards*, though great admirers of the Papal Prerogative, and might have ſome reſpect for this Order, their Founder *Ignatius* being their Countryman; yet have ſome pique againſt them, as appears by this Libel, found in the *Spaniſh* Court, by way of the *Jeſuits Ten Commandments*.

Los Mandamientes *de los* Teatinos
Mas humanos ſon que Divinos.

1. *Adquirir mucho dinero.*
2. *Sugetar todo el mundo.*
3. *Buen Capon, y buen Carnero.*
4. *Comprar Barato, y vender caro.*
5. *Con el blanco aguar el tinto.*
6. *Tener ſiempre el lomo en ſieſto.*
7. *Guardarſe bien del ſereno.*
8. *Obrar lo ſuyo y lo ageno.*
9. *Hazar del Penetente eſclavo.*
10. *Meſclarſe en caſas d' eſtado.*

Eſtos diez Mandamientes *ſe encierran en dos:*
Todo para mi, y nada para vos.

The *Ten Commandments* the *Jeſuits* ſigne,
Are far more Humane then they are Divine.

1. *Great Riches ſee you do procure.*
2. *Bring the whole world to your lure.*
3. *Eat fat Capons, and the beſt cheer.*
4. *Buy but cheap, yet ſell full dear.*
5. *Water your red wine with white.*
6. *Lye with eaſe, and warmth at night.*
7. *Keep you from th' ill evening ayres.*
8. *Do your own and others affairs.*
9. *Make ſlaves of your Penitents.*
10. *Plot in State-deeds and Events.*

Theſe Ten Commandments *are thus made* two;
All for my ſelf, nothing at all for you.

But too much of this Learned Order, whoſe exact or *Blinde Obedience* (as their Founder words it) is maligned by ſome others, who have faults enough of their own; and make a clamour againſt theſe Fathers, not that the other are of ſounder principles, but thereby to turn people eyes upon another Object, that their own faults might not be take notice of. Cæca Obedientia.

But though *Clark* and *Watſon*, the two ſecular Prieſts, ranted dap-

dapperly againſt the *Jeſuits*, as the onely Teachers and Inſtructors of Sedition and Treaſon; yet ſcarce was a year turn'd round, but theſe pretended good Subjects were taken napping in Rebellion, and accordingly had their reward. And as for the Tenents of the Jeſuits, I finde the Fathers Reply to that Objection, that (a) neither *Bellarmine*, *Gretſerus*, nor any other particular Jeſuit whatſoever, do teach any thing but what is held for a truth, and believed by the Church it ſelf.

a —On dira toujours que *Bellarmine*, *Gretſerus* & les Peres Jeſuites en corps & en particulier, ne croyent & ne croyront, n' enſeignent & n' enſigneront autre choſe que ce qu' en croit l' Egliſe. *Reſponce* Apologetiq; à l' Anticoton. *pag.* 90.

What they mean by the Church of *Rome*, we have told you from themſelves formerly; and 'tis certain that according to Hiſtory, the Pope hath been ſo active in maintaining this King-depoſing Doctrine, and ſo furious and active with his Sword, that even honeſt *Paſquin* thought himſelf obliged to keep to the Proverb, *Whilſt thou art at* Rome, *do as they do.* And thus to Apologize for the Pope, and anſwer all Objections.

Henr. Eſtien. Apol. pour *Herod. p.* 382.

Quum tibi non ætas habilis ſit Cæraphe bello,
Et caſtris habeas cognita clauſtra magis:
Quum deſit miles belliq; pecunia nervus,
Quis te præcipitem cogit ad arma furor?
Infirmis humeris damnata quid induis arma?
Quæ tibi cum libeat ponere, non liceat?
Cur reſpirantem & curantem vulnera mundum,
Concutis & Martem *ſolus ad arma cies?*
Da miſeris requiem & ſpatium concede malorum,
Si nobis Pater es, ſi tua cura ſumus.
Conde ſenex gladium, & Chriſti reminiſcere berbi;
Quod dixit Petro, *dixit & ille tibi.*

To this, *Paſquino*, (one would think a doughty *Romaniſt*) thus returns an anſwer in behalf of his Holineſs.

Quod dixit Petro *Chriſtus, nolim eſſe putetis*
Dictum (Pontificum pace Petriq;*) mihi.*
Nam neq; ſum Petri *ſucceſſor, nec quoq; talem*
Agnoſcit bona pars Chriſticolorum hodie.
Pauli *ego (ſucceſſu cæptis meliore deinceps*
Dii faveant) ſumpſi nomen & arma ſimul:
Et Chriſti verbi memor intrepiduſq; miniſter,
NON VENI PACEM MITTERE, SED GLADIUM.

And now Gentlemen, though at the beginning I gave you (I hope) good Reaſons for this my undertaking; yet becauſe the other diſcourſes intervening might poſſibly daſh them out of your memories, give me leave to reminde you of them, with this previſo, that I think my Mother the Church of *England* a good Church, and the King our Soveraign a true and lawful King.

b Vid. *Edm. Champion* Epiſt. ad conſiliarios Reginæ *Elizab.* præfix. Ration.

And therefore (in ſhort) when I finde a compact amongſt your (b) Jeſuits, never to give over their attempts, till they have either ruin'd themſelves, or reduced *England* to their *Romiſh* obedience,

When

When I finde (*a*) you declare that our Kings have *forfeited the claim* to the Title of the *Defender of the Faith*.

When I finde you refuse the Oath of Allegiance, one reason being, because it will not allow the Pope to have a true right and authority to depose Kings, and to absolve subjects of their Oaths of Allegiance.

When I finde you in your very (*b*) Apologies for your selves, confess the *Romanists* to be but conditional Subjects, *i. e.* onely to one of your own perswasion in Religion; as is farther proved all along in this History, that Heretical Kings may be depos'd.

When I finde you in your late (*c*) *Remonstrance* and *Petition* to his present sacred Majesty King *Charles* II. come off so bluntly in relation to his Majesties life, and your own loyalty, in these really insignificant, yet too much significant words. —— *And we do hold it impious, and against the Word of God, to maintain that* ANY PRIVATE SUBJECT MAY KILL *or* MURTHER *the* ANOYNTED *of God*, HIS PRINCE, though of a different belief and Religion.

And what will they have to be the meaning of these idle words? though they will not have a *Ravaillac* to kill a King, will they allow of an *English Rump*, or a *French League* to order the same? though they will not allow a private person, will they think it legal, if done by a Representative, a Popular Convention, or the three Estates? But a word is enough to the wise; and 'tis dangerous sometimes to speak too plain.

When I finde your selves confess that even since the happy Restauration of his Majestie, —— (*d*) *Some of you have given sufficient demonstrations of their failing in the duty of good Subjects*; and that some of your *Tenents* have been (*e*) *inconsistent*, and *injurious to good Government*.

And yet for all this, to take upon you the confidence of declaring to the world your innocencie and loyalty, and that Treason and Sedition are onely the Principles of us *English* Hereticks (the *Puritan* and *Phanatick*, I grant, are as wicked as your heart could wish) for so you are pleas'd to nominate all those who are true sons of the Church of *England*: Upon these slanders, in respect of this Church, I could not but think my self obliged to shew to the world where, as to this case, the truth is; and in so doing, shew my self a dutiful son in vindicating his Mother.

A Church famous for her Loyalty and Sufferings; not one of her Constitutions intrenching upon the Crown, nor any of her sons faithless or rebellious to his Prince: whereas that of *Rome*, by her Popes, *Bulls*, Constitutions, Pen-men and Sword-men, have destroy'd Nations, harras'd Kingdoms, Dethron'd Emperours, Depos'd and Murdred Princes, trampled upon Crowns and Scepters: In a word, hath declared (*f*) Loyalty a Crime, Treason a signe of true *Roman* Religion; look'd upon her self as the Supreme Judge of the world in all cases; usurp'd a power to dispose of all Dominions, to dethrone Monarchs, and absolve Subjects from their *Oaths* of *Allegiance*.

a *S. W.* Schism. disarmed, *pag.* 181.

b Image of both Churches, *pag.* 171, 172.

c *Vid.* The *Roman* Clergy of *Irelands* Remonstr. before *P. Welsh*'s more ample Account.

d *P. Welsh* more ample Accompt, *pag.* 32.

e Id. *p.* 43, 44.

f —— Illos quod bella civilia abhorrerent, à nobis & Imperio deficere nollent, crimen læsæ Majestatis, scelus perfidiæ admittere recusarent; —— Hæresios nota inussit. *Jo. Aventin.* Annal. *Boiorum*, lib. 7. *pag.* 613.

Some

Some may fancie (a) *Mahomet* in his *Alcoran*, the first absolver of Oaths; and that Pope *Zachary* presently after put it in practice against *Childeric* King of *France*.

But letting this pass, we have it from good Authority, that there were formerly a *Sect* amongst the *Turks* call'd *Assasini* [whence we say to Assassinate;] they lived in the Mountains of *Phœnicia* towards *Tyre*: their Government and chiefest Laws were these.

Their Governour or Master was not Hereditary, but Elective.

He under the Notion of Humility, as if he would be onely the servant of servants, refused all lofty Titles, being onely call'd the *Old man of the Mountains*.

Was honour'd and worship'd as *Vicar* to *Mahomet*, and so their Father and Prophet.

They pretended to be such exact Observers of their *Turkish* or *Mahometan* Laws, that all other seem'd but as meer cheats, or *Non-conformists* in respect of them.

They were led with that *Blinde Obedience*, that they never question'd their Masters command: be the action never so dangerous, difficult or wicked, they never left off till it was finish'd.

Any Prince whom they either hated, or thought to be no friend to them or their party, upon the least hint they would Murther, though they were sure to suffer for it.

Whosoever murther'd a Prince, that was not of their Religion, they believed him to have the second place next to *Mahomet* in Paradise.

For they also believed that the *Old man*, their Head and Prophet, could also dispose of *Paradise*.

'Tis said that this Sect was long ago destroy'd by the *Tartars*; and whether any who call themselves *Christians* have espous'd their Tenents, I shall not say.

But to return. As for the Pope, though the Pagan King of *Peru* might call him a (b) *great impudent fool*; though the great Turk might call him the (c) *King of Fools*; or though *Marbizan* the *Mahometan* might term *Pius* II's *Bulls* onely (d) *Epigrams*: yet it may seem to go hard, when those he pretends to be his own sons should shew no more respect to him; as when *Philip* King of *France* call'd him *Tour Foolishness*; and the Emperour *Maximilian* I. should say he was onely (e) *King of Fools*. But methinks *Sancho*, Brother to the King of *Arragon* (if my Author mistake not, another onely saith *Spain*) was most ingeniously even with his Holiness; and bit the closer, by seeming to do him the greater honour: the story in brief thus.

Pope *Adrian* IV supposing he had Authority to dispose of all Kingdoms in the world, gave to the former *Sanctius* the Land of *Ægypt*, then in Possession of the *Sarazens*; yet he should have it, if he would take but the small pains to conquer it; and accordingly at *Rome* proclaims him King of *Egypt*: so bountiful and noble was this *English Breakspear*. *Sancho* informed of this, would not be behinde-hand with his Holiness in courtesie, and so very gravely proclaimed the Pope to be *Caliph of Bandas*, which

a *Surata* 76. Edit lat. 1550. or *Surat.* 66.

Mat. Paris pag. 83. *Hen. Spelman* glossarium, *Assasini*.

b *Hier. Benzo* Hist. *Nov. orbis*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 3

c *Jo. Gerhard.* loc. Theolog. Tom. 5. de Ecclesia, 294.

d Hist. impressa ante *Alcoran.* Edit. lat. 1550. *p.* 99.

e Discours d'un Bourgeois de *Paris* sur les Pouvoirs de Cardinal *Chigi* legat en *France*, p. 80.

Louys Garan le chasse Ennuy-Cent. 2. 3.

which he might alſo conquer and poſſeſs if he pleas'd.

Yet others there are (as may be ſeen in this following Treatiſe) who are more wide on the other ſide, and will be ſatisfied with nothing, but I know not what ſtrange Almighty Faculties, Authorities and Bleſſings adhering to the Pope. As if they were related to *George* the *Suffragan* of *Erfordt*, who was ſo zealous in his commendations of *Boniface Dorneman*, the little Prieſt of *Hallandorp*, that he told his Auditors that *he was more learned then St.* Paul, *more holy then the Angels, and more chaſte then the Virgin* Mary: Or like the *German* Boor, who at *Marpurg* in *Heſſia*, thus ſaluted and deſired the aſſiſtance and favour of Judge *Burckhard.*— *O Eternal and Omnipotent Lord Vicegerent, I have heard that you are the very Devil and all in this Court, therefore for Gods ſake put an end to my Tryal.*

Orb. Meland. pag. 521. & 428.

Id. & 572.

But now ſome Princes begin to ſee their own Rights and Prerogatives, are ſenſible how unworthy their Predeceſſors have been abuſed, and begin to underſtand that their Power is Independent; neither receiving their Rights from *Rome*, or her Popes, but that their Crowns were given them from Heaven; and that rather, the Popes have been like that Bird in the Fable, and made uſe of of old by the *Franciſcan* Fryar *Jehan de Rochetaillade* [by ſome call'd *de Rupeſciſſa*] which Bird being born without Feathers, was through Charity relieved and made gay by other Birds; and thus perk'd up, deſpis'd her Benefactors; who at laſt not able any longer to ſuffer her pride and tyranny, every Bird pluckt back again their own Feathers, leaving her as naked as ſhe was at firſt. And the truth is, the Popes have done with the Empire, as the *Snake* in the Fable did with the Husbandman, who finding it almoſt frozen to death, in pitty brought it to the fire-ſide, where by the warmth having recover'd ſtrength and vigor, all the thanks it return'd was the ſtinging of the Goodmans Children.

Jehan Froiſſard. Chron. Tom. 2. fol. 182, 183. Edit. 1530.

And for theſe ungrateful actions, many have undertaken to foretel ſtrange Judgements and Calamities to happen upon the Popes. But though for mine own part, I am no great admirer of our later Prophets, and trouble my ſelf with their odd Predictions no farther then for recreation; yet ſeeing the *Romaniſts* have put ſuch a ſtrange confidence in thoſe *Relations* of their Swediſh St. *Brigit* [or *Birgit*] as to declare that they were all immediately inſpired by God himſelf; and not onely canoniz'd the *Lady*, but by ſeveral *Bulls* and Authorities ſo confirm'd the truth of her Book, that it muſt not be contradicted: yet if they will but ſeriouſly look into her *Revelations*, they will finde little reaſon to boaſt ſo much of them, ſeeing they will finde few ſo Zealous as this *Saint* againſt the Pope and his Aſſiſtants, propheſying with bitterneſs their ruine and deſtruction.

Revelat. S. *Brigit*, lib. 1. cap. 41.

That his aſſumed grand Authority hath of late ſenſibly decay'd and loſt ground, is manifeſt; and this Conqueſt hath been not ſo much by the Sword as the Pen: ſo that as *Adeodate Seba* formerly writ of *Luther* (one againſt whom many lyes have been publiſh'd, as other men having his paſſions and failings) may alſo be ſaid of many other learned Pen-men.

Delit. Poet. *Gall.* Tom. 3. pag. 678.

Roma *Orbem domuit*, Romam *ſibi Papa ſubegit*;
Viribus illa ſuis, fraudibus iſte ſuis.
Quantò iſto major Lutherus, *major & illa*,
Illum, illamq; uno qui domuit calamo.
I nunc, Alcidem *memorato* Græcia *mendax*,
Lutheri *ad Calamum ferrea clava nihil.*

Rome *tam'd the World*; *the Pope*, Rome *Conquer'd, tyes*;
She by her force, He by deceipts and lyes.
How greater far then they was Luther, *when*
Both him and her, he conquer'd with one Pen!
Go lying Greece, *vaunt thine* Alcides; *tho'*
His Club compared with Luthers *Pen's a ſtraw.*

But amongſt theſe Learned Worthies, I have nothing to do: And am apt to think that all this time hath been beſtow'd to little purpoſe, either becauſe of mine own inſufficiencie, or the too much reſoluteneſs of ſome other people. However, I might have made better uſe of my time, in regar'd of mine own advantage, had I ſoon enough call'd to minde *Juvenal*'s obſervation.

Sat. 7.

Veſter porro labor fœcundior Hiſtoriarum
Scriptores, petit hic plus temporis atq; olei plus,
* * * * *
Quæ tamen inde ſeges? terræ quis fructus apertæ?
Quis dabit Hiſtorico, *quantum daret acta legenti?*

Do you Hiſtorians *more then Poets get?*
Although more time and charge your works befit;
No, no, what gain you by your toyl? where's he
Will give th' Hiſtorians *an* Atturnie *Fee?*

In the compiling of this Hiſtory (ſuch as it is) I have not dealt with the *Romaniſts* as the Hot-headed *Puritans* us'd to do, whoſe ſtrength of Arguments lye chiefly in canting, miſapplying Scripture, confidence and railing; and if they can but make a noiſe with the *Whore of Babylon*, *Antichriſt*, the *Beaſts Horns*, *&c.* they ſuppoſe the Pope is confuted ſure enough, at leaſt the good Wives and Children are frighted out of their little wits, and take him to be the ſtrangeſt Monſter in the World, with ſo many Heads and Horns; inſomuch, that Pope *Urban* VIII did not amiſs, when he defired ſome *Engliſh* Gentlemen to do him only one courteſie, *viz.* to aſſure their Country-men, that he was a man as much as themſelves.

And had he ſaid *a better Chriſtian then the Puritan*, I ſhould not therein have troubled my ſelf to contradict his Infallibility: for I think them to be the worſt people of all mankinde. A Sect that will agree with you in the Fundamentals of Religion, but will take miff, and deſtroy all for a trifle; and rather then ſubmit to an innocent Ceremony, though impos'd by lawful Authority, will ruine Kingdoms, Murther Biſhops, Rebel againſt their Soveraigns, Baniſh Queens, declare them Traytors, Impriſon and depoſe their Kings, and make the way as plain as can be for their murther. A Sect that will cry down Biſhops, to poſſeſs their lands; break

the

the Kings Great-ſeal, impriſon him, renounce his Authority, and murther his beſt Subjects; and yet cry out they cannot commit Treaſon: In ſhort, a Sect that would hate *Chriſt*, but that he ſaid he *came not to bring peace but war.*

As for the *Roman* Catholick, I muſt needs have a greater kindeneſs for him, then the former fire-brands, as being an Adverſary more Learned, and ſo to be expected more Civil and Gentile; and wherein they differ from us, they look upon as Fundamental, and ſo have a greater reaſon for their diſſent then our Phanatical Presbyterians, a people not capable of a Commendation, nor to be obliged by any Favours; their very Conſtitution being ingratitude, as Hiſtories do teſtifie, and King *James* himſelf doth acknowledge as much.

In this Treatiſe, I hope I have behaved my ſelf civilly with the *Romaniſts*, having forborn all bitterneſs and railing; though the many bloudy and unwarrantable actions that I here meet with, might prompt a milder man then my ſelf to ſome indignation; which may ſomewhat Apologize for me, if by chance any do either meet with, or fancie a ſtricture or retort tending to diſlike. And yet I dare boldly ſay, that they ſhall not finde any ſuch heavy Cenſures and Severities, as ſome *Romaniſts* are apt to throw upon the Reformed Churches.

Mr. (*a*) *Harding* will allow us to be nothing elſe but —— (*b*) *wicked* Chams *brood*; —— that we —— *follow the ſteps of Prophane Hell-hounds*; —— are —— (*c*) *Curſed Canaanites*, —— (*d*) *Rebellions ſons* —— *deſpiſers of God* —— (*e*) *Apoſtates, Renegates, Epicures*, Turkiſh Huguenots, *and Hereticks who be worſe then Devils.* Another of his acquaintance aſſures the world that we —— (*f*) *have no Church, no Biſhop, no Prieſt, no Altar, no Sacrifice, and conſequently no God.* Another breaks out in theſe words, —— (*g*) *O wicked men! worſe then the Devil your father, of whoſe progeny you are lineally deſcended.* Another of our Countrymen, (*h*) *William Reynolds* (brother to the Learned *John*) is very favourable to us, when he alloweth us to be as good as Pagans or Turks; his main buſineſs beingt o make the world believe that a *Turk* is more capable of Heaven then the *Proteſtants.* And the ſame harſh Cenſure is uſed by his friend and Publiſher (*i*) Dr. *Gifford*, affirming that our *Goſpel* is in nothing better, but in many things worſe then the *Alcoran.*

Nay, ſo ſevere are they, that they will not allow us to be civil one to another; all commendatory expreſſions being forbidden; their *Indices Expurgatorii* uſing no other Gomplement but this, —— *Author Damnatus.* Nay, we muſt not ſo much as keep one anothers *picture*, though privately, not excepting either our Friends, Parents, or the King himſelf; onely one exception (*k*) *Azorius* grants (thanks to him for his courteſie) *viz.* the Pictures of ſuch Proteſtants may be kept and looked on, if they be drawn by way of ſcorn and deriſion; as for inſtance, ſaith he, if *Luther* be painted burning in Hell, O then, that may be lawfully preſerved and gazed on.

For there it is they will have us all to be: (*l*) *Briſtow*'s words are theſe —— *Whoſoever in this new faith and ſervice hath ended his life, is in Hell moſt certainly.* The Jeſuit *Gretſer* is of the ſame opinion, *viz.* (*m*) that no Proteſtants go to Heaven: and others of them are ſo particular, that they will hold it impoſſi-

a Conſut. of the Apologie.
b Fol 114. *b.*
c 121. *b.*
d 131. *b.*
e 222. *b.*

f *Tho. Hide's* Conſolatory-Epiſtle, *G.* 1111.

g *Myles Huggard* diſplaying of Proteſtants, *fol.* 114.

h *Calvino-Turciſm.* pag. 806, 854.

i In Argumento præfix. *Calvino-Turciſmo.*

k Inſtitut. Moral. *part* 1. *lib.* 8. *cap.* 16. ult. Quæritur.

l Motives, Mot. 36.

m Apolog. pro *Ignat. Loyol. lib.* 1. *pag.* 183, 184.

ble for Queen (a) *Elizabeth* to be in Heaven. Nor is this any ſuch wonder with them, who have the ſole keeping of Heaven-Gates, and will let none in but themſelves: Whereby they uncharitably exclude many a good Chriſtian, King *Charles* our late holy Martyr, and ſome of his good Subjects, who ſuffer'd Butchery onely for their loyalty, which might have ſome intereſt in merit, if the grand Champions of it would aſſume ſome *Charity*. A vertue which the *Italian* Proverb will not allow any man, ſuch a general diſeaſe will it have *Envy* to be. For,

a B. D. *de Clermond* Anſwer to King *James* his Proclamation, *pag.* 140.

Se l' Invidia foſſe una Febre,
Tut' il mundo morirebbe.

Had Envy *been a* Feaver, *then*
Ere this, had fail'd the Race of men
Long ſince.

'Tis ſaid, that the *Jews* are obliged to rail three times a day againſt all *Chriſtians*, whom they are to account no otherwiſe then Brutes or Beaſts; to pray for the deſtruction of their Princes, and to do them what miſchief they can. But I wiſh better from the *Romaniſts* towards their fellow Chriſtians, though in all things they do not jump. And whilſt they think, they are too ſure of their own Salvation, they might reflect upon the doubts of ſome of their Infallible Heads: As (b) *Marcellus* II, who ſeriouſly proteſted, that *he could not conceive how a Pope could be ſaved*. And *Pius* V. could ſay—— *When I was in Orders, I had pretty hopes of my Salvation; when I was made Cardinal, I had leſs; but ſince I came to be Pope, I almoſt deſpair of it.* Not that I am ſuch a peeviſh zealot, or a poſitive *Gabriel Powel*, but can eaſily think, that *Jeſus Chriſt* dyed alſo for Popes, as for other people, who may accordingly be partakers of his bloud and merits, if they lay hold on them.

Sixtus Senenſis Biblioth. Sanct. *lib.* 2. & de *Traditione*, de *Talmud.*

b Manu mentam percutiens, dixit, Non video, quomodo qui locum hunc altiſſimum tenet, ſalvari poſſint *Onuphr.* in vita ejus. *Sam. Clark*, pag. 388.

In choice of mine Authors I have been diligent, not willing to let any Hiſtorian ſlip me; yet making uſe of thoſe, who have been generally received as the beſt: and to do the *Romaniſt* a pleaſure, I have very ſeldom made uſe of a Proteſtant. Where I finde a Faction, I conſult the Writers and Reaſons on both ſides, and hope have been ſo luckie, as to ſet the Saddle on the right Horſe. But if it be objected, that any of my Authors are partial, as favouring the Emperours more then the Popes; Father (c) *Caron* hath lately anſwered for me, by affirming that the ſame may be retorted upon thoſe who inclined to the *Roman* Prelates. And if it be again ſaid, that any of them are *Schiſmaticks*, becauſe ſuppoſed to oppoſe the Pope, the ſaid (d) *Romaniſt* replyeth, that by the ſame Rule, we muſt ſometimes affirm all *Germany*, all *France*, the greateſt part of *Italy*, and ſo the Princes, Biſhops, Councils, Provinces, Clergy, people of *Europe*, and by conſequence the better part of the Church to have been alſo Schiſmaticks.

c Remonſtr. *Hibernorum*, part 2. p. 178.
d Id. *pag.* 177, 178.

I am far from the cheating humour of ſome Modern Writers, who the better to conceal their theft and Plagiary, cry out that it is Pedantick and Ungentile, to tell what Books they made uſe of; as if they were of the *Roſycrucian* whimſie, who, forſooth, *is not* (e) *bound to give any man ſo much ſatisfaction*: For he that taketh

e Jo. Heyden's Harmony of the World, in the *Poſtſcript.*

taketh upon him to ſcribble ſo ſlightly and cheap, intends to impoſe upon, and ſo to abuſe and cheat his Reader. I have therefore been exact and punctual in my Quotations: and to give the Reader the more ſatisfaction, where any thing of moment or a ſtreſs happens, I have in the *Margin* [as the moſt proper place] given the Authors own words, whereby the Reader may judge the more conveniently, whether I have abuſed him and the Author. And as I reſolved at firſt not to take any thing upon truſt [a cheat too commonly practis'd] but to view the Writers my ſelf: ſo can I not remember that I have broak the Rule; not but that other Writers have prompted me to many Citations.

If any think, they could put a more moderate Interpretation on ſome Writers, and ſo render their opinions leſs wicked and treaſonable then I have; I might here in my defence, juſtly demand the ſame priviledge and favour that Father (*a*) *Pateſon* the Jeſuit deſires in the ſame caſe, *viz.*—— *Nor do we inſiſt ſo much here, what ſtudyed or ſtrange ſenſe may poſſibly perhaps be put upon his words; but how they ſound outwardly, and how they are apt to be underſtood by the Common people; who do not uſually ſtand much pondering about words, but take them as they ſound; eſpecially when they ſound liberty, or any thing agreeable to their corrupt paſſions and humours, as theſe do.*—— And this I thought not amiſs to minde the Caviller of, that he may note, that we have a truſty *Romaniſt* thus to befriend us in ſome things; which favour, if he think it not fitting for me to deſire, let him judge the ſame alſo of *Pateſon*, and I am ſatisfied, ſeeing I may expect as much priviledge as he.

a Image of both Churches, *pag.* 72, 73.

Vid. Father *Parſons* three converſions of *Engl.* part 3. *pag.* 306.

And ſome ſlips may happen to the moſt careful Writer; therefore I dare not plead my ſelf free from ſuch, conſidering the variety of Hiſtories, Countries, Matter, Authors and Tongues I was obliged to make uſe of, and in too ſhort a time requiſite to gather up ſo many materials, and that without any aſſiſtance; not ſo much as acquainting any with my deſigne [obliged thereto in vindication of the Church of *England* from ſome ſlanders, by way of retort] till I had almoſt brought the ſtory to its Concluſion. And in my way of ſcribling, 'tis againſt my patience and idleneſs to write one thing twice over, or ſtand pumping for fine fantaſtical or new-fangled words, neither befitting an *Engliſh* man or Hiſtory, nor any but thoſe who are aſhamed of their own Country and her Language, as many of our ſhatter-nodled Gallants are, who think to better the *Engliſh* Tongue, either by beating out her Native words, and placing forreigners in their ſtead, or by a Court-mincing; yet this muſt be call'd the beſt *Engliſh*, as if one ſhould call the Modern *Italian* the pureſt *Latine*. But 'tis the *French* Tongue, that muſt now with us domineer, as the (*b*) *Greek* of old did at *Rome*: though 'tis fit we ſhould borrow from others, what our own Language cannot expreſs.

b Juvenal. Sat. 3. & 6.

However it happens, as for my ſelf, I can freely proteſt, that as I neither intended to abuſe my Reader or the Truth, neither to my knowledge have I, unleſs through Humane frailty I have been deceived by other Teſtimonies: And ſhall be ſo far from diſguſting any mans ſhewing me my faults, privately or publickly, that I ſhall take it for a favour, that thereby truth may be diſcover'd, and ſhall accordingly acknowledge them.

Si voluntatem mentiendi non habent, nec homines fallunt, niſi ab hominibus humana infirmitate falluntur. *Auguſt.* Epiſt. 131.

Pietro

Pietro Poalo Vergerio once a very zealous *Romaniſt*, and imploy'd in many honourable Embaſſies in behalf of that Church; yet whilſt he ſet himſelf moſt earneſtly to confute *Luther*, in the very undertaking was himſelf converted: and if any *Roman* Catholick ſhould have the ſame deſigne againſt theſe Papers, I wiſh they might have the ſame effect; which I would not deſpair of, if he would firſt ſwallow the (a) *French* Doctors Pill, *viz. not to be guided by intereſt.* Not that I here concern my ſelf with the multitude of their other Articles, but onely that they will grant ſo much, that *no Authority whatever, be it Pope or other, can legally and of right depoſe the King of Great* Britain, *or abſolve his ſubjects from their Allegiance; or that his ſubjects ought to obey either, without the Kings free and voluntary Conceſſion, no force, reſtraint, or any violence or oppoſition before had or offer'd to him.*

(a) Deſpovillez vous de tout affection.

Yet I am an enemy to Flatterers. *Vid. Jo. Fileſac.* de Idolat. Politica, *pag.* 28,53. Vid. *Hieron. Oſorium*, contra *Haddon.* fol. 27. *b.*

Yet if any *Romaniſt* think himſelf obliged to Reply to theſe Papers, I ſhall deſire and expect theſe Conditions from him.

That he do not Picquere here and there at the weakeſt places, ſome of which poſſibly are not material; but charge boldly through the whole body.

That he anſwer in order as I write, not at random, but Chapter after Chapter, and Section after Section.

That thoſe Chapters and Places he doth not anſwer to, he will grant to be true on my ſide.

That his Anſwers be ſhort and poſitive, not ſtuft up with idle words and impertinences, nothing to the buſineſs in hand.

That he anſwer not me onely, but the Romaniſh *Authors, and the very places which I quote, and ſhew how in the reſpective Citations they are miſtaken.*

That the Authors he bringeth againſt mine, being Romaniſts, *be ſuch as himſelf will ſtand to, and declare to be of more credit then mine.*

That his Quotations be as exact and punctual as mine, by ſome letter or mark directing to the named Author; and then ſetting down the Book, Chapter, Page, Tear, or Paragraph, as I have done.

That he either ſet down my words which he excepteth againſt, or at leaſt quote the place where they are.

We are told of ſome *Germans* who uſed to ſpeak one way and think another; uſed to confeſs that in the (b) Schools, and publickly they us'd to maintain ſuch a Doctrine, but believed the quite contrary. As the great Lawyer (c) *Bartholus* thought it his wiſeſt way to affirm *Conſtantines Donation*, becauſe he was in the Papal Territories; like Father *Coton* and his Jeſuits, who would believe one thing in *France*, but the quite contrary at *Rome*. But I would not have our *Engliſh Romaniſts* to uſe double dealing or a double conſcience, like theſe men, leſt they might be ſomewhat akin to thoſe Iſlanders, mentioned by

(b) Abb. Urſperg. Paralip. an. 1518. *p.* 448.

(c) *Digeſt.* in Procm. ℒ. 14.

by (a) *Johannes Boernus*, whoſe Tongues are ſo cloven, that they can ſpeak to two men at the ſame time. Let them aſſert what they really think is the Doctrine and Sentiments of thoſe at *Rome*, and let them affirm nothing but what they will avouch to be publickly maintain'd there. For if, whilſt they oppoſe me, they do alſo confute the Pope and his Church at *Rome*; they ſhew themſelves to be none of his through-pac'd ſons; caſt a doubt upon their Church, and may want the bleſſing of his Holyneſs.

a De Gentium moribus, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 26.

In ſhort, I ſhall intreat him with (b) St. *Auguſtine*, to agree with me where he findes the Truth, to conſult me where he is doubtful; to confeſs his fault, and acknowledge me where he ſeeth his Error, and where he findes me ſtraying, to lead me into the right Way and Truth.

b — Proinde quiſquis hæc legit, ubi pariter certus, eſt pergat mecum; ubi pariter hæſitat, quærat mecum; ubi errorem ſuum cognoſcit, redeat at me; ubi meum, revocet me. Ita ingrediamur ſimul charitatis viam, tendentes ad eum, de quo dictum eſt *Quærite faciam ejus ſemper*. Auguſt. de Trinitate, *lib.* 6. *cap.* 3.

Novemb. 10.
1 6 6 6.

H. F.

THE HISTORY OF Romiſh Treaſons AND USURPATIONS.

Book I.

Chap. I.

Their vain-glorious and impious Commendations of their Saints and Orders, as S. Francis, S. Dominick, Ignatius Loyola, *and the Jeſuites; with the* Trinitarians, *the* Carmelites, *&c.*

MAny of the ancient Heathens, as *Caligula*, *Commodus*, *Heliogabalus*, nay the Phyſitian *Menecrates*, prided themſelves not a little, in being held and accounted to be *Gods* by the people, and ſo to be ſacrificed to: Hence the Emperour *Domitian* uſed to Stile himſelf (a) *Lord and God*: to which (b) *Martial* alludes;

Edictum Domini Deiq; noſtri.

a *Dominus & Deus noſter ſic fieri jubet.* Sueton. *in* Domit. Sect. 13.
b *L.* 5. *Epigr.* 8.

Alexander would be worſhip'd with divine Honour, and thought himſelf the better man, for being call'd the Son of (c) *Jupiter*: fit Deities to be attended upon by ſuch Prieſts as *Caligula*'s (d) horſe.

This *Caligula* uſed to threaten the Air if it rained upon his ſports, as *Xerxes* would

c Q. Curt. l. 4. Sect. 7.
d *Paræl.* Melliſ. Hiſt. part. 1. p. 142.

would have the Seas whipt, becauſe not preſently calm at his command; as if they were related to the King of *Catona*, who ſwears at his Coronation, that during his Reign, it ſhall not rain unſeaſonably, neither ſhall there be Peſtilence or Famine. Nay, even of late days the (e) *Perſians* worſhip'd their Emperour *Xoa* as a God; and the water wherewith he waſhed his feet, they accounted as holy, and a certain Cure to all Diſeaſes.

(e) Epiſt. *Indicæ*, pag. 121.

'Tis pretty to obſerve with what Thundring and Impertinent Titles, ſome of the petit Kings in *Aſia* and other places do attribute to themſelves, as if they were Lords of the Sun and Moon, terrible to thoſe who never heard of them; & though their Dominions be but of ſmall extent, yet would grudge not to be thought Gods, and Conquerours of the whole world: like the great (f) *Mogol*, that ſleighted and deſpiſed *Mercator*, for allowing him in his Maps no greater Share in the world, of which he thought himſelf the Supream, and all other Princes but to truckle under him.

(f) Edw. Terry's voyage, p. 367, 368.

At theſe and ſuch like extravagances we are apt to ſmile, and to cenſure not onely as fooliſh but profane, and pitty the ignorance and credulity of ſuch Pagan Fondlings; and yet in the mean time, thoſe who account themſelves the onely *Chriſtians* are too guilty of the ſame folly.

'Twould make a man bleſs himſelf, to hear the ſtrange Encomiums that the *Minorites* give to their Patron St. *Francis*, whom they fancy to have been as it were like (g) *Adam* in his *Innocency*, and to have obſerved and kept the (h) *Goſpel* exactly to a Letter, not breaking ſo much as a Tittle or jot of it: and for miracles, they would have you believe that he far outdid our Saviour; for if we do but peruſe *Bartholomeus de Piſis*, we may eaſily perceive how ſhort they make *Chriſt* to come of him for number in every ſort: And in other Qualities they would not have you to ſuſpect that there was any difference.

(g) Barth. de Piſis lib. conform. Epitomized in ſeveral Languages; and here I follow the French and Latine, moſt common to be had, and cald L'Alcoran des Cordeliers, p. 137.

(h) Id. pag. 2. & 160. & pag. 45, 46.

As for his body, they ſay there was no diſagreement, he having exactly the (i) wounds beſtowed and imprinted upon him by Chriſt, which the (k) Pope by Bulls commands every Chriſtian to believe. And farther, St. *Francis* muſt not be onely like Chriſt in theſe wounds and paſſion, but in (l) Life alſo; for our Saviour (if you will believe their Legends) had made him like to himſelf in (m) all things, and a Roll from Heaven declared him to be the (n) *Grace of God*: Nay, that all might agree, they entitle him (o) *Jeſus of Nazareth King of the Jews*. Thus would they make our Saviour and him ſo like one another, as if the difference lay onely in the Cloaths: to which purpoſe *Horatius Turſellinus* the eloquent *Roman* Jeſuit thus compares them:

(i) Id. p. 4, 5. 299. Villegas. Octob. 4. Guil. Gazet. To. 2. p. 513.

(k) Leon. Coquæus Antimorn. To. 2. p. 245. Cœſletean p. 1117.

(l) L'Alcoran, part. 2. pag. 62.

(m) Id. lib. 1. p. 18.

(n) Hiceſt gratia Dei. Ib.

(o) Id. l. 1. p. 268.

(p) *Exue* Franciſcum *tunica laceroq; cucullo*;
Qui Franciſcus erat, jam tibi Chriſtus *erit*:
Franciſci *exuviis* (*ſi qua licet*) *indue* Chriſtum,
Jam Franciſcus erit, qui modo Chriſtus erat.

(p) Vid. *Ant. Poſſevin.* Biblioth. Select. Tom. 2. l. 17. c. 19. pag. 295.

Which I finde thus Tranſlated by Doctor *White*:

Strip Francis *from his Coat and Cowl, all nak'd, and you ſhall ſee*
He that even now St. Francis *was, to* Chriſt *will turned be*:
Again, put Francis *Coat and Cowl on Chriſt* (and mark the Lyar)
He that even now was Jeſus Chriſt, *will* Francis *be the Fryar*.

And another *Italian* Jeſuit (q) *Franciſcus Bencius*, noted amongſt the *Romans* for his Oratory and Poetry, thus alſo ſings the compariſon.

(q) Fran. Benc. Carminum, lib. 4 pag. 203. Tho. Bozius de ſignis Eccleſ. Tom. 2. lib. 15. cap. 3.

Sancte Patrum, ſpirans Chriſti *expirantis imago*,
Tempore quam nullo deleat ulla dies.

Quas

Quas etenim fers ipſe manus, fers ipſe pedeſq;
Has tulit ille manus, hos tulit ille pedes.
Nec minus & tali tranſfixum cuſpide pectus,
Quale tibi patulo pectore vulnus hiat.
Cuncta eſtis ſimiles; illum qui forte verentur
Reddere, te ſaltem cur imitentur habent.

Which the former Doctor *White* thus renders:

O Holy Francis *that of* Chriſt *dying upon the Tree*
The very breathing image art, for ever ſo to be:
What hands thou bear'ſt, what feet thou haſt, ſuch hands, ſuch feet had he;
And ſuch a wound wide in his breaſt, as in thy breaſt we ſee.
In all things you were both alike, that he which is aſhamed
Him t'imitate, may follow thee at leaſt, and not be blamed.

This (r) *Bencius* hath alſo another Copy of Verſes upon the Picture of St. *Francis*, much to the ſame purpoſe, as if Chriſt and he were ſo alike, that he could ſcarce tell whoſe it was. r *Carm.* l. 4. pag. 202, 203.

Beſides theſe, with them St. *Francis* is of ſuch concern, that they will tell you that there is ſcarce a Book in the *Bible*, but hath ſeveral Prophecies of him. Thus they tell us that the *Angel* in the (ſ) *Revelations* having the *Seal of the living God*, was this (t) *Francis*: that St. *Paul*, meant (u) him, when he ſaid (w) *I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jeſus.* That (x) he was that Man in (y) *Ezekiel* which by Gods appointment *ſet marks upon the fore-heads of them that ſigh, and that cry for all the Abominations*, &c. That he had the (z) wounds, according to this ſaying of Chriſt (a) *Abraham ſaw my days and was glad*; and is not this an excellent Catholick Expoſition? That in the Preacher 'tis ſaid of (b) him (though the Text nameth *Abraham*) (c) *In glory there was none like unto him; who kept the Law of the moſt High.* That (d) *Let us make man after our likeneſs*, was meant (e) St. *Francis*; in which place *Piſanus* hath many other fooleries. ſ 7. 2. t L'Alcoran, l. 1. p. 27. 269. u Id. l. 1. p. 27. w Gal. 6. 17. x Id. lib. 1. p. 269. y 9. 4. z Id. pag. 35. a Joh 8. 56. b Id. lib. 1. p. 11. and 160. c Eccles. 44. 19, 20. d Gen. 1. 26. e Id. pag. 12, 13.

To proceed, they (f) tell us, that as by *Adams* fall all Creatures rebeld; ſo to St. *Francis* are they ſubject, becauſe he kept and fulfild the Laws of God: ſo that it pleaſed God that all things ſhould obey this Fryar: hence they affirm that he might deſervedly ſay, *All things are given to me of my Father.* Farther, that this Saint was (g) figured out to us, by *Joſeph*, *Iſaias*, *Jonas*, *Iſaac*, *Samuel*, *Job*, *Abraham*, *Salomon*, *Moſes*, *David*, &c. the Cherubins, Angels, Arch-angels, Powers, Dominions, *&c.* all the Apoſtles, *&c.* That Chriſt himſelf Propheſied of his (h) *Order* when he ſaid, (i) *Fear not little Flock, for it is your Fathers good pleaſure to give you a Kingdom.* And that he alſo meant theſe *Minorite* Fryars, when he ſaid, (k) *In as much as you have done it to one of the leaſt of theſe, you have done it unto me.* A ridiculous alluſion from the Latine word *Minores.* f Id. l. 1. p. 203. g Lib. 1. p. 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, *&c.* h L'Alc. l. 2. pag. 43. i Luk. 12. 32. k Matt. 25. 40.

'Tis ſaid of (l) *Eunomius*, that he taught that all who believed his *Eunomian* Tenets ſhould be ſaved, though they committed never ſo many ſins. I will not ſay that the *Franciſcans* do poſitively teach the ſame of their Order, though they offer very fair for it, when they aſſure us that *Francis* (m) deſired that all the ſins which were confeſt might be pardon'd; and that Chriſt admitted of the Requeſt, but bid him go to his Vicar the Pope for farther Authority; and that (n) whoſoever affected the *Franciſcan* Order, though he were never ſo great a ſinner, ſhould have mercy: and laſtly, that no man who dyed in one of their (o) Frocks or Habits ſhould be damned. Upon which pretty fidelity, many from the Higheſt to the Loweſt l Gab. Prateol. *Elench. Hæreſ.* l. 5. Sect. 19. pag. 168. m *Gonon. Chron. S. Deiparæ*, p. 217, 218. L'Alcoran, pag. 205, 206. n L'Alcoran, lib. 1. p. 313. 195, 196. o *Nullus qui moreretur in habitu eſt damn.*

natus. Barth. a Piſis, lib. conform. lib. 1. Fruch. 9. fol. 130. col. 4.

Lowest have induſtriouſly procured their departing bodies to be wrapt in a *Franciſcan* garb.

If all this be true, I ſhall not ſo eaſily queſtion what they tell us, *viz.* that all the (r) vertues that all the Saints as well of the Old as New Teſtament ever had, were met together in St. *Francis*: that he was better then all the (ſ) Apoſtles; of which they give us a doughty reaſon, *viz.* they left but a Ship and ſome ſuch things, but *Francis* left all; nay, threw off his Cloaths, and went naked for Chriſts ſake: a good ſign that he was of the *Ranters* Religion. As for St. *John* the Baptiſt, he muſt not by any means come in Competition with their *Francis*; for which one of their Reaſons is this, becauſe (t) he received the word of Repentance onely from the Lord, but St. *Francis* received it both from the Lord and from the Pope, which is a great deal more.

Wherefore methinks it might ſavour of preſumption in St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* to come down from Heaven to meet *Francis* at *Rome*, and to preſume to (u) kiſs and embrace him, as if he had been but their equal and familiar. But well might Fryar *Giles* ſay, that men ſhould never name the word St. *Francis*, but they ſhould lick their (w) lips after it; and well might ſuch a Crowd of (x) Angels guard and incompaſs him when dead, that the Devils, though greatly indeavoured, could not come for the throng, within ten miles of his Corps; and in Heaven he ſits in the (y) ſame Chair whence *Lucifer* was thrown down: and why not? ſince they tell us that God obeyed (z) *Francis* in all things whilſt he was upon Earth.

r L'Alc. l. 1. p. 17.

ſ Ib. pag. 45.

t Joan. verbum de pœnitentia accepit à Domino, Fran. à domino & à Papa, quod plus eſt. Id. p. 36.

u Ib. p. 19.

w Ib. pag. 75.

x Ib. p. 250.

y Pag. 44. 293.

z Ib. p. 203.

Many other Sottiſh and Impious Extravagancies concerning this Saint, might be muſtred up; but I ſhall leave him to the conſideration of the judicious, and the Hyperbolies of his followers.

Nor is it this *Francis* alone, but the People of his Order have alſo been pretty Fellows. Fryar (a) *Rinaldus* they ſay was carried in a cloud to *Paradiſe*; where *Enoch* and *Elias* being informed that he was a *Cordelier*, ſkipt and danced for joy, and went about with him, and ſhewed him all the Rarities there. The ſame blade longing to ſee *Daniels* Tomb in *Babylon*, which they ſay was kept by Dragons, an huge Dragon (which they ſuppoſe to be an Angel of God) ſweept him up in his Tail, carried him thither, where for manners ſake he onely took a finger from the Prophet, and ſo was brought home ſafe and ſound again as he was carried, and his heart never at his mouth all the while.

a L'Alc. p. 96.

Fryar (b) *Suffian* when ſick would take no Phyſick but from the Virgin *Mary*, who thruſt into his mouth a whole box full of heavenly Syrrops by ſpoonfuls, and then giving him a little out of another box (the greedy-gut having eaten all the former) he was ſo enlightned, that he perfectly ſaw in the book of Life, the names of all thoſe who ſhould be ſaved. What need I tell you of Fryar (c) *Benet*, who they would make you believe was Butler to the Virgin *Mary*, but they never tell us where the Cellar was? and ſuchlike fopperies, ſince 'twill be eaſily judged that I do it but in Drollery, and then will they judge me never to be capable of thoſe bleſſings, which they attribute to the lovers of this Order; but rather condemn me to the puniſhment of the poor (d) *Florentine*, who they ſay having no affection for the *Franciſcans*, was decreed to have two Hammers continually knocking him on the head: and this puniſhment they aſſure us, is to continue to him till the day of judgement.

b Id. pag. 125.

c Id. p. 146.

d Id. pag. 174.

e Liber Conformitatum S. Franciſci cum Chriſto.

Theſe and many other ſuch like ſtories may be read in (e) *Bartholomeus Piſanus*, a Book approved of by the general Chapter of the *Franciſcans* at *Aſſiſi*, 1399. who declared, that after their diligent ſearch, they could finde nothing

nothing in it worthy of correction or amendment; and ſo 'tis intitled the *Golden Book*, and hath been ſeveral times printed with approbation. *Henricus Sedulius* hath writ a vindication for it, and (e) *Arthurus à Monaſterio* will have nothing ſpoke againſt it, but commends the Author as worthy of (f) belief; and ſo I hope one may the more freely preſent them with that, they ſo much magnifie.

e Martyrol. Franciſc. IV *Novemb.* Sect. 4. c. 6, 7, 8.
f IV *Octob.* 11.

Nor have the *Predicant* Fryars leſs extolled their Patron St. *Dominick*, who (as they ſay) had power over all Celeſtial, Terreſtrial and Infernal things; and that both Angels and Elements did ſerve and obey him: that he ſhew'd an eaſier way to Heaven than St. *Paul* did; and that the Prophet intended this *Dominick*, by the (g) *Staff of Beauty*, as he did St. *Francis* by the *bands*: and ten to one but he thought of both alike. God they ſay never denyed him any thing that he (h) asked: that he received the Holy Ghoſt with the ſame glory of a flaming (i) Tongue as the Apoſtles did, and had alſo the gift of (k) Tongues given him by Inſpiration.

Vid. *Antonin.* Archp. *Flor.* chron. part. 3. tit. 23.
g Zech. 11. 7.
h *Nic. Janſenius* vit. *Domin.* l. 1. c. 3. p. 119.
i Id. l. 1 c. 8. p. 56.
k Id. l. 2. c. 11. p. 170.

They go on and tell us that St. *Dominick* himſelf never committed (l) mortal ſin from the day of his birth; and the other Fryars of his Order exactly (m) imitated the Apoſtles in Life, Works and Miracles. And what favours might not St. *Dominick* be capable of, ſince he was ſeen to proceed from Gods (n) breaſt, but Chriſt onely from his mouth? And by this way of (o) comparing do they make our Saviour and this Fryar contend as I may ſay for ſuperiority, and yet in Miracles *Dominick* carries the day.

l Id. l. 2. c. 14. p. 188.
Villegas flos Sanctorum. IV *Auguſt.*
m *Villegas* ib.
n *Nic. Janſen.* l. 2. c. 14. p. 190.
o *Nic. Janſ.* l. 2. c. 14. *Antonin.* part. 3. tit. 23.

Nay, ſo great was the Virgin *Maries* affection (as they ſay) to this *Spaniard*, that not long ſince, even within the memory of man, *viz.* 1606. the Fryars of *Soriano* in the farther *Calabria* in *Italy*, not having a Picture of their Founder *Dominick*; ſhe with *Mary Magdalene* came from Heaven, and with their own hands preſented them with his Picture, which ſhe bid them hang up in their Chappel; and for ought that I know there it yet hangs, and if you will believe them, cures the blinde, lame, and ſuch like diſeaſes, and miracles. Nor do I know any reaſon, why this Picture might not do as pretty feats, as well as the very (p) duſt at *Calervega* in Old *Caſtile*, where he was born? (though I think (q) ſome doubt of the place.)

Nic. Janſen. p. 242.
q *Phil. Briet.* Geogr. Tom. 1. l. 5 p. 298.

And if this do not ſhew her love ſufficient, they will tell you other ſtories, as that ſhe preſerves the Fryars of this Order, ſafe and ſure from harms-way under her (r) Mantle; and that by her Interceſſion ſhe hath obtain'd of her Son, that none of this Order ſhall continue long in (s) mortal ſin; and ſeveral other ſuch like Tales for old Women to paſs away the time withal.

r *Ben. Gonon.* Chron. B. Virg. p. 212, 218, 223.
ſ Id. p. 221.

Neither will their back-friends the *Jeſuits* be wanting in magnifying their Founder and Order, as that their (t) Society was not of humane Invention, but proceeded from Chriſt himſelf; that the firſt Colledge of it was in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*; that inſtead of (u) St. *Paul*, their Patron *Ignatius Loyola* was him, whom Chriſt declared *ſhould carry his name before the Gentiles*, as the *Portugal* Doctor (w) *Jacobus Payva* would perſwade the world, that this is an Order which the Prophet (x) *Iſaiah* hath ſeveral times propheſied of, as the Jeſuits of (y) *Flanders* teſtifie: and that God the Father was ſeen to commend this Order to his Son Jeſus, by way of Protection.

t Imago primi Sæculi ſoc. Jeſu, p. 64. *Valderama* ſerm.
u Act. 9. 15.
w de ſocietatis Originc, p. 14.
x *Iſ.* 65. 22. & 18. 2.
y Imago primi ſæculi ſoc. Jeſu, p. 25. & 60.

Valderama, *Deza* and *Rebulloza*, though of other Orders, have in their Sermons extoll'd this *Ignatius* to a wonder, as that the name of *Jeſus* was I know not how imprinted in his hands; that he did greater Miracles than others; for as *Valderama* ſaith, Though *Moſes* did great wonders with his Rod, and that was onely by the vertue of the name of God written on it; and

and alſo what the *Apoſtles* acted, were onely by the power of the name of God: But as for *Loyala* the Founder of the *Jeſuits*, he onely by his own name writ in a piece of Paper, did more Miracles than *Moſes* and all the Apoſtles; which was admirable. Nay, that as long as he lived his actions were ſo holy, that none but Popes, as St. *Peter*; none but Empreſſes, as the Mother of God; none but ſome Soveraign Monarch, as God the Father and his Son, had the happineſs and favour to behold them. And that which was ſpoke of our (*a*) Saviour, *Pedro Deza* applies to the Inſtitutor of this Order, telling his Auditors and the world that — *In theſe laſt days, God hath ſpoken to us by his ſon* Ignatius, *whom he hath appointed Heir of all things.*

(*a*) *Heb.* 1. 2.

'Tis true, theſe three Sermons of *Valderama*, *Deza* and *Rebulloza*, were (*b*) cenſured by the *Sorboniſts* at *Paris*; but within nine days after, *Francois Solier* a *French* Jeſuit [and one well known for his many Tranſlations, and who alſo turned theſe three *Spaniſh* Sermons into *French*] writ againſt this *Sorbone*-cenſure, accuſing the Faculty of *Paris*, of (*c*) *Ignorance*, *Impudence* and *Malice*, and that they acted more by Paſſion than Reaſon. And a little after this, *Jaques de Montholon*, though there might be ſome probable Reaſons that the true Author was the noted Jeſuit *Peter Cotten* Confeſſor to *Henry* the Fourth; but be it who it will, under the name of *Montholon* was a large (*d*) Apology writ for this Order, which towards the latter end hath alſo a Vindication of theſe Sermons, and that printed too by publick Authority: and laſtly, that they were received with applauſe and approbation, needs no farther evidence, than their ſeveral Impreſſions and Tranſlations.

(*b*) 1 *Octob.* 1611

(*c*) Lettre juſtificative, p. 25, 32.

(*d*) Plaidoyé pour les Jeſuites, p. 462, 463.

But beſides theſe, others are not aſhamed to tell us, that God did often (*e*) talk with *Ignatius Loyola*, as he talked with *Moſes face to face*, *and as a man ſpeaks unto his friend*; that the Virgin *Mary* is ſuch a Patroneſs of this Order, that ſhe (*f*) preſerves it alſo under her Mantle or Garments: And which is more, that God hath granted the ſame benefit to this Society, that was formerly bequeath'd to the *Benedictans*, that for the firſt three hundred years, not any that dyed in this Order, ſhould be (*g*) damned. And ſo much for the Jeſuits and their Founder *Ignatius Loyola*, whoſe life I have writ formerly in another Treatiſe.

(*e*) Imago primi ſæcula ſoc. p. 584. Exod. 33. 11.

(*f*) *Hieron. Platus* de bono ſtatu Religioſi, l. 1. c. 34. p. 108. Imago ſoc. *Jeſ.* p. 140.

(*g*) Imago ſociet. *Jeſu*, p. 648, 649.

They tell us that *Pachonius* was in that eſteem with God, that an (*h*) Angel from Heaven brought the Rules for him and his Brethren to live by: But the *Trinitarian* Fryars go a little higher, affirming that the (*i*) *Father*, *Son* and *Holy Ghoſt*, were their Founders and Inſtitutors; which in part is hinted at by theſe Verſes ſo common amongſt them, and for ought that I know, may yet be ſeen over the Door of their Cloyſter in the Suburbs of *Arras* in *Artois*, and ſeveral other of their *Covents*.

(*h*) *Dauroultius* Flor. Exempl. cap. 7. tit. 77. Sect. 1.

(*i*) *P. Dan.* Hiſt. de *Barbarie* & de ſes Corſaires, l. 6. c. 1. Sect. 2. p. 466.

Hic eſt Ordo Ordinatus,
Non à ſanctis fabricatus,
Sed à ſolo ſummo Deo.

This Order made by God himſelf we ſee,
And not by Saints, or men, as others be.

The truth is, this *Order* of the *Trinity*, begun by two *French-men*, betwixt four and five hundred years ago, [though I ſhall not give too much credit to the Miracles they ſay occaſioned it] was upon a Charitable Account, *viz.* to redeem the Chriſtian Slaves from the Turkiſh Tyrannical Bondage; whereupon I ſhall willingly agree with (*i*) *Caſſanæus*, and his Arch-biſhop *Antoninus*

(*k*) Catal. glor. mundi, part. 4. conſid. 63.

Antoninus of *Florence*, that this Order ſhould have preheminency above the reſt. But I fear of late days the Slaves are not ſo much regarded as their own preferments.

Though the *Carmelite*-Fryars will not draw their Inſtitution ſo high, yet they plead pretty fair for Antiquity and continuance, by affirming the Prophet (*a*) *Elias* to be their Founder, and that their Order ſhall remain to the end of the world; which grand Priviledge [as they ſay, the Virgin *Mary* (*b*) told one of this Fraternity] the Prophet deſired of our Saviour Chriſt, at the time of his appearance to him in his (*c*) transfiguration on the Mount.

But this is not all the benefit belonging to theſe people, for they aſſure us that all of this Society ſhall ſtay no longer in *Purgatory*, than the next Saturday after their death; and this they publickly (*d*) printed in certain *Theſes* at *Paris* (8 *Octob.* 1601.) and mainly defended by Doctor *Cayer*. Beſides this, they tell us that the Virgin *Mary* perſwaded Fryar *Francis* to enter himſelf into this Order, and then in Heaven ſhe would give him a Crown of Flowers, which ſhe then ſhew'd him; and that he obeying this advice, becauſe neither himſelf, nor their Covent at *Siena* through poverty, was able to buy him an Habit, an (*e*) Angel very freely came and gave him one. And laſtly, that ſhe appear'd to our Countryman *Simon Stock* (ſo call'd from his (*f*) living in a hollow Stock or Trunk of an Oak) General of this Order, holding a *Scapulare* in her hands, poſitively aſſuring him, that all the *Carmelites* who dyed in that Habit ſhould be (*g*) ſaved.

Here might I tell how the *Premonſtrenſian* Monks (ſo call'd from the Village *Premonſtré* in *Picardy*, whither their Founder *Northbert* Arch-biſhop of *Magdeburg* retired himſelf for Devotion) affirm they received their habits (*h*) from Heaven by the Virgin *Mary*. And here might I ſhew how the *Ciſtercian* Monks (ſo call'd from *Ciſtertium* (*Ciſteaux*) in *Burgondy*, where they began) for all this, affirm the Virgin *Mary* to be kinder to them than others, by (*i*) protecting them under her Arms, and Cloak or Mantle: and many ſuch like fopperies of other Orders; but this may ſerve for the preſent to give the Reader a taſte of their Fooleries, in the too too much magnifying of their reſpective Orders and Societies.

a D' Avity diſcours de l' Origine de toutes les Religions, Sect. 26.
b Genon. Chron. p. 319.
c Mat. 17. 2, 3. Mark 9. 2, 3, 4.
d Vid. P. du Moulin Defence de la foy Catholique, Article 21. p. 441.
e Genon. p. 203.
f Jo. Piſeus de Scriptor. Angl. p. 345.
g Genonat p. 256.
h Genon. p. 159.
i Id. pag. 156.

CHAP. II.

Thinking to honour their Religion, the Romaniſts *relate,* 1. *ſeveral ridiculous Stories to the abuſe of the* B. *Virgin* Mary, 2. *and childiſh Fopperies, to the reproach of our Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt.

SECT. I. *Several ridiculous Stories to the abuſe of the* B. *Virgin.*

THE hardeſt Students have their Intervals, and the greateſt Scholars will now and then have a frolick or crotchet to divert their more ſerious thoughts. Methinks it was not amiſs in Mr. *Geaſt* (formerly of *Cambridge*) when under the *Parliamentary* perſecution, and their Priſoner, for his Loyalty and Honeſty, to throw away an hour or two, to finde out a Myſtery in their abominable and treaſonable *Presbyterian-Covenant*, *viz.* that the number of the words in its ſix damnable Articles, agrees with the number of the Beaſt, 666.

The

Conſult. *German.* in Prefat. ad Lectorem.

The Learned *Thomas Lanſius* pleas'd himſelf in theſe two oppoſite Verſes; the one exhibiting a Catalogue of good things, the other of bad:

Lex, Rex, Grex, Res, Spes, Jus, Thus, Sal, Sol, (bona) *Lux, Laus.*
Mars, Mors, Sors, Vis, Lis, Styx, Nox, Crus, Pus, (mala) *Fex, Fraus.*

and took the pains to know how many alterations they would indure, by which he found out that either of them, by the tranſpoſition of words might be changed (excluding *bona* or *mala*) XXXIX Millions, DCCCC Hundred, XVI Thouſand, and VIII Hundred times.

And *Bernardus Bauhuſius* the Poetical Jeſuit of *Antwerp* made this Verſe of our Saviour,

Epigram. libr. pag. 39.

Rex, Dux, Sol, Lex, Lux, Fons, Spes, Pax, Mons, Petra, Chriſtus.

which he ſaith may be converted 3628800 times. And in honour of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, he compoſed this Verſe,

Tot tibi ſunt dotes Virgo, quot ſidera Cœli.

which he ſaith may be changed a thouſand twenty two ways according to the number of the Stars: And *Erici de Puys* (*Puteanus*) beſtowed a great deal of time and Paper to prove it; yet as he might increaſe his number of the Stars, ſo (if the Verſe will bear it) might he the changes too, if *Lanſius* his account be true, that VIII words may be varyed 40320 times: Nor need any of theſe ſeem ſtrange, when we conſider what variety and multitude of Languages and Words are compoſed of XXIV Letters.

Againſt ſuch commendations as this of the Virgin *Mary* I ſhall ſay nothing, leaving every man to imploy his Ingenuity upon what he pleaſeth. But for any to think they can or ſhould advantage her glory, by fathering a thouſand lies and fopperies upon her, is beyond reaſon: ſo far are they from being advantagious to her honour, that they muſt be abominated by the judicious, and ridiculous to the very Vulgar.

'Tis no great honour to her, that they tell us, ſhe was ſo familiar with ſome men, as to come down from Heaven to be marryed to them. Thus they tell us, how ſhe went and held a young mans Horſe, deſired him to take her for his (*a*) Wife, and *forced* him to kiſs her, the man being *unwilling*; and then very carefully held his Stirrups, whilſt he mounted again on Horſe-back. And another time (*b*) eſpouſed her ſelf, and that with a Ring too, to one *Robert*, whilſt he was yet in his Mothers Womb. Another time they ſay that a (*c*) Brother to a King of *Hungary* going to be married, ſhe was troubled at it, becauſe he ſeemed not to accept of her. Again, how a young man (*d*) married himſelf to her, and put a Ring on her Finger; and afterwards he marrying another woman, and being in bed with her, ſhe came to him, ſhew'd him the Ring, upbraided him for his faithleſneſs; for which another time ſhe whipt him to the purpoſe. And as bad as theſe is another Tale which they do confidently tell us, in ſhort thus: Two Angels conducted the Virgin *Mary* to one *Hermanus*, to whom they agree to marry her; to which purpoſe they bid him draw neer: he, though he had a months (*e*) minde, yet through ſhame ſeemed unwilling; for though he had been very (*f*) familiar with her, yet he thought it odd to be ſo coupled with her: At laſt he takes ſome courage, and on he goeth; but again he falls off, and fancying it an odd buſineſs, at this the Angel takes hold

a *Ceſarius* l. 7. c. 33. Specul. Exempl. diſt. 6. Sect. 63.
b *Gonon.* Chron. B. Virg. pag. 142.
c Vid. *Andr. Rivet.* Apol. pro B. Virg. l. 2. c. 15. p. 367.
d Ib. p. 366.
Vid. *Rivet.* P. 363, 364.
e Incitabat amor, pudor retinebat.
f Tametſi Virgine familiariſſime adhuc uſus eſſet.

hold of his hand, and, will he, nill he, by main force joyn'd it to the Blessed *Maries* right hand, and in these words married them together, (*a*) *I espouse this Virgin to thee, as she was formerly espoused to holy* Joseph, *and command thee with this thy Wife, to take upon thee the name of an Husband and of* Joseph.

But because there is few satisfied with a bare Marriage, they will have her to be much given to kissing too. To which purpose I told you formerly how they say, she beg'd of a young man to buss her, and (*b*) made him do it whether he would or no. Another man (*Gononus* tells us) she (*) *hug'd* about the neck and kist him; and the same familiarity and ceremony (and I should be apt to think it the same story, did not my Author make almost an hundred years difference between them) did she use to another (*c*) *Cistertian Spanish* Monk. To another of the same Order, whose name name was (*d*) *Abundus*, she gave her hand to kiss; but this not satisfying her, she also went and kist him, as she bust the (*e*) cheeks of *Stephanus Justitius*, whom she also perswaded from that severity and abstinency of body which he formerly used.

But as if marrying and kissing were not enough, she must also afford the benefit and happiness of her Brests: Thus they say she pull'd out her Dugs to pour her Milk (*f*) into the mouth of her Friend *Alanus*. Thus she let Abbot (*g*) *Fulbert* suck her Brests, and with that frankness, that his Cheeks were all besmear'd with her Milk. And to another (*h*) Priest she did the same favour. Nay, rather than fail of love-tricks, her very (*i*) Image or Statue could several times afford some drops to the comfort of St. *Bernard*, to advance his Eloquence. And she was as they say so kinde too, as to lye in bed (*k*) between a man and his wife, the first night of their Marriage.

Nay, as if all this were not enough, they would make her a Patroness (for ought that I know) to whoredom. For thus they glory of her, that one *Beatrice* a Nun, having stole from the Nunnery, and play'd the errant (*l*) Whore for fifteen years together; the Blessed *Mary* supplyed her place all the while in her likeness and habit, that it might not be known that the Nun had been so wicked. A pretty while and honour to her, to be absent from Heaven, playing the drudge upon Earth, in behalf of such an Whore. Another time they say, a certain (*m*) Abbess being got with Childe, and in great perplexity how to keep its knowledge from the rest of her Nuns, who bare her a grudge; the Virgin *Mary*, to hide the shame, and save the credit of the Strumpet, descended from Heaven with two Angels, whom she commanded to play the Mid-wives, and then to carry the Childe in her name to a certain Hermite, to keep it till it was seven years old. Another wench they tell us of, who being (*n*) over-kinde with her Master, her Mistress the goodwife offended at this abuse, had a minde to be revenged on her; but the Virgin *Mary* bid her let her alone, because she belong'd to her. Nay of late days, within these forty years, *viz.* 1627. they tell us how a *Neapolitan* (*o*) Whore, dying suddenly at *Anagni* in *Compagna di Roma*, had the favour shew'd her by the Virgin *Mary* to be restored to life again, that she might confess her sins and be happy in Heaven. And so she saved the life of another (*p*) Harlot.

What shall I say of her other love-tricks they father upon her? of her giving *Alanus* a (*q*) Ring made of the Hair of her own Head; of her bringing (*r*) Bread from Heaven to give to another; of her giving Cœlestial (*s*) Electuary by spoonfuls to a company of Monks, onely neglecting one for his studying of Physick: Of her coming from Heaven with St. *Catherine* and *Mary Magdalen*, to I know not what poor (*t*) *Indian* Woman,

a Hanc ego tibi virginem, uti olim B. *Josepho* desponsa est, despondeo, jubeoq; nomen sponsi simul cum sponsa accipere, ac deinceps *Josephum* nominari.

b Accede ad me, & da mihi Osculum, & coegit eum. *Cæsar*, l. 7. c. 33.

* Collum meum brachiis suis stringens, dedit mihi osculum, p. 297.

c Ib. pag. 207. *Cæsar*, l. 7. c. 51.

d *Gonon.* p. 235.

e Id. pag. 525, 526.

f *Gonon.* p. 374.

g *Daurault.* cap. 2. Tit. 41. Sect. 2. *Gonon.* pag. 131.

h *Gonon.* p. 132.

i *Gonon.* p. 172, 173, 174.

k *Vincent.* spec. Hist. l. 7. c. 87.

l *Cæsarius*, l. 7. c. 35.

m *Vincent.* Specul. Histor. l. 7. c. 86. Discip. de Mirac. B. Virg. Exemp. 24.

n Vid. *Rivet.* Apol. pro B. Virg. l. 2. c. 15. p. 375.

o *Gononus* pag. 525.

p Id. pag. 221, 222.

q *Gononus*, pag. 374.

r *Cæsar.* lib. 7. cap. 32.

s Ib. l. 7. c. 48. Spec. Exemp. dist. 3. Sect. 28.

t *Daurault*, c. 2. Tit. 41. Sect 3.

man, ſpreading a Cloth on the Table, and feeding her with I know not what.

Would they not have us to think that they work and labour at their reſpective *Trades* in *Heaven*, as we do upon Earth? when they tell us that the Virgin *Mary* brought a (*a*) Garment thence and gave it to *Boniface*. That ſhe brought another out of Chriſt's (*b*) Treaſury, which ſhe gave to S. *Ildephonſus*, Arch-biſhop of *Toledo*: but whether it is now kept in that (*c*) City, or in (*d*) *Oviedo* in the *Aſturias*, let them agree about it, I ſhall let it alone, as doubting to finde it in neither; yet this Garment probably might be made on earth, ſince (*e*) *Nieremburgius* tells us, that ſome are of opinion, that our Saviour ware it himſelf, when he firſt celebrated the Sacrament of the *Euchariſt*. But they tell us nothing to the contrary, but that the (*f*) *Girdle* which ſhe gave to a Prieſt, [and as they ſay, is yet to be ſeen at *Tartoſa* in *Catalonia*] was made in Heaven, but by whom I know not.

What can I ſay againſt the *Ciſtertian* Monks? ſince ſhe was ſo favourable to them, who uſed to wear black Habits, as to come from Heaven, and bring a white Cowl or Hood with her, & put it on the head of their ſecond Abbot (*g*) *Albericus*; at which inſtant all the Cowls of the Monks ſinging in the Quire, were alſo miraculouſly turned white; which colour they have kept ever ſince. Thus (*h*) *Thomas* of *Becket* received another Garment from her. Thus ſhe gave a ſweet-ſented, curled or criſped ſkie-colour Vail to (*i*) *Lywina*: Another of Cloath of Gold to *Franciſca*, put it on her, and laid her head in her lap. And another time brought a rich (*k*) Crown from Heaven, and placed it on the head of St. *Brigit*. As ſhe beſtowed a (*l*) golden Croſs upon *Waltherus*.

Beſides this, would they not have us to think that there are brave Gardens and Flowers in Heaven? when they tell us, that ſhe brought thence two baſkets full of (*m*) Roſes, and gave to two women as a proof of their pure Virginity. And another time walked along by a Fryar, being ſtuck about with white and red Roſes, and having a (*n*) Chaplet of Roſes on her head, which look'd as freſh as if they had been newly pluck'd from Paradiſe. Another time brought a (*o*) Garland of Flowers, and put it on the head of a *German* Woman call'd *Mary*. But methinks ſhe was moſt kinde to *Jacobus Calipetus*, who (*p*) dying, and it ſeems none of the greateſt Saints, ſhe at laſt procured ſome way or other that his ſoul ſhould be reſtored to him again; and being thus alive upon earth again, he made himſelf a *Cæleſtine* Monk [ſo call'd from their Founder Pope *Cæleſtinus* the Fifth] where they ſay he lived very godly, and did a great many pretty Miracles; and one time whilſt he was celebrating Maſs, the Virgin *Mary* went into the Chappel with a troup of Saints and Angels, and placed a Garland of Flowers upon his head: And this not long ſince, for he dyed the ſecond time, but *Anno* 1538.

Beſides theſe, we might queſtion from what Apothecaries Shop in Heaven ſhe procured the formerly-mentioned Electuaries, or the ſtrange (*q*) Oyntments wherewith ſhe anoynted and cured the wounded leg or knee of the *German* Nun. But letting theſe paſs, what honour do they do her when they make her a drudge? as to come from Heaven with many Saints and Angels to aſſiſt *Catherine* of *Siena* to make (*r*) bread. Another time to deſcend with a company of ſhe-Saints, to ſome Monks working in Harveſt, whom ſhe kiſt and embraced, and with (*ſ*) Towels (which they brought down with them) wiped the ſweat, durt and duſt from their faces. Another time to get all the ſweat of the labouring Monks and put it into a (*t*) Veſſel, becauſe it afforded a pleaſant ſmell to her and Chriſt. Another time to come from Heaven to (*u*) beſprinkle with holy Water a company of

a Specul. Exempl. diſt. 4. Sect 6.
b De Theſauris filij mei. *Alphonſ. de Carthag.* Anacephal. Reg. *Hiſpan*, cap. 38. *Jo. Mariana*, Hiſt. *Hiſp.* l. 6. c. 10.
c *Gonon.*, pag. 96.
d *Jo. Euſ. Nieremburg.* de Mirac. Europæ, l. 1. c. 18.
e Ib.
f Ib.
g *Gonon.* p. 154.
h Id. p. 177. Specul Exempl. diſt. 9. Sect. 122.
i *Gonon.* p. 351.
k Id. pag. 322.
l Id., pag. 202.
m Specul. Exemp. diſt. 9. Sect. 117.
n Id. diſt. 9. Sect. 118.
o *Gonon.* p. 209.
p Id. pag. 459.
q *Cæſar.* lib. 7. cap. 49.
r *Gonon.* p. 323.
ſ *Dauroult*, c. 2. Vit. 41. Sect. 4. *Gonon.* p. 168. Spec. Exempl. diſt. 3. Sect. 24.
t Specul. Exemp. diſt. 9. Sect 103.
u *Nicol. Faſſonius* vitæ St. *Dominici*, l. 2. c. 12. p. 177. *Genonus*, p 212.

of sleeping Monks; nay, they make her so officious and subservant, that they tell us, how one time she came from Heaven, and mended *Thomas* of *Beckets* [a] Hair-shirt for him, when he himself knew not how to get it patch'd up; but she stitch'd it neatly up with red Hair.

[a] *Tho. Cantipratan*, lib. 2. cap. 29. Sect. 12. pag. 285. Specul. Exempl. dist. 8. Sect. 77.

To these we might add many other ridiculous Fopperies; as of a woman, having her son taken from her by the Enemies, earnestly desired the assistance of the Virgin *Mary* in getting her son again; but finding all these prayers in vain, she takes another course, goeth to Church, upbraids the Virgin of her negligence, and tells her plainly, she will take her Son from her, and keep it till she have her Childe restored; and forthwith takes the little Image of Christ from the Virgins Arms, and home she trots, and locks it up safely in a Chest. Upon this the Virgin *Mary* seeing no remedy, hyeth her that night to the Prison where the womans Son was, opens the door, lets him out, bids him haste home to his Mother; and having thus restored him, bids him desire his Mother that she might have her Son Christ again; which accordingly was performed, and so all were friends. And such another Tale they tell us of a *German* Woman call'd *Jutta*, whose young Childe being snatch'd away by a Wolf, and carryed into the Woods; of this the Mother informed, runs to the Chappel, and took the Image of Christ from the Virgin *Maries* Arms, telling her she should never have her Son again, unless she had her childe restored to her safe and sound. At this the Virgin *Mary* was puzled, fearing she should [b] loose her Son Christ; upon which she commands the Wolf, who left the Childe, which being found and carried to its Mother, she went to the Church and restored the Image. Nay, they would make her descend to take up the tears of a certain devout Youth in a [c] Cloth, that she might the more conveniently shew them to our Saviour; as if he understood not all things as well as her self.

Jacob. de Voragine, hist. 126.

Cæsar. l. 7. c. 46.

[b] Quasi timeret carere filio suo.

[c] *Gonin.* p. 222.

But though the Protestants of the Reformed Church are apt to think that God the Son should apprehend and understand all our necessities a great deal better then the Virgin *Mary*, and having shed his blood for us, is more powerful for our Salvation; yet the *Romanists* will tell us other Stories, and for ought that I know, call us Hereticks for being of such a Perswasion.

How come they else to start this Question [d] *Whether 'tis better for us to implore the name of* Jesus, *or the name of* Mary? In the deciding of which doubt, *Mendoza* the famous *Portugal*-Jesuit tells us plainly, that as *Moses* made two *Cherubins* of equal bigness, so she and Christ are almost of the same Authority with God; as they had wings alike, so these two afford the same objects to God, she her Brests, he his Wounds, by which means both obtain of him what they desire. Nay, that sometimes she is easier intreated than *Jesus Christ*, and therefore sometimes her Protection is more assisting and helpful to us.

[d] *Franc. de Mendoza* viridarium, lib. 2. Problem. 2.

To what purpose else should they bring in the Blessed Virgin thus saying----[e] *As* Adam *and* Eve *sold the World for an Apple, so I and my Son did redeem the world as if it were with one heart.* And that the *Rule of the world is divided* [f] *between God and the Virgin* Mary; and if any man *be agreeved of God, they may have their recourse to her.*

[e] Vid. *Rivet.* Apol. pro B. Virg. l. 2. c. 5. p. 248.

[f] Vid. *Rivet.* l. 2. c. 2. p. 210. & 211.

Wherefore else should they make comparisons betwixt our Saviours Blood and the Virgins Milk, as if they could not tell which to rely upon for their Salvation? Thus one of them shews his uncertainty:

* *Positus in Medio*
Quo me vertam Nescio:

* Vid. *Rivet.* l. 1. c. 19. p. 155 Id. Jesuita vapulans, c. 14. Sect 15. p. 307, *in* 308.

In hoc dulci dubio,
Dulcis eſt Collatio.

'Twixt *Chriſt* and *Mary* plac'd to turn about,
To which I know not, ſo great's this pleaſant doubt.

And to this purpoſe *Gilbertus Maſius*, not long ſince Biſhop of *Shertogenboſch* [*Sylva ducis*, *Boſcum ducis*, *Boiſleduc* in *Brabant*] had his Picture made between *Jeſus* and *Mary*, with this Motto:

Poſitus in medio, quo me vertam neſcio.

which for ought that I know, is yet to be ſeen in the Glaſs-Window of St. *James* his Church there. And this puts me in minde of the great *Spaniſh* Cardinal *Xemenes*, who of his famous Bible printed at *Alcala de Henares* [*a*] ſaith, that he hath placed the vulgar *Latine* between the *Hebrew* and *Greek*, as *Chriſt* was hung between *two Thieves*.

a Preſat. ante Bibl. *complut.*

But to return: *Carolus Scribanius*, the famous Rector and Provincial of the *Belgick* Jeſuits, though for ſome time he lurked under the Anagrammatical Vizard of *Clarus Bonarſcius*, thus wavers betwixt our Saviour and the Virgin *Mary*.

Amphitheatr. Honoris, lib. 3. cap. 8.

Hæreo lac inter meditans, interq; cruorem,
Inter delicias uberis & lateris:
Et dico (ſi forte Oculos ſuper ubera tendo)
Diva parens Mammæ gaudia poſco tuæ.
Sed dico (ſedeinde oculos in vulnera verto)
O Jeſu, lateris gaudia malo tui.
Rem ſcio, prenſabo, ſi fas erit ubera dextrâ,
Læva prenſabo vulnera ſi dabitur.
Lac Matris miſcere volo cum ſanguine nati,
Non poſſum Antidoto nobiliore frui.

Ira vomit flammas, fumatq; libidinis Ætna?
Suffocare queo ſanguine, lacte queo.
Livor inexpletâ rubigine ſævit in artus?
Detergere queo lacte, cruore queo.
Vanus honos me perpetua prurigine tentat?
Exaturare queo ſanguine, lacte queo.
Ergo Parens & Nate, meis advertite votis:
Lac peto, depereo ſanguinem; utrumq; volo.
Parvule, maternis mediis qui ludis in ulnis,
Qui tua jam comples ubera, jam vacuas.

Sæpe quidem dixti, noxis offenſus iniquis
Tune meas mammas, Improbe tune meas?
Nolo tuas, O! nolo tuas puer auree mammas;
Non ſum tam duri, tam gravis oris homo:
Sed tantum lateris pluat unica, & unica ſtilla,
Et ſaltem à dextræ vulnere gutta pluat.

Dic matri, meus hic frater ſitit, optima Mater,
Vis de fonte tuo promera, deq; meo?

Such a Copy of Verſes as theſe I finde in the ingenious Jeſuit *Angelinus Gazæus*, in his *Pia Hilaria*; but which of theſe two was the firſt Author, and which the *Plagiary*, I ſhall leave to the *Belgick Jeſuits* to determine, both being born, both living at the ſame time, and both Governours amongſt their Order, in *that* Country.

Die

Dic nato tuus hic frater, mi mellee fili,
Captivus monſtrat vincula, lytron habes.
Ergo Redemptorem monſtra te jure vocari,
Nobilior reliquis ſi tibi ſanguis ineſt.
Tuq; Parens monſtra matrem te jure vocari,
Vbera ſi reliquis divitiora geris.
&c.

My thoughts are at a ſtand, of Milk and Blood,
Delights of Breſt and Side, which yeilds moſt good:
And ſay, when on thy Teats mine eyes I caſt,
Sweet Lady, of thy Breſts I beg a taſte.
But if mine eyes upon thy wounds do glide,
O *Jeſu*, then fain would I ſuck thy ſide.
But now I'm fixt, for my right hand ſhall hold *Here the Milk is advanced above the Blood.*
Thy Breſts, whilſt with his wounds my left makes bold.
And with the Milk and Blood in mixture, make
The Soveraign'ſt Cordial ſinful ſoul can take.

Doth *Ire* belch fire, or *luſt* like *Ætna* ſmoke?
Either this Blood or Milk that heat can choak.
Doth *Envies* ruſt enroul me round about?
This Milk, or that ſame Blood can waſh it out.
Or do vain-glorious thoughts pride up my will?
Thy Milk as well as his Blood laies them ſtill.
Mother and Son, give ear to what I crave;
I beg this Milk, that Blood, and both would have.
Youngling! that in thy Mothers Arms art playing,
Sucking her Breſts ſometimes, and ſometimes ſtaying:

Oft haſt thou ſaid (being angry at my ſin) *Here the Milk is preferd before the Blood.*
Dar'ſt thou deſire the Teats my food lyes in?
I will not, Oh! I dare not, golden Childe;
From fear and ſhame I'm not ſo far exilde.
I'd onely have one drop, one drop implore
From thy right hand or ſide; I ask no more.

Yet tell thy Mother, ſee thy Brothers thirſt,
Mother, your Milk will eaſe him at the firſt.
Say to thy Son, Behold thy Brothers bands,
Sweet Son, thou haſt his Ranſom in thy hands.
Shew thy Redeeming Power to ſouls oppreſt,
O Son, if that thy Blood excel the reſt.
But Mother, if thy Breſts the reſt exceed,
Shew thou'rt a Mother juſtly ſo ſtil'd indeed.
&c.

And to the ſame purpoſe hath [*a*] *Franciſcus de Mendoza* another Copy of Verſes, to whom I ſhall refer the Reader.

And here I might inlarge of many more of their commendations of the Virgin *Mary*; as that ſhe was of ſuch Zeal, that if the *Jews* had not crucified our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, [*b*] ſhe would have done it her ſelf with her own hands, becauſe forſooth ſhe had no leſs Charity than *Abraham* had, who was going to kill his ſon. What might I ſay of the extravagances of their *Poſſa*,

a Veridarium, lib. 2. Probl. 2. Sect. 20.

b Vid. *Hen. Eſtienn.* Apol. pour Herodot. pag. 301. *Rivet.* Apol. pro B. Virg. l. 2. c. 5. p. 248.

Poza, who brings all the pen-laviſhments of the Pagan Poets concerning their Heathen Goddeſſes and Whores, to compleat the commendations of the Bleſſed Virgin? And again of the folly of another, who would have *Moſes* to allude to her, becauſe he ſaith, that the gathering together of the Waters was call'd (in *Latine*) [a] *Maria* (Seas.) And many other ſuch like Fopperies (to ſay no worſe) have they abuſed her with, inſomuch that Doctor *Andrè Rivet* of *France* thought himſelf obliged to write an Apology for her, where may be ſeen ſeveral other of their abſurdities of her.

a Vid *Rivet.* l. 1. c. 9. p. 66.

But to conclude with theſe follies concerning the Bleſſed Virgin, it is not amiſs to ſee how they bury, and carry her into Heaven.

Vid. *Rivet.* lib. 1. cap. 22. *Genonus*, p. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33.

She deſiring to dye, an Angel tells her the time ſhall be three days after; brings from Paradiſe a bough of a Palm-Tree to be carried before her Hearſe, and mourning Garments for the Funeral. Then the Apoſtles were hurried to her in Clouds, from whom ſhe received the Euchariſt and Extream Unction. Then Chriſt with the Angels, Patriarchs, Prophets, Martyrs, Confeſſors, and Virgins, who ſang her *Requiem*, and ſo ſhe dyed; Chriſt commanding the Apoſtles to bury her body (which ſpake after her ſoul was gone out of it) in the Valley of *Joſaphat*; which accordingly was done: St. *Peter* and St. *John* complementing one another who ſhould carry the *Palm*. Chriſt and all the Angels aſſiſted, but the *Jews* endeavour'd to ſpoil the ſolemnity; yet ſome of them had better have been quiet, unleſs they believed when they could not ſee.

Having lain ſome time in the Grave, her ſoul entred into her Body again, to make way for her Aſſumption, which they make a glorious and very orderly ſhew: thus marſhalling it; firſt went the Apoſtles, then the Angels who were on the world; then the ſouls flying to Heaven; then the ſouls from Purgatory; and fifthly, the Angels who were Guardians to theſe ſouls. Again, theſe were met from Heaven, 1. By the *Patriarchs*. 2. The *Prophets*. 3. *Martyrs*. 4. *Confeſſors*. 5. *Virgins*. 6. All the *Saints*. 7. *Angels aſſiſtants*, who go ſeldom out of Heaven. And 8. and laſtly, the *Trinity*, Father, Son and holy Ghoſt: every one of which company made a ſpeech; and now was [b] Heaven they ſay quite empty, and nothing in it.

b Cœlum fuiſſe evacuatum.

And thus all things being ready and prepared for her motion to Heaven, up they have her; and as ſhe paſs'd through the Orbs, the reſpective *Planets* according to their duty met her, every one of them making a wiſe Speech to her, to intice her to ſtay with them: and the Planet *Venus* pleaded very dapperly, hoping to perſwade her to ſtay and live with her, telling of her how *ſhe was the Goddeſs of Love, and is call'd* Lucifer, *being the brighteſt of all the Stars; how ſhe pleaſeth all the five Senſes*, &c. and, which is beſt of all, they make the Planet quote in her Speech *Bartholomeus Glanvellus* an *Engliſh-man*, who lived about thirteen hundred years after the Bleſſed Virgins death. And it ſeems *Venus* went very fair to have won her; for they ſay the Angels perſwaded her not to ſtay there, telling her how *Venus* was an errant whore; and ſo deſired her to leave that place, and aſcend higher, where was a better Crown and Habitation for her.

Genonis, p. 32, 33.

Yet they will tell you that ſhe left not the earth ſo careleſly, but that ſhe left many holy Reliques in the cuſtody of St. *John*, as pledges of her affection to us; ſuch as the *Swadling-bands* of our Saviour, his *Winding-ſheet*, her own *Girdle*, the *Vail* which ſhe wore when ſhe was married, her Kemb, the *Ring* wherewith ſhe was married; Chriſts *Napkin* that was wrapt about his head in the Sepulchre, his *Fore-skin*, his *Crown* of *Thornes*; and to ſhew her ſelf a good Houſe-wife, ſhe bequeath'd alſo to us her very

very *Spindle*, wherewith ſhe uſed to imploy her ſelf. Reliques, I muſt confeſs, that if I knew certainly where to have them, I ſhould have a vaſt eſteem for: But when I finde ſuch apparent cheats in ſuch ware, that many times pieces of Dogs, Cats, and ſuchlike animals have been worſhip'd for holy Reliques of Saints, and ſuch incertainty where the truth lies, I am the leſs zealous. As for Example:

Vid. *Jo. Polyand.* Diſput. de Reliq. and Lord *Herberts* Hiſt. *Hen.* VIII. *Anno* 1538.

Chriſts Fore-ſkin, the people of *Akin* ſay they have it; thoſe of *Antwerp* affirm they have it; *Heldeſham* in *Germany* brags of it; the *Romans* ſay, 'tis in St. *John Laterans* Church. And again, both *Byzanſon* and *Charroux* in *France* boaſt that 'tis there. And yet others ſay that it is at *Calcata* twenty miles from *Rome*.

Again, what a Monſter will they make of St. *John Baptiſt!* thoſe of *Rome* aſſuring us that his whole head is in the Cloiſter of St. *Sylveſter*; thoſe of *Malta* ſay, they have the hinder part of it; *Amiens* and St. *John Angelique* brag of the fore-part. And although [*a*] *Theodoret* declareth that *Julian* the Apoſtate burned to Aſhes the body of this St. *John*, yet they will have the *Finger* wherewith he pointed, ſaying, *Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the ſins of the world*, was ſaved; but if you have a minde to ſee it, you muſt trudge to *Lyons*, to *Bourges*, to *Bezanſon*, to *Fortuits*, to *Tholouſe*, and alſo to *Florence*; every one of theſe places affirming they have it.

a Hiſt. l. 3. c. 6.

Thus St. *Andrew* hath two Bodies, one at *Tolouſe*, another at *Melphe*. And St. *Anthony* hath two, one at *Arles*, another at *Vienna*. St. *Matthias* hath three Bodies, one at *Rome*, another at *Padoa*, and a third at *Triers*. So hath *Lazarus*, at *Authun*, at *Marſeilles*, and at *Avalon*. And St. *Sebaſtian* hath four Bodies, one nigh unto *Narbonne*, a ſecond at *Rome*, a third at *Soiſſons*, and the fourth at *Piligni* near unto *Nantes*. To St. *Anne* they give five Heads, *Lyons*, *Apt* in *Provence*, St. *Annes* in *Turingue*, *Duran* in *Juliars*, and fifthly, *Tryers*; all theſe places boaſt of ſuch a Skull. And for St. *Sebaſtian*, for ought that I know, the preſent *Romaniſts* give him as many Arms, as the old *Romans* wounded them with *Arrows*, for they allow him no leſs than twelve, *viz.* one Arm at *Mombriſon* in *Foreſt*, one at St. *Servins de Toloſe*, one at *Caſe-Dieu* in *Auvergne*, and one at *Angers*; beſides theſe, two at *Soiſſons*, two at *Piligni*, two nigh unto *Narbonne*, where he was born; and laſtly, two in St. *Laurences* Church at *Rome*. And many ſuchlike monſtrous inſtances might be ſhewn, enough to cool my Zeal and Fancy, though apt ſuperſtitiouſly to admire Antiquity.

What might I ſay of the Milk of the Bleſſed Virgin, now ſo plentifully brag'd of in many places, that the famous [*b*] *Eraſmus* is of opinion, that it is impoſſible for one teeming Woman, though the Childe had ſuck'd nothing, to afford ſo much? And for the Croſs, there is ſcarce a *Romaniſt* in the world but brags that he hath a piece of it; which made the former judicious perſon declare, that if the pieces of the Croſs now brag'd of and ſhew'd about, were gathered together, they would fill or load a great Ship; as St. [*c*] *Apollonias* Teeth being gathered together, were ſo many that they fill'd a Tun. All which makes me ſubſcribe to the Learned [*d*] *Iſaac Caſaubon*, that moſt of our modern Reliques are either doubtful, or palpably counterfeit.

b Colloq. Peregrinat. Religionis ergo, pag. 260.

c *Tho. Fullers* Ch. Hiſt. l. 6. Sect. 5. Sect. 11

d Exercit. contra *Baron.* 16. Sect. 104.

Though the forementioned compariſons might ſufficiently teſtifie, that they had none of the greateſt Values of our Saviour; yet let us add ſomething to ſhew what a little helpleſs youngling they would yet make him; and yet forſooth, would perſwade us all theſe petty pranks to be for his commendation.

SECT. II. *Childiſh Fopperies to the reproach of Jeſus Chriſt.*

Though

Though I am not apt to fancy the contrary, when I finde them telling ſuch ridiculous and impertinent Trifles as theſe; that the Bleſſed Virgin brought him dandling in her Arms like a little Childe out of Heaven,

a *Gonon.* pag. 44; 45. willing him to be [a] married to *Catherine* of *Sienna*; but he ſaid, ſhe was not handſome enough: but at laſt he accepted her, and ſo they were married together with a Ring. Another time, how ſhe brought him down,

b Id. pag. 169. and placed him in the arms of one [b] *Faſtredus*. Another time ſhe deſcend-

c Id. pag. 310. ed with him to a company of Fryars, to whom he ſpake in [c] *French*, bidding them magnifie his Mother; and at laſt I know not how the *little*

d Infantulus. [d] *Infant* Chriſt ſlipt out of his Mothers Arms, and gave a ſweet Roſe to

e *L. Alcoran*, l. 1. p. 3. one of them. Another time ſhe gave him to [e] St. *Francis*, who kept him and kiſs'd him all night long; and the ſame favour he obtain'd [f] a-

f Id. pag. 254. nother time. *Benevent* alſo had him in his hands; but, which was more,

g Id. l. 2. p. 366. they ſay he play'd the [g] Cook-boy, and looked to dreſs the Fryars Victuals, whilſt *Benevent* through forgetfulneſs had neglected them and his duty.

b *Ceſarius*, l. 7. c. 20. p. 406. They go on and tell us how the Virgin *Mary* once placed him on a [b] *Corporale* then drying on a Womans knee; the Woman not knowing what little Childe it was, would have thruſt him off, but he deſired her to let

i *Gonon.* p. 233. him ſit there. That another time he ſhew'd [i] *Arnulphus* all the *Patriarchs*, *Prophets*, *Apoſtles*, *Martyrs*, *Confeſſors*, *Virgins* and *Angels*; that the Virgin gave him to be embraced by the ſaid Monk, who not able to indure the

k Id. p. 274. pleaſure, bid her take her Son again. Thus they tell us that [k] *Hoſtradus* being at meat in the Hall or Refectory with the other Fryars, ſhe brought Chriſt from Heaven, and carried him in amongſt them: *Hoſtradus* ſeeing him a pretty boy, offer'd him ſome Victuals, ſaying, *Eat, eat, pretty Childe.* To whom *Jeſus* ſmiling, ſaid, *He needed none of his meat, but he ſhould eat ſome with him in Heaven.*

l *Bzovius* Annal. an. 1236. Sect. 4. What ſhall I ſay more? they aſſure us that he came to [l] *Arnoldus*, and ſhew'd him his name writ in the Book of Life. That not many years ſince,

m *Gononus*, p. 418. *viz.* *Anno* 1505, one [m] *Oſanna* of *Mantoa*, a Nun, was wedded to *Chriſt* by a Ring, the Virgin *Mary* and the Prophet *David* aſſiſting; and that *Je-*

n Specul. Exemp. diſt. 7. Sect. 37. *ſus* taught her to Write and Read. That [n] *Conradus de Offida* had Chriſt brought him from Heaven by the Bleſſed Virgin, whom he took in his Arms, and placing mouth to mouth, and lips to lips, he was overcome as it

o *Art. à Monaſt.* Martyrol. *Franc.* VII *April.* Sect. 3. were with kiſſes and embracements. That [o] *Sebaſtianus à S. Maria* about an hundred years ago (he dyed 1580) ſaw the Virgin at the Altar to dandle Chriſt up and down in her Arms and kiſs him.

Nor is this all, for they would make us believe, that our Saviour Chriſt

p *Art. à Monaſt.* VI *April.* Sect 6. [p] ſpake intelligibly ſeveral times out of the Wafer to a *Spaniſh Franciſcan* call'd *Joannes ab Occania*. That he appear'd to [q] *Lyduvina*; imprinted upon

q *Dauroult.* c. 5. Tit. 2. Sect. 15. her (as St. *Francis* had) his five Wounds, and turn'd himſelf ſeveral times, now into the faſhion of a Wafer, then into a Childe, and ſuchlike tricks. That one time upon the Altar he turn'd himſelf from the form of the conſecrated Wafer, into a little Childe; which Childe, after

r Ib. Tit. 2. Sect 7. [r] *Plegilus* the Prieſt had taken into his Arms, and wearied himſelf with kiſſing, clipping and embracing, by preſſing breſt to breſt, and lips to lips, and then laid on the Altar, was again converted into Wafer as formerly. Nay, which is more, that in the likeneſs of a little Childe he appeared upon the

s Ib Tit. 2. Sect. 2. Altar, and was there really [s] Sacrificed, and cut to pieces by an Angel from Heaven, his blood poured into the Chalice; and all this ado, to make a poor ſimple old man believe *Tranſubſtantiation.*

But to ſhew you, that the world was come to that paſs, that the people had a greater love and reſpect for the Virgin *Mary* than Chriſt himſelf; nay,

and

and at laſt, their very common Saints got the eſteem and affection from both of them: one Inſtance ſhall ſerve for all, and this of one declared by the [a] *Injunctions* of King *Henry* the Eighth (and that before he had fully thrown off the Pope) to have been a *Rebel and Traytor to his Prince*, and by reviling words and violent hands to have provoked *Tracy* and the reſt to kill him: And this ſhall be *Thomas a Becket*, whoſe life we ſhall declare in the following Hiſtory.

[a] *Fox*, Tom. 2. pag. 440.

The Church of *Canterbury* before the diſſolution of Abbies, had three ſeveral Shrines or Altars:

One dedicated to Chriſt.
Another to the Virgin Mary.
The third to St. Thomas Becket.

The yearly Offerings to theſe, will ſhew the peoples affection; an inſtance or two of which, take as followeth, out of the old Leger-Book of that Church.

This Year,

	l.	*s.*	*d.*	
The Oblations offered to the Virgin	063	05	6	o
Item, *To the Shrine of St.* Thomas Becket	832	12	3	ob.
Item, *To Chriſt's Shrine*	003	02	2	o

The next Year,

To the Bleſſed Virgin	004	01	8	q
Item, *To St.* Thomas	954	06	3	o
Item, *To Chriſt*	000	00	o	o

And this is that to which Mr. [b] *Fuller* alludeth, thus: — *The Revenues whereof, by Peoples Offerings, amounted to more than* 600 *pounds a year. And the ſame Accomptant, when coming to ſet down what then or there was offer'd to Chriſt's or the* High-Altar, *diſpatcheth all with a Blank*, Summo Altari nil. *Yea, whereas before* Beckets *death, the Cathedral in* Canterbury *was call'd* Chriſts-Church, *it paſſed afterwards for the Church of St.* Thomas, *verifying therein the complaint of* [c] Mary Magdalen, *Suſtulerunt Dominum*, they have taken away the Lord. *Though ſince, by the demoliſhing of* Beckets *Shrine, the Church (and that juſtly) hath recovered his true and ancient name.*

[b] Church-Hiſtory, Book 3. P. 36. Sect. 70.

[c] John 20. 2.

CHAP. III.

For the glory of their Religion, and their holy Chieftains, the Romaniſts *tell,* 1. *Many fooliſh, unchriſtian, unmannerly, filthy, and naſty ſtories of their Saints.* 2. *They invent many brave* Utopian *Saints, who never breath'd in this World.* 3. *They faign and deviſe ſeveral lying Stories and Wonders.* 4. *Their pretty Tales of Brutes and ſenceleſs Creatures, and what doughty Champions they are for the* Romaniſts *againſt Hereticks.* 5. *How baſely they abuſed and ſo vexed the poor Divel, that at laſt he repented of his ſins; and as it ſeems, had a good opinion of the* Romiſh *Religion, by his great affection to the* Maſs. 6. *Their fooliſh deſcription of Hell, Purgatory and Paradiſe: and what a ſimple and vain place they make Heaven to be.*

SECT. I. *Unchriſtian, unmannerly and filthy Stories of their Saints.*

THere goeth a ſtory of a *French-man*, that ſeeing his Maſter kiſs the Popes Toe, ſneak'd out of the Preſence, giving this for his Reaſon, that if his Lord kiſs'd his Feet, he fear'd they would make him ſalute a worſe place. I ſhall not offer to make compariſons: but ſince they father ſuch fooliſh ſtories upon Chriſt, we have little reaſon to ſuppoſe that they mend the matter when they come to the Saints, men for ought that I know equal to themſelves.

And the truth is, 'tis pretty to obſerve what ſimple and ſottiſh Tales they invent to magnifie theſe their Saints, as if they were agreed with the *Mahumetans*, to fancy *Folly* to be a ſign of *Holineſs*; ſo far are their actions from having any real badge of Sanctity, or diſcretion, unleſs you will allow the nakedneſs of a *Ranter* or *Adamite*, and the ſtupidity of a *Quaker*, to paſs for true Holineſs.

Marc. Maru'us, lib. 1. cap. 4.

Thus to paſs for excellencies in Religion, they commend *Moſes* the Abbot, and *Conſtantius* the Monk, for deſiring and longing to be abuſed by any body. Of one [*a*] *Peter*, who had rather be held a companion of Women, then a Holy man: And St. *Francis*, for making it his buſineſs to procure one to ſpeak evil againſt him, as to call him *Clown*, *Idiot*, *lazy-fellow*, and ſuchlike. Thus they honour [*b*] *Simeon Stylita* for his mad-faſhioned Devotion, as his girding himſelf ſo hard about with a Cord, that his Fleſh putrified; for his living ſeveral years in a Pit or Well; for his living forty years on a Pillar twelve Cubits high, till his very Thigh rotted; and then he ſtood ſtock-ſtill a whole year upon one Foot. Or as [*c*] another tells us, he lived thus upon ſeveral Pillars, one of which was thirty Cubits high; as upon one he ſtood four years, upon another twelve, on another alſo twelve, and on another four; and laſtly, upon the higheſt of all, till his dying day; nay he dyed ſo ſtanding, and after his death they ſay he ſtood alſo ſtill, and might have ſtood ſo yet, if *Antonius* had not been too buſie, and taken him down and buried him. And thus do they mainly magnifie one [*d*] *John* for ſtanding three years together upon one Stone, not ſitting or lying down all the while; inſomuch that odd

a Laurent. Forerius Anatomia, ſive Antanatomia, p. 70.
b Pet. de Natalib. l. 2. c. 45.
c Marulus, l. 1. c. 9.
d Id. pag. 50.

cor-

corrupted matter ran from his Feet, by reaſon of that continual poſture.

To theſe ſenceleſs ſigns of Sanctity, they continue their commendations to [a] *Timothews* the Hermite, and *Mary* of *Egypt*, for going ſtark-naked. To [b] *Agathon* the Abbot, for keeping a ſtone in his mouth three years together, that he might not ſpeak. To [c] *Anianus* of *Alexandria*, for plucking out his eye, for once looking upon a Woman. To [d] *Peter* Abbot of *Claraval*, for rejoycing that he had loſt one of his eyes. To one [e] *Egidius*, who being wounded by an Arrow, was ſo far from ſuffering the wound to be cured, that he earneſtly prayed to God againſt it. To one [f] *Sylvania*, for being ſo careleſs and ſluttiſh, that for ſixty years ſhe never waſh'd Face, Feet or Hands, excepting the very tops of her Fingers. And to [g] *Apollo* the Abbot, for being ſo unchriſtian-unneighbourly, as not to aſſiſt his friend to help out his Ox, then upon periſhing in a Quag-mire, becauſe forſooth he would not meddle with any worldly buſineſs.

They go on, and add one glory to [h] *Romualdus*, for his ſo much love to ſilence, that for ſeven years together he would not ſpeak one word. To [i] *Godefridus* a Monk of *Clugny*, for his whimſie, that would rather ſuffer a Thief to ſteal an Horſe, then he would ſpeak one word to awaken the Keepers. And all theſe as much badges of Chriſtianity, as that they tell of the Abbot [k] *Macarius*, who all naked, repented, and tormented himſelf amongſt Bryars and Thorns ſix months [but (l) *Eſtiene* ſeven years] and all this onely for killing a *flea*. Or the Religious Frolick of St. *Francis* to know Gods will which way he ſhould go: As ſome ſet up a Staff to obſerve its falling, ſo he uſed Fryar [m] *Maſſy* for ſuch an Inſtrument, bidding him turn and whirle himſelf about as faſt and as long as he was able, and which way his face ſtood when he had done, that way muſt they go: for *ſo*, he ſaid, *was the Will of God*; though ſometimes the poor fellow got falls by reaſon of his dizzineſs.

To continue theſe holy pranks of Devotion, they tell us that Fryar *Ruffin* once bad the Divel [n] open his mouth, and he would —— in it. That another time St. *Francis* commanded the ſame *Ruffin* to go to *Aſſiſi*, and there preach [o] naked (onely his Linings on) to the people; and that he himſelf went alſo ſtark-naked and heard him preach. That another time the ſaid St. *Francis*, though very weak, and ſick of a Quartain Feaver, and in the midſt of a very cold Winter, yet put off all his Cloaths, his Breeches excepted; commanded one *Peter Catanai* to tye a [p] Rope about his neck, and ſo to drag him to the place where Malefactors uſed to ſuffer; which accordingly was done; and all this ado, becauſe he had eat a little fleſh, and ſup'd ſome fleſh-broth.

And ſuchlike Marks of Holineſs are theſe: Fryar [q] *John* would do every thing that he ſaw St. *Francis* do, whether it were kneeling, ſpitting, *&c.* And indeed this Father of the *Minorites* would have all his Flock obedient to him, were it never ſo ridiculous: Thus he turned off one becauſe he did not plant or ſet his [r] *Coleworts* with their Roots upwards and the Leaves in the ground, as he had done. Another time he bad one of them [ſ] ſtrip himſelf ſtark-naked, to dig a deep hole, and to put himſelf into it; which being done, St. *Francis* cover'd him all over with Earth, even to the very beard: Then he aſked him if he were not dead? *Yes*, quoth the poor Fryar, *I am dead.* Then ſaith *Francis*, *Riſe up, for though thou be'ſt dead, yet thou ought in every thing to obey me.*

To theſe we might adde many other of their tokens and ſure ſigns of Chriſtianity; as how a Fryar going [t] naked to his Covent, for which being check'd, vindicated himſelf with this ſaying; As he came naked, ſo he

a *Marulus* l. 3. c. 8. *Niceph. Calliſt.* lib. 17. cap. 5.
b *Marul.* lib. 4. cap. 6.
c Id. l. 4. c. 7.
d Id. l. 5. c. 4.
e Id. Ibid.
f Ibid.
g Id. l. 5. c. 9.
h *Daurolt.* c. 7. Tit. 80. Sect. 8.
i Ib. Sect. 4.
k *Jacob. de Voragine* Hiſt. 17. *Petr. de Natalibus*, l. 2. c. 35.
l Apol. pour *Herodot.* p. 367.
m L'Alc. des Cord. l. 1. p. 60, 61.
n Aperi os tuum, & ego in illud ſtercorizabo. Id. p. 65.
o Id. pag. 66.
p Id. l. 2. p. 320.
q Id. l. 1. p. 69,
r Id. pag. 241, 242.
ſ Ibid.
t Id. p. 83, 84.

he must return. How the said Fryar is call'd [a] *Holy* for putting off his Cloaths, and going naked into *Viterbo*. How Fryar [b] *Egidius* is commended, for having got more Nuts than he could carry in his lap, put off all his Cloaths, filling them with Nuts, and so he went naked into the City. And another time he went into a Wood [c] put off his Cloaths, tyed a Cord about his neck, bidding another Fryar so to lead him to the Covent, which was done, where he baul'd out like a great Booby. And why might not all these primitive postures be convenient, seeing [d] St. *Francis* once told a Fryar, that if he would go naked, and preach so, he should be saved?

And so I suppose Fryar *Juniper*, (so great a friend and familiar with St. *Francis*) bended all his thoughts for the best and speediest way to Heaven, when he earnestly desired that he might [e] stink so, that none should be able to come neer him; and that he might be thrown into a Ditch, there to dye, and be eaten up of Dogs. Another time they tell us, being to dress the Victuals for the other Fryars, he [f] boil'd the Chickens and other Meat together, without either washing them, or pulling off the Feathers: and that this Fryar was cleanly enough we need not question, seeing they brag of him, that being once nobly entertain'd, and laid in a very brave bed, he very mannerly and religiously [g] bewray'd it, and stole away next morning without thanking his Landlord; which trick had more of a Beast than a Wag in it, though they think they do not a little commend him when they call him [h] *Christs Jeaster* or *Bouffon*; an Expression of so much boldness (to say no worse) that they neither honour their Religion, nor their St. *Clare* by fathering it upon her.

a Tam Sanctus fuit iste Fratricellus.
b Id. l. 2. p. 163.
c Id. l. 2. p. 166, 167.
d Id. l. 1. p. 195.
e Id. l. 1. p. 92, 93.
f Id. pag. 90.
g Id. pag. 88.
h Christi jocularorem. Id. l. 2. p. 199.

SECT. II.

Many false Saints that never had being.

But besides all this, as Poets and the Authors of *Romances* have the liberty granted them, not onely to invent the Tale, but also to give what names they please, as well to the great lubberly Gyants, as the always-conquering valiant Knights, with the lovely and inchanted Ladies: So here the *Romanists* making themselves to be of the same Profession, take to themselves the same freedom, suspecting the number of their true Saints, not to be enough or sufficient to compleat the honour of their Church.

And for a proof of this, I shall onely give two or three Instances, and that of our own Island. Thus they tell us of the Martyrdom of one [i] St. *Maingoldus*, a Duke, and Son to one *Hugh* King of *England*: Though I think it would puzzle their best Historians to finde out an *English* Monarch of that name. Yet will they not let this King go by himself, but give us another to keep him company, and him they call by the name of [k] St. *Richard* King of *England*, and Nephew to *Offa* King of the *East-Saxons*, almost a thousand years ago; by which means, without the help of a *Cromwel*, they have found out a fourth *Richard*, which our Chronicles never dream'd of.

i *Usuard.* Martyrol. 9. *Febr.* and *Philip Ferrarius* Catalog. Generalis Sanctorum, 8. *Febr.*
k *Rob. Parsons* Calendar *Ces. Baron.* Martyrol. *Surius.* Hist. Sanctor. *Guil. Gazet* Hist. des Saints, VII *Feb.*

But to leave off single Testimonies, since an Army of no less than eleven thousand invented Saints offer themselves at one view, *viz.* S. *Ursole* and her Virgins; a story made up of so many contradictions, improbabilities, not to say impossibilities and abominable lyes, that [l] *Baronius* is at a loss about it, and our Country-man (m) *Harpsfeld* resolves bravely to believe it, though he confesseth he knoweth not how to prove it; and yet 'tis pretty to observe how *England* and *Scotland* both strive to make her theirs. But let the story seem never so improbable, the good Catholicks of *Colen* will not loose the place nor memory of her Martyrdom; to perpetuate which, they have a large Church built to her, bearing her name, in which, that they also might not

l An. 383.
m Hist Eccles. pag. 35, 36.
Coryats, p. 615.

not want the benefit of her Interceſſion, they in the year 1607. 17. *April*, permitted a Prayer to be printed to her, and there hung up in a Table: and why not, having got a name in the [a] *Roman Calendar?*

And with her, they tell us dyed alſo by Martyrdom one [b] *Cyriacus* of *Britiſh* Extraction, and one that was Pope of *Rome*. But *Baronius* himſelf is altogether ſilent concerning him; nor do their Pontifick Hiſtories afford us any Pope neer ſuch a name, unleſs we allow of *Siricius*; which could not be the ſame with the other, becauſe a *Roman* by Birth, and no Martyr.

a 21 *Octob. Dn. Camerar.* de Regn. *Scot. Tho. Demſter.*

b *Pet. de Natal.* lib. 9. cap. 87. *Jac. de Voragine* Hiſt. 153. *Petr. Merſſaus* Catalog. Electſ. Eccleſiaſt. Annal. Archiepiſc. *Colen*, Sect. 4. *Jo. Gault.* Chron. Chronicor. Tom. 1. pag. 1259.

And thus when their hands are in, they ſcorn to give out, leſt you ſhould fancy their Invention to be ſo dull, that they have not ſtories as well as names at their Finger-ends, with which 'tis none of their leaſt glories that they can ſhew their voluminous Church-Hiſtories, or *Kirk-Tales* ſtuft up.

SECT. III. *Many lying Stories and Wonders.*

As how a [c] *Dutch* Painter, uſing to draw the Devil as ugly as poſſibly he could; the wicked ſpirit, who thought himſelf not ſo ugly as he is painted, every one thinking beſt of themſelves, took this in very great indudgion, and to be revenged, one time took his opportunity, and threw down the high Scaffold on which the Painter ſtood: upon which the poor *Dutchman* had fallen ſo, that his neck had been in danger, if the very Picture of the Virgin *Mary*, which the fellow had newly painted, had not reach'd out its hand and held him up, till other people came and help'd him down. How [d] St. *Agnes* ſtole a Croſs from little Chriſt, which ſhe ſaw hang by a thred about his neck; at which theft he was well pleas'd, and ſmiled. How the little [e] Statue of Chriſt uſed to come out of his Mothers arms and eat Victuals with a *Spaniſh* Boy. As they ſay the Virgin [f] *Mary* and St. *John*, who are painted by the Croſs, uſed to come thence to Pope *Cæleſtinus* the Fifth when a Boy, and ſing to him, and take the Book from him which he uſed to carry.

c *Gononus*, pag. 136.

d Id. p. 300.

e Id. p. 314.

f *Bzovius* Annal. An. 1294. Sect. 3.

And as true as the reſt are theſe, how a [g] Serjeant being ſlain, the Virgin *Mary* and Devils fell out about his ſoul: to end this controverſie, *Chriſt* comes and ſits as judge; and at laſt both parties having pleaded as much as they could, he willing to obey his Mother, returns the ſoul to its body, that he might repent of his former evils; and ſo by the Pope a Prayer was appointed to be ſaid for his ſoul. Again, how a wicked Monk, dying without Confeſſion, [h] St. *Peter* went and beg'd of Chriſt his ſoul; but being denyed, he goeth to the Bleſſed Virgin, and deſires her to intercede: ſhe attended with her Maids, haſtes to Chriſt, who conſented that the ſoul ſhould be reſtored to the body to repent. This grant ſhe informs *Peter* of, who thereupon, falls upon the Devils, and bangs them away with a great Key he had, takes the ſoul from them, giveth it to two Angels to carry it to its body; and thus the Monk revived. Again, how a fellow being dead, [i] two Angels carrying his ſoul to Heaven, an Army of Devils met them, and demanded his ſoul as their due, and ſo *they hoped God being juſt would not take from them what belonged to them.* To end the Controverſie, *Mary* comes, pleads that he dyed in her ſervice, in returning from his Pilgrimage, and was confeſt before he dyed. To this they reply, that there was one wicked ſin which he never confeſs'd. This puts her to her Trumps how to bring him off clear; at laſt finding no other way, ſhe gets his ſoul reſtored to his body; then he went and confeſt that ſin to a Prieſt, and ſo dyed, and never fear but he ſlipt into Heaven. Such a like ſtory they tell of [k] another man. And ſuch another of a [l] Woman, who dying, leaving

g Vid. *Andr. Rivet.* Apol. pro B. Virg. l. 2. c. 15. p. 376.

h Id. p. 381.

i Id. p. 373.

k *Gononus*, p. 140.

l Id. p. 167.

leaving one ſin unconfeſs'd, the little Devils were preſently fingering her ſoul; but the Virgin chid them away, got her ſoul reſtored, that ſhe might confeſs that fault, and then never queſtion but that all went well.

a *Villegas* VI Feb. *Pet. de Natalibus*, lib. 3. cap. 101.
b *Jac. de Vorag.* Hiſt. 95.
c Id. Hiſt. 96.
d *Pet. de Natal.* l. 5. c. 117.

To theſe they add how (*a*) *Dorothea* ſent one Roſes and Apples out of *Paradiſe*: how (*b*) St. *Chriſtopher* was twelve Cubits high, ſought out the Devil, and ſerved him as a man; carryed Chriſt over-Sea on his back, with whoſe weight he had almoſt ſunk down; and that the Arrows ſhot againſt him, hung ſtill in the Air, and durſt not approach him. That (*c*) ſeven men ſlept almoſt 200 years, ſome ſay more. How (*d*) St. *Brandan* found out *Paradiſe*, and a great Fiſh call'd *Jaſon*, which he taking to have been an Iſland, made a fire upon him. That ſome of the Angels who fell, are kept in an Iſland in the ſhape of white Birds ſinging, and that he ſaw *Judas* ſitting upon a ſtone in the Sea. That (*e*) *Udo* of *Magdeburg* had all manner of knowledge miraculouſly given him, as they ſay (*f*) *Rupert* Abbot of *Dniitz* over againſt *Colen* had. That Abbot (*g*) *Conrade* had that knack, that thoſe Fingers which he held forth in conſecrating the Euchariſt, in the night-time did ſhine like a Candle, and gave him light to read or ſtudy by: But I warrant you the Chandlers curſt the Miracle. And that (*h*) S. *Briget* made a new-born Infant tell who was its true Father, to decide the Controverſie: a wiſer Child, I fancy, than *Briget* her ſelf was at its age, for I think ſhe is ſuppoſed to be a Baſtard. They go on, and boldly tell us, how upon the death of one Fryar *Peter*, (*i*) the Bell-rope being broke, an Angel tol'd the Bell a great while. How an Angel aſſiſted one (*k*) *Drodro* to ſing *Maſs*, and another Angel made ready his Horſe. How one not uſing to bow at *Gloria Patri*, was thus puniſhed in (*l*) *Purgatory*; he was ſet upon an high and narrow Pillar in the midſt of the Sea (it ſeems *Charon* may imploy his Barge there too) and bow'd an hundred times a day, and as many at night, till he had ſatisfied for his former neglects. And how an (*m*) Uſurer dying, his heart was found warm amongſt his Riches.

e *Gonon.* pag. 116.
f Id. p. 154.
g *Tho. Cantipra.* lib. 2. c. 9. Sect. 3.
h *Jo. Capgrave* in vita *Brigitæ.*
i *L'Alc.* lib. 1. pag. 136.
k Id. pag. 137.
l Id. pag. 184.
m Id. lib. 2. pag. 215.

But this is nothing ſo wonderful, as that which they tell of *Catherine* of *Sienna*, who deſiring a new heart, Chriſt came to her, opened her Breſt, took out her heart, and away with it he goes: (and now I would have their School-men tell us whether ſhe could not lift up her heart to God) But at laſt he returns again, and put into her breſt a new heart, which he told her was his (*n*) own; the mark of which action always remain'd in her Breſt. This *Catherine* they ſay was ſeveral times carryed through the Aire by Angels: That Chriſt with a triple Crown like a Pope, accompanied with ſome Apoſtles bleſt her: That he received her to be his Wife, being wedded to her with a Ring; the Virgin *Mary* making Chriſt hold her by the right hand; the Prophet *David* playing to them upon his Harp. That he came from Heavem to embrace her: that he made her kiſs his wounded ſide: that he put a Crown of Gold upon her head, and gave her the Sacrament: that his five wounds were imprinted upon her; but the marks were taken away, though the pain indured. And ſeveral ſuchlike ſtories do they tell of her, enough to make large Treatiſes; all which are written and teſtified by ſeveral of their Authors: And *Petrus Firens*, in the year 1612, publiſhed a Volume of them with large Pictures.

n En filia mea, habes pro corde tuo cor meum.

But it was not her alone, who as they ſay had theſe wounds: for St. *Francis* had them, *Ludwina* had them, a woman in (*o*) *Brabant* had them, and (*p*) *Thomas Bozius* will tell you of others; and ten to one but all theſe as true as that *Maria de la Viſitacion*, Prioreſs of the Monaſtery *de la Anunciada* in *Lisbon* had them, for ſo ſhe bare the world in hand; and that ſhe did many Miracles, inſomuch that ſhe was looked upon as a wonderful Saint, from the Pope himſelf to the loweſt of his ſons; many Pens imployed

o *Tho. Cantipra.* lib. 1. cap. 25. Sect. 7
p De ſignis Eccleſ. Tom. 2. lib. 15. cap. 3.

to

to write her Miracles, the greateſt perſons beg'd her aſſiſtance; *Philip* the Second himſelf 1588, before he ſent his *invincible Armada* (as they call'd it) to conquer *England*, muſt have her to bleſs his Standard-Royal, which was accompliſh'd with the greateſt ceremony, and preſence of the chiefeſt Grandees in Spain: Nay, one of the main hopes that the (*a*) *Engliſh-Romaniſts* had of their deſigns, was from her Prophecies. And yet having cheated the world for ſeveral years, at laſt, as God would have it, ſome of her own Nuns took an humour to watch her narrowly, and diſcover'd her to be a meer Cheat and Counterfeit, as ſhe her ſelf was afterwards forced to confeſs. This was a *Dominican*; and not long before, was there ſuch a diſcovery made at *Cordova* of the Abbeſs *Magdelena de la Cruz*, who was a *Franciſcan*: and thus both Orders have their tricks.

Vid. *Cyprian Valera*, 362, 420, 421, &c.

a Crudelitatis *Calvinianæ* exempla duo recentiſſima ex *Anglia*, 1585. Prefat. ad Principes Cathol.

But to proceed to ſome other of their pretty Wonders, they tell us how Fryar (*b*) *Theobald* by vertue of the ſign of the Croſs walk'd upon the Water over *Tyber*. How (*c*) *Hervæus* of *Toledo* laid his Coat on a River, got upon it, and ſo ſaild over dapperly: and ſuch tricks they tell of (*d*) another of the ſame City. But the *Spaniards* muſt not run away with all the glory, for a (*e*) *German Dominican* did but lay his Cowl upon the waters, ſet his feet on it, and ſo ſlipt over a broad River very cleverly, not a bit of his Cloaths being wet. Thus (*f*) another deſiring to come into *England*, ſtrutted manfully over a great part of the Sea, till at laſt a Ship for the Miracles ſake took him in. Thus (*g*) *Nazarius* and *Celſus* walk'd upon the Ocean. Thus (*h*) *Franſois de Paula* uſing his Coat or Cowl inſtead of a Ship, he and his Companion paſſed gallantly over the *Sicilian* waves. But above all, well fare St. *Fingare*, who after her head was cut off, ſaild from *Ireland* to *Cornwal* upon a Leafe: though (*i*) *Maurus* did beſt, who ran upon the water without any ſuch helps. But yet why ſhould we make theſe pretty Tales to be ſuch badges of Chriſtianity and Holineſs, ſeeing no leſs man than (*k*) *Busbequius* tells us of a *Turk* who could do as well as any of them?

b L'Alcor. des Cord. lib. 2. pag. 200.

c *Art. à Monaſter.* Martyrol. *Franciſc.* XIII *Apr.* Sect. 2.

d Id. VI *Novemb.* Sect. 5.

e *Tho. Cantiprat.* lib. 2. cap. 29. Sect. 26.

f Ib. Sect. 27.

g *M. Marulus*, lib. 3. cap. 3.

h *Lovys Richeome* diſcourſe des Miracles, c. 35. Sect. 1.

i *Villegas*, V Octobr.

k Epiſt. IV. pag. 331.

But I believe the *Turks* are not ſo good at flying, as ſome of our Saints are; for (*l*) *Antonius* got from *Padoa* in *Italy*, to *Lisborn* in *Portugal* in one night, and the next night home again. And (*m*) *Ignatius Loyola* in a moment whiſk'd from *Rome* to *Colen*. But what need we talk of men, when we can produce an Houſe, as *la Santa Caſa di Loreto*, with us commonly call'd the Chappel of *Loretto*, which one time ſkipt from (*n*) *Nazareth* in lower *Galile* in the *Holy-land*, to a little Hill between *Terzatz* and *Fiume* in *Dalmatia*? then upon ſome grudge, took its flight thence, and (*o*) flew over the *Venetian* Golf into *la Marca d'Ancona*, not far from *Recanati*, into a Wood belonging to a Lady call'd *Laureta*: (from whence it took its name) Thence a little after, (being vext at ſome Thieves) it jump'd about a Mile more Southwards: but here two Brothers falling out about it (by reaſon of the great gain and Riches was got by it) it left them both in the lurch, and hopt about twelve ſcore Northwards to a little Hill, where it now ſtands: ſo that in one year it took the pains to remove thrice. But now they have ſhackel'd it to the purpoſe from any more removes, by building a great Church over it, and it muſt ſqueeze hard to creep out of its Doors or Windows. Though in the year 1606, Pope *Paul* the Fifth fear'd his Friends the *Venetians* would make bold to give one motion farther to the beſt part of it, *viz.* its vaſt Riches; to prevent which, he thought he might be as bold as his Neighbours. The whole travels of this Chappel of *N.S. di Loreto*, is accounted by Signor (*p*) *Sylvio Serragli* (one ſome years ago imploy'd there for its Regiſters) to be 2030 *Italian* Miles, which he eſteems to amount to 1870 of *Engliſh*. A ſtory made ſuſpected

l L'Alcor. l. 2. p. 217.

m Imago primi Sæculi ſocietatis Jeſu, pag. 630.

n 1291, *Gonon.*

o 1298.

p La Santa Caſa Abbelliſta, part 1. c. 6.

ſuſpected by many impertinent actions they make as companions with it.

However, ſhall we not think (a) *Lucianus* was a brave Fellow, who after he was beheaded, took up his head in his hand, and carryed it three Miles, and croſt a great River? Like (b) St. *Dioniſe*, whoſe head being cut off, walk'd two Miles with it in his hands, and then gave it to a woman: Or like the ſix (c) *Dominician* Fryars, who being made ſhorter by the Noddles, yet each of them had ſo much wit, as to take up their reſpective Pates again in their hands, and with them to ſtrut to their Covent. Thus they ſay that one (d) *Juſtus* having his head cut off, he then very trimly waſh'd his body, took up his head in his hands, carryed it to his friends, prais'd God, and told them how he would be buryed. As (e) *Urſus*, *Victor*, and LXVI others, having undergone the ſame ſauce, very fairly took up their Noddles, went a great way, kneel'd down, prayed, and after all this labour were content to reſt very quietly: and ſuch another ſtory have I read of one (f) *Lambert*.

And, why ſhould we think this ſtrange, ſince they tell us that (g) St. *Chryſoſtome* himſelf ſpake many years after he was buryed? That a wicked (h) *Norman* having his head cut off, the head tumbled along, bauling out to be confeſt; which afterwards it did to a Prieſt. That one (i) *Alexandria Arragonia* having alſo her head cut off, and thrown into a deep Well; an hundred and fifty days after, it ſpake, and confeſt her ſins. That (k) *Stephanus Lonſoſcius*, being by all wiſe men thought to be ſlain by the *Turks*, yet three years after was he found alive under an heap of dead Bodies, calling out to be confeſt; to which purpoſe they ſay he was kept alive by the Bleſſed Virgin. And thus they tell of her kindneſs to a moſt wicked *Tridentine* (l) Thief, who being beheaded for his many abominable Villanies, and buryed, ſhe with ſome other Saints from Heaven came, took him up, fixt his head to his body again, and very ceremoniouſly carryed him and buryed him in a Church.

Though this was not ſo pretty a trick as the (m) Fellow did at *Marceille*, whoſe head being cut off and buryed, by the vertue of St. *Lewes* was joyn'd to his body again, and ſo he lived once more to the comfort of his Mother. Was not (n) St. *Francis* a notable ſhaver, who to ſhew what he could do, firſt kill'd a Phyſitians ſon, and then made him alive again? whereby it ſeems he out-vapour'd the Doctor in his own Profeſſion.

And many ſuchlike Stories as theſe will they tell you for the honour of their *Religion*; as how a fellow having hung on the Gallows (o) thirty ſix days, was after all this found alive, and lived many years after, for the credit of St. *James* of *Compoſtella*. How two Monks being (p) hang'd on a Tree, and dead, yet revived, and ſang very ſweetly: I ſuppoſe, as the fellow by advantage of the Wind and his hollow Tooth whiſtled. But above all, give me (q) *Hugo de la Sale*, who could not be hang'd, let the *Lucceſi* do what they could; ſo much was he befriended by the Virgin *Mary*.

Shall we believe truſty Fryar (r) *Roger*, when he ſaith he never ſaw a Womans face in his life, nay, not ſo much as his Mothers? or that Fryar (ſ) *Bentivola* took another fellow on his back, and for fifteen Miles carryed him faſter than an Eagle could fly? and many other ſuchlike Tales, that they do not a little glory in. For my part, I ſhall as ſoon believe that they have the (t) Flame of Fire ſhew'd to *Moſes* in the Buſh: a Feather of the Arch-angels Wing: the Banner wherewith Chriſt deſcended into Hell: the (u) ſound of the Bells which hung in *Solomon*'s Temple; or that the three

a Pet. de Natal. l. 2. c. 55.
b Id. l. 9. c. 41. Villegas, IX Octob.
c Abr. Bzovius, Annal. An. 1227. Sect. 18.
d Pet. de Natal. l. 9. c. 80.
e Surius, X Sept.
f Hiſpan. Bibliotheca, p. 103.
g Niceph. Calliſt. l. 14. c. 43.
h Tho. Cantiprat. lib. 2. cap. 19. Sect. 24.
i Vid. Andr. Rivet. Apol. pro B. Virg. l. 2. c. 15. p. 374
k Gonon. pag. 336.
l Cæſarius, l. 7. c. 59.
m L'Alcoran des Cord. l. 2. p. 244, 245.
n Id. l. 2. p. 364.
o Nieremburg. de Mirac. Europ. l. 1. c. 1. Jacob. de Vorag. Hiſt. 94.
p Corn. Schulting. Theſaur. Antiq. Eccleſ. Tom. 7. c. 165.
q Gononus, pag. 327, 328.
r L'Alc. des Cord. lib. 2. pag. 249.
ſ Id. pag. 365.
t Vid. Andr. Hondorf. Theatr. Hiſtoric. 1 Præcept. pag. 81, 82.
u Vid. Alex. Cooks Pope Joan, p. 41.

three-corner'd Stone is now to be ſeen at *Jeruſalem*, whereof *David* ſpake, ſaying, (a) *The ſtone which the builders refuſed, is become the head-ſtone of the Corner:* Or the (b) Hair which a mad-cap Wench ſhew'd to be St. *Catherines:* Or the (c) Breeches which the Fryar ſaid were St. *Franciſes.* All which Fopperies were ingeniouſly derided by a certain Earl, who hearing them boaſt of ſuchlike Reliques, told them, that at ſuch a place was to be ſeen the Chamber-pot which *Urſula* and her eleven thouſand Virgins made uſe of.

a Pſal. 118. 22.
b Vid. *Mart. Luther* Tom. 1. X præcepta, Pr. 8. fol. 44. b. *Oth. Moland.* joco-ſer. p. 241. Sect. 227.
c *Eric. Cord.* Epigr. vid. Delit. Poet. *Germ.* Tom. 2. p. 802.

SECT. IV.

But becauſe Carping Hereticks may object theſe pretty feats may be done by combination, men, and cunning men being the main Inſtruments in the former Actions; to take away all doubt, they think it no hard matter to confirm their Religion from Brutes and ſenceleſs Blocks or Stones.

Thus they think it worth our belief, that (d) *Aido*, through pitty giving eight Sheep to as many hungry Wolves, and all well eaten, were yet reſtored ſafe and ſound to him again, and alive. That (e) St. *Germanus* and his Companions having eaten up a Calf, very honeſtly reſtored it to life again. That St. *Bernacus* his (f) Cow being ſtollen, kill'd, cut in pieces, and put in the Chaldron to be boil'd, was yet for all this made alive. That an (g) Hen being drown'd, the Children fearing to be whipt for it, call'd but upon *Ignatius Loyola*, and it was as well again as ever. That a (h) Cock and Hen, after they had been roaſted, and going to be cut up, revived, and lived ſeveral years. But concerning this Cock and Hen at St. *Domingo de Calcada* in *Rioia* (a little Province between *Old Caſtile*, *Navarre*, and *Biſcay*) *Nieremburgius* would tell us another Miracle, *viz.* that every one may take a Feather belonging to theſe Birds thence, and yet the number never the leſs. But when I tell the *Romaniſts* that in the Church there (where they may alſo ſee the ſtory painted) are alwaies kept alive in a Cage a Cock and an Hen; and when either of them dyes, its place ſupplyed by another, and the dead ones Feathers pull'd off, and laid up with the reſt as holy Reliques: they will eaſily grant that 'tis no ſuch wonder to finde no decay of Feathers in ſo many years, ſeeing they have ſo eaſie a way beſides other tricks to keep up the ſtore.

d *Jo. Capgrave*, fol. 2.
e *Pet. de Natal.* lib. 6. cap. ult. *Jac. de Vorag.* Hiſt. 102.
f *Jo. Capgrave*, fol. 37.
g *Nieremburg.* de Mirac. l. 1. cap. 5.
h Id. l. 1. c. 1.

But to return: was it not a pretty knack of Fryar (i) *Andreas de Anania*, who having ſome little Birds roaſted at his own deſire to ſtay his Appetite, yet upon better conſideration, it went againſt his ſtomack to devour them; and thus bravely reſolved, he makes but the ſign of the Croſs, and preſently they revived and flew away? It was very charitably done of Abbot *William*, to kill an (k) Ox, cut it in pieces, and give a piece of it to a poor woman to ſave her longing, and then next day make it as well and as live again as ever it was. And it was as well done of (l) St. *Antony*, who by the ſign of the Croſs, turned an ugly Toad into a fat piping-hot roaſted Capon.

i L'Alc. des Cord. l. 1. p. 93.
k *Tho. Canipra.* l. 2. c. 25. Sect. 5.
l L'Alc des Cord. lib. 1. pag. 119.

'Twas a good-natured piece of (m) Capon, that to ſave the credit of St. *Francis*, turn'd it ſelf into a Fiſh. And a merry (n) Magpy, which for many days talked in the belly of him who had eaten it: As the *Iriſh* Sheep did (o) bleat in the guts of him who had ſtollen and eaten it, the better to diſcover the Theft.

m Id l. 2. p. 322.
n *Tho. Canipra.* l. 2. c. 1. Sect 10.
o *Jac. de Vorag.* Hiſt. 51. *Pet. de Natal.* lib. 3. cap. 104.

It was an hard caſe, that at the ſame time a great (p) Rock ſhould divide it ſelf for the preſervation of St. *Barbara*, and that a Shepherd and his Sheep ſhould be turn'd into Stones. But it was a civil (q) ſtone that yeilded like wax to the body of St. *James:* But above all, the high-ſtone-Tower ſhew'd its kindneſs beſt, when it was ſo complemental as

p *Pet. de Natal.* lib. 1. cap. 25.
q *Jac. de Vorag.* Hiſt. 94.

to (*a*) bow its Top down to the ground, to let a Prisoner the better to escape. Yet the flowing Seas shew'd their humility enough, when for reverence they durst not approach neer to the Jesuit (*b*) *Joseph Anchieta:* and the (*c*) *Sun* it self must return back, or stand still, at the desire of Father *Xavier* of the same Order: as it did to (*d*) *Mutius* the Hermit.

But to return to Earth: they tell us how (*e*) *Swithine* the true Raining-Saint, made whole and sound a poor Womans Eggs, that were unhappily broken to pieces. That a Woman had her (*f*) Tub miraculously fill'd with Meal: And for the honour of good-fellowship, how one by the same knack had his (*g*) Barrel fill'd with Wine: as another had his (*h*) Flagon. That a well-meaning Wench having emptyed by stealth an (*i*) Hogshead of her Fathers Wine to pleasure some Fryar, had it repleniſh'd again by the vertue of St. *Francis*. And that a Woman, running to give Fryar *Antony* some Wine, through haste and negligence, carryed away the (*k*) Spigot in her hands; and so at her return, found the Wine all run out: but she relying on the Fryars merits or cunning, put the Spigot into the Faucet, and presently the Vessel was so full of good Wine again, that it ran over. But above all, give me some of (*l*) St. *Bernards* Ale, which was so good, that it infused Grace, and converted a Company of Jovial-blades.

It seems Beasts and Birds were not so shie and peevish formerly, as now: when a (*m*) Buck would run to St. *Aido*, and kneel as him, or if praying his help. As an (*) Hare was so saved by *Anselme*. When (*n*) Sparrows would flock to *Remigius*, and eat from his fist: When not onely Birds, but (*o*) Fishes would do the same to *Jodocus*; and took delight to flutter about *Maxentius*. They say that (*p*) *Joseph Anchieta* the Jesuit out-vapour'd the Serpents; and in the heat of Summer, made the Birds fly over him for a shade. That (*q*) *Brigid* had a Boar to preserve her Flocks; (*r*) *Eutichius* a Bear; and St. *Hidrome* a Lyon to keep his Ass. That a (*s*) Wolf at the name of *Norbert* let a Sheep go. A (*t*) Serpent secured a Thief. Two (*u*) Lyons upon command, directed stray'd Travellers into the right way. And which is most of all, that an ugly filthy (*w*) worm was turned into a precious Stone by St. *Dominick*.

Nay, these Beasts must be Religious too, and probably good *Roman* Catholicks. Thus the Beasts used to come to be (*x*) blest by St. *Blasius*; nor would they depart, till they had received his Benediction. A company of (*y*) Larks sang the *Requiem* of St. *Francis*: the Birds (*z*) flew out of a Wood, lest their chatterings should disturbe the Prayers of Fryar *Rollus*. One time a great Flock of Birds with stretch'd-out necks, gaped, and attentively (*a*) hearkn'd to the Preachment of St. *Francis*. Another time, a great Shoal of (*b*) Fishes held their heads out of the Water, the better to hear Fryar *Anthonies* Sermon; and when he had done, some of them open'd their mouths, others bow'd down their heads, whilst others hum'd him; and then departed with a great deal of comfort. And other (*c*) Fishes at the command of St. *Branden*, lift up their voices and prais'd God: And thus a (*d*) Sheep bleated and kneel'd before the Altar: And the story saith, that the stones answered, *Amen*, to blind Venerable *Bedes* Sermon.

And if any of these Creatures do an injury and displeasure, how sorry and grieved will they render them for it? Thus they tell us of a (*e*) Raven or Crow which did Pennance, by tormenting it self three days on a Mountain, onely for throwing down a little Milk. But the Story how St. *Francis* made peace between the City *Engubio* and a Wolf, is as pretty a thumper as any, in short thus: A Wolf having done much mischief to the Citizens, he

a Ibid.

b Nieremburg. Hist. Nat. l. 9. c. 95.

b Imago primi Sæculi Soc. Jesu, pag. 625.

d Dauroult. cap. 7. Tit. 76. Sect. 6.

e Jo. Capgrave Surius.

f Tho. Cantipra. l. 2. c. 25. Sect. 7.

g Ib. Sect. 11.

h Ib. Sect. 12.

i Art. à Monast. Martyrol. Francisc. XXI Aug. Sect. 4.

k L' Alc. des Cord. lib. 1. pag. 115.

l Vita S. Bernard, l. 1. c. 11.

m Capgrave, fol. 18.

* Id. fol. 37.

n Nieremberg. Hist. Nat. lib. 9. cap. 95.

o Ibid.

p Id. c. 95, 96.

q Id. cap. 95.

r Id. Hist. Mirac. l. 2. c. 68.

s Dauroult. c. 7. Tit. 76. Sect. 3.

t Ibid. Sect. 4.

u Ibid. Sect. 2.

w Nic. Jansen. l. 2. c. 3. p. 215.

x Villegas, III Febr. Jac. de Vorag. Hist. 41.

y L' Alc. des Cord. l. 1. p. 69.

z Id. pag. 82.

a Id. pag. 192.

b Id. pag. 112, 113.

c Pet. de Natal. lib. 5. cap. 117.

d L' Alc. des Cord. l. 1. p. 200.

e Nieremberg. de Mirac. lib. 2. cap. 72.

he undertook to make them good friends: upon this he calls the Beaſt to him, ſaying, *Brother Wolf, you ſhall promiſe to live quietly, if the people will afford you Victuals.* Then the Wolf bow'd down his head in ſign of conſent: But *Francis* bid him plight his (a) troth: Then the Wolf lift up his right paw, and *Francis* held forth his fiſt, and ſo the Saint and Beaſt ſhook hand and foot. Then *Francis* Preach'd; and after Sermon, paſt his word to the Citizens for the Wolfs future good behaviour, provided they would not moleſt the Wolf: to which they promiſing, and the Wolf kneeling down in ſign of agreement, all the people ſhouted for joy of the Peace: And thus the Wolf lived two years, begging his meat from door to door; the very Dogs all the while not ſo much as barking at him.

L. Alc. de Cord. lib. 1. pag. 188, 189.

a Da mihi fidem.

Nay, theſe Animals are doughty Champions for Invocation of Saints too. Thus they aſſure us, that a little Bird, being (b) ſeiz'd on by a greater, cryed but out *Ave Maria*, and preſently the great ravenous Bird fell down dead: That a Parrat ſporting her ſelf out of a Cage, and being almoſt ſeiz'd upon by an Hawk, did but call upon St. *Thomas a Becket*, and the Hawk fell down dead, and ſo the Parrat eſcaped a ſcouring. Nay, that a Faulkoner being to be hang'd for looſing his Lords Hawk, and had the Rope about his neck, did but think upon our Lady of *Hall* [a place in *Hainault*, where of late her Image is ſet up and more peculiarly worſhip'd] and forthwith the Faulkon came flying home, light upon his ſhoulder, and ſo ſaved his life.

b *Gononus*, pag. 150.

Juſt. Lipſ. D. virgo *Hallenſis.*

But if theſe little Creatures have not a viſible Church, they cannot eſcape being Hereticks: to avoid which miſchief, you ſhall ſee they ſhall have a place for Devotion, the which though not ſo big as the ſeven Mother-Churches at *Rome*, yet more miraculous than any of them. And thus it hapned:

A Womans (c) Bees not thriving, by the advice of her Goſſip, ſhe ſteals a conſecrated Wafer, and placeth it in one of her Hives, hoping it would drive away the diſeaſe, and bleſs all their undertakings. The devout Bees, in honour of ſuch a ſacred Gueſt, fall to work, and with their Hony-combs, make a pretty little *Church* with *Windows*, a Covering or *Roof*, with a *Door*, a *Belfrey*, and an *Altar* too, upon which they had laid the *Hoaſt*, about which they continually (d) flew, and by their Humming prais'd the Lord. A pretty company of Catholicks, and a notable Argument for *Tranſubſtantiation.* But I hope (e) *Bozius* and the reſt will pardon me, if I make no more account of this Bee-hive-Church, than I do of (f) *Nierembergius* his zealous *Lisboan* Dog; a ſtory too long for this place, though he is pleas'd to fancy it a proof or confirmation of their (g) Religion (and if I miſtake him not) of *Tranſubſtantiation.*

c *Caſarius*, l. 9. c. 8.

d Apes circumvolantes, & in laudem Creatorisbomibiſantes.

e De ſignis Eccleſ. lib. 14. cap. 3. Sect. 1.

f Hiſt. Natur. lib. 9. cap. 94.

g Pro confirmanda fide, augendoq; cultu Sacerrimæ Menſæ.

Sect. V.

But beſides all this, I warrant you 'tis none of the leaſt glories and honours of their Church, (as they think) to ſee how they bang the poor Devil about: I ſhall not here trouble my ſelf with their abominable cheating ſtories of their exorciſing and caſting out Devils, with a thouſand childiſh and Poppit-play-tricks, as you may finde them ſet down in their (h) *Valerius Polydorus*, (i) *Hieronymus Mengus*, (k) *Zacharias Vicecomes*, (l) *Antonius Stampa*, and ſuchlike Juglers in Divinity, who act by compact or deluſions, to the inriching of themſelves, the deſtruction of many ſimple-minded people, the impoveriſhment of their gallant Patrons, and the abuſe of Religion and whole Countries: For I am apt to lay this down for a Maxime in Politicks, That when they are buſie in Exorciſing or diſpoſſeſſing of Devils, 'tis time for our Governours to look about them, there be-

h Practica Exorciſtarum.

i Flagellum Dæmonum, & Fuſtis Dæmonum.

k Complementum Artis Exorciſticæ.

l Fuga Satanæ.

ing a worſe Devil lying hid, than that which appears upon the Stage, be it in the Houſe of either rich or poor, though we finde theſe Mummeries commonly acted in the former. For 'tis dangerous when an under-party, by theſe and ſuchlike cheats of Sanctity, indeavour to ſtrengthen their intereſt, by making themſelves Popular. Though methinks 'tis but a ſimple commendation to finde the Devil in all theſe black ſports, onely to have power over the *Romaniſts*, and that of the poorer ſort too, whilſt the Hereticks (as they call us) are free from ſuch vexations; for we ſhall hear of none ſuch, but what proves a juggle at the long run.

But I ſay, letting alone theſe their ſtories of hunting or ferretting out the wicked ſpirit from one place of ones body to another, as if they were playing together at hide and ſeek, or finde out the Thief; I ſhall ſhew you the valour of the old *Romans*, how they cuft the poor Villain, till they made him aſhamed of himſelf.

[a] Pet. de Natal. lib. 6. cap. 120. Thus they tell us, how [a] St. *Margaret* took the Devil by the Hair, threw him down, ſet her foot upon his Neck, and made him roar out, though at laſt he having given her a good account of his actions, ſhe very civilly let him go. And how another time, he thinking to make ſure of her, put out his ugly long tongue, and ſwallowed her up: ſhe being in this pickle, made but one ſign of the Croſs, and the Fiend burſt in two, and ſo ſhe [b] Id. l. 3. c. 131. eſcaped that ſcouring. And ſuch another Virago was [b] *Juliana*, who tyed the Devils hands behind him, whipt him bravely with a great chain; and though he earneſtly beg'd her favour, and not to abuſe him before all people, yet ſhe drag'd him as a laughing-ſtock about the Market-place, and then without any compaſſion threw him into a Jakes.

[c] Id. l. 8. c. 20. 'Twas a cunning trick which they tell of [c] St. *Lupus*, who having once got the Devil in a Baſon of Water, laid but a Cuſhion upon it, and ſo he kept the ſimple Rogue howling there all night, being not able to get out.

[d] Id. l. 8. c. 70. And [d] St. *Niceta* as bad as the former, for he took him, and valiantly threw him down upon the ground, ſet his foot upon his neck; then asking him what he was, and the fool confeſſing that he was the wicked knave who had abuſed Mankinde: Then *Niceta* threw him in his own Father King *Maximinianus* his face, and at laſt tyed him fairly up to a Dunghil. And if here he ſtank not enough, another pickl'd him to the purpoſe: for the ſpirit having I know not how got into him, he very neatly took the ad-

[e] Jac. de Vorag. Hiſt. 195. vantage of a ſlippery gut, and [e] flirted him out with a powder backwards. And I think St. *Duſtan* was even with his love-tricks, when he took

Cæſgrave. him by the Noſe with a pair of hot Tongs, and made him roar again.

But what need theſe people put themſelves to the trouble thus to perſecute the Devil, when himſelf ſometimes by chance can be his own Tormentor? Of which one ſtory for all. The [f] Devil one time writing

[f] Diſcip. in Prompt. Exempl. lit. E. Exemp. 16. down the ſins of ſome Fryars, and the Paper it ſeems not long enough for the Catalogue; he goeth the Shoomakers-way to work, puts one end of the Paper in his Mouth, holds faſt the other end with his hands, and ſo indeavours to ſtretch it out longer, as they uſe to do Leather. But ſee the miſchief of it! as he was thus earneſtly tugging, the Paper unexpectly tears; with which ſlip, back flies his Coxcomb againſt the Wall, whereby he got ſuch a rattle on his pate, that we may well ſuppoſe the teeth chatter'd in

[g] Cæſar. lib. 3. cap. 26. his head. Yet it ſeems, as bad as he was, he once [g] confeſs'd his ſins to a Prieſt, had a great humour to repent and turn over a new leafe; nay,

[h] Id. l. 1. c. 36. and went ſo far in this good courſe, as to pay for a [h] Bell to tole the people to Maſs.

As

As for *Purgatory*, their ſtories are too many and long for this place; but if you have a minde to take a view of it, *Hell* or *Paradiſe*, I ſhall refer you to [a] *Matthew Paris*, where you may ſee what buildings they have; how many ways the wretched are tormented; the deſcription of the narrow Bridge, or Bridge of Dread; how St. *Paul* and the Devil weigh the ſouls in Scales, to ſee whether their good or bad works are heavyeſt, that accordingly one of them may diſpoſe of them; how the Devils have their Theatres or Stages to ſport and pleaſure themſelves for diverſion ſake, by ſeeing the ſouls act their parts there: What pleaſant Fields and Flowers there are in *Paradiſe*, and ſuchlike old Wives ſtories, very fit for Winter-nights. And here may you ſee St. *Patricks* hole in *Ireland* too; with which impudent Fable many good people have been deluded. And I dare ſay, ſome of our Country-men are ſo far from being in their wits again, that as yet they will believe the miraculous ſtories of that *Iriſh* hole. SECT. VI.

[a] Hiſt. *Angl.* An. 1153. p. 86, 87, 88, 89, 90. and An. 1206. pag. 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221. And ſee *Phil. Oſullevan* Compend. Hiſt. Cathol. *Hibern.* and his *Patritiana Decas*

But to go a little higher, you ſhall ſee what an excellent Heaven they will afford to the ſons of their Church; though certainly, when ſome of them thus think to ſet out its glory and honour, they rather make it contemptible to very Chriſtians, I am certain an Argument of Deriſion to the Atheiſt.

As when their *Barelete* can confidently tell the world, what a great deal of clutter there was in Heaven to get God to ſend his Son into the World: For when *Adam*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *David*, &c. had deſired him to ſend them, and nothing granted them; then the Women went to ſee what they could do: And firſt went *Eve*, but God told her ſhe was not worthy of his Son, becauſe ſhe had ſinn'd. Then *Sarah* went, but God told her that ſhe wanted Faith concerning *Iſaac*. *Rebecca* intreated, but he told her ſhe was Partial between *Jacob* and *Eſau*. *Judah* ſpake, but ſhe was told that ſhe was a Murtherer. Then went *Eſther*, but God ſtopt her mouth, by telling her, ſhe took too much pains to pleaſure *Aſſuerus*, &c. Vid. *H. Eſtienè* Apol. pour *Herod.* l. 1. p. 302.

Like to this is another ſtory, how after Chriſts Reſurrection, ſeveral ſtriv'd to carry word of it to the Virgin *Mary*. *Adam* ſaid it belong'd to him, becauſe he was the cauſe of ſin; but Chriſt told him he would loyter by the way to eat Apples. Then *Abel* he would go, but Chriſt told him he might meet *Cain*, and ſo be kill'd. *Noah* offer'd himſelf, but he was told he loved drinking too much. *John Baptiſt* would have gone, but his Garment of Hair was not fine enough. And though the good Thief beg'd the imployment, yet Chriſt told him he was not fit, becauſe his leggs were broak: And ſo at laſt they were forced to ſend an Angel. Id. pag. 304.

And as bad as the former is this, that ſome days after *Chriſt* was crucified, the Apoſtles went and complain'd to the Virgin *Mary*, that he had not ſent the *Holy Ghoſt* to them as he had promiſed: Upon this *Jeſus* went to God, telling him what he had promiſed, and that it was now time to perform it. God conſents, bids him inform the *Holy Ghoſt* of it. Upon this the *Holy Ghoſt* deſires to know how the people had uſed him: *Chriſt* ſhews him how they had crucified him: then the *Holy Ghoſt* cryed out, [b] *Alas, woe is me*, and ſo turned himſelf into another ſhape, that they might not ſeize on him. And upon this Miſſion *Baralete* ſaith, there was [c] *a diſſention or falling out between God the Father and the Holy Ghoſt*. Id. pag. 301.

[b] *Heu mihi!*

[c] Facta eſt diſſentio inter Patrem & ſpiritum ſanctum.

But leaving theſe Blaſphemies, they will tell you how to get into this Heaven; for I ſuppoſe every Order hath the ſame benefit with the *Franciſcans*; and how they do, take this one Example. A [d] Fryar dying, went

[d] L'Alc. des Conſd. lib. 1. pag. 195, 196.

went to Heavens Gates, and knocked there; the Porter asked him what he was? he replyed he was a *Minorite:* The Porter bid him stay there, till he had spoken with St. *Francis:* Upon this, St. *Francis* comes with a World of Fryars, and seeing him, bid the Porter let him in, for he was a *Franciscan* Fryar.

And now that you are in their Heaven, I make no question but you will finde it governed just as their Church is below here, as if they were both under the Obedience and Government of the same Customs, Canons, and Constitutions or Decrees. For in Heaven they tell us that the Saints go in Procession by Couples; that they carry lighted Tapers in their hands; that they sing the Responses according to the day or Rubrick; that *Christ* himself goeth clad in his *Pontificalibus*, with a *Myter* on his head, a *Crosier* in his hand, with *Gloves*, a *Ring*, and suchlike Episcopal Ornaments: That they go to Church there; that Mass is sung there, Christ standing at the Altar, some reading the Epistle, others in their Surplices the Gospel; and when they have done there, that they all offer up their Candles, which our Saviour receives. Nay, they tell us, that sometimes Christ and the rest comes from Heaven, to do these Ceremonies and Services upon (*a*) Earth, *&c.*

Cæsarius, l. 7. cap. 20. Specul. Exempl. dist. 6. Sect. 60.

a Gononus, pag. 133.

Thus have we seen the thumping commendations of their Saints, Devils, nay, of Heaven it self; in which, they have rack'd their Wits so much upon the Tenter-hooks to make all these their glories lovely and taking, that by thinking to over-do, they have come short; and instead of rendring them amiable, have shew'd them but as contemptible: As if all their pains and labour were guided with the same misfortune of our *Arcadian Demetas*, who after all his pumpings and endeavours to make his Madam *Mopsie* renowned and famous, sum'd up all in this, that she was his *own Pigsnye*, whereby she became more ridiculous.

I have been the longer upon these Wonders and Fopperies (and might easily have enlarged their number to a great Volume) because I finde them in every place so triumph over all other people by their Miracles, which in every Age they make so necessary a Mark of a True Church, that they think it none of the least Arguments against the Reformed.

But these may give you an hint, what little credit may justly be given to such Tales: and when men have trapt any as Impostures, so oft in lying and cheating, they have small reason to believe them in their other Stories or Actions. And besides these Forgeries, when we consider what compact jugling and delusions there may be, and that the Devil also may have a hand in the imployment, as also some may have their Natural causes; we should not so easily believe all to be gold that glistereth, nor every thing we see or hear, to be a Miracle wrought by God, since (*b*) Antichrist himself must deceive by signs and lying Wonders.

b 2 *Thessal.* 2. 9.

Though as I have no power to hinder Almighty God from working Wonders, so have I no Authority to deny that he doth do any by his faithful Instruments; and I am apt to believe upon good Reason, that the Church of *Great Britain*, since the Reformation, may glory and triumph in this blessing, as well as their fellow-Christians beyond Sea.

CHAP.

Chap. IV.

Their Idle, Extravagant and Prophane Titles and Prerogatives appropriated to the Pope.

HAving hitherto ſeen how laviſh they are in the commendations of their inferiour Chriſtians, thoſe but as it were fellow-Subjects, or of the ſame rank in obedience with themſelves: what lofty ſtrains and towring Encomiums may we expect, when they advance to magnifie their Lord and Maſter, their Infallible Judge, and what not? If in any thing they obſerve Sir *Philip Sidneys* Rule:

If the man ſuch praiſes have,
What muſt he that keeps the knave?

And if when ſeveral of their Wits have ſtrain'd themſelves to compare the great Cardinal (*a*) *Richelieu* to God Almighty for Power and Wiſdom, though he hath not hitherto been held one of the greateſt Saints; we may not hope for leſs Blaſphemies, to be produced to the honour of their *Roman* Biſhop, whom they fancy to command Heaven and Hell; and ſo at his pleaſure to diſpoſe of their ſouls to either of thoſe places.

But that good Emperour (*b*) *Alexander Severus* rejected all ſuch cogging Claw-backs: As (*c*) *Alonſo* that wiſe King of *Aragon*, did not onely hate, but ſeveral times puniſh his flattering, creenging Courtiers, whom he juſtly call'd the Plague of Princes; it being a truth not eaſily denyed, that (next to ſuch a Treaſon as *Presbytery*) the diſſembling fawning Favorite, is the diſcredit of his King, and the ruine of his Country.

What the Popes have done by way of command to others, to proclaim to the World the Commendations, Strength, Power, Vertue and Authority of his Holy-Chair, would be a task too tedious and difficult, to ſearch exactly and throughly into: Yet that ſuch endeavours have been ſomewhat Ancient, appears by *Auguſtinus de Ancona*, now better known by the name of *Triumphus*; who above three hundred years ago, was commanded by Pope *John* XXI (or XXII) to write a Treatiſe to this purpoſe, which he did, where he boldly maintains that *no* (*d*) *law can be made to binde Chriſtians, but by the Popes Authority*, as of old the *Iſraelites* received none but by the Interceſſion of *Moſes*. Nor is this all; but he makes all the world to be ſo much the Popes Right and Inheritance, that he expreſly gives us this Caution of Interpretation of ſome Facts in Hiſtory, *viz. That if we meet with any Emperours to have given any* (*e*) *Temporal Priviledges or Lands to any Popes*, (as they ſay *Conſtantine* did to *Sylveſter*) *we muſt here underſtand that they did not at all give that which was their own to give; but onely* (forſooth) *reſtore that, which had formerly been taken away from them by Tyranny and Injuſtice.* Or if on the contrary, *we read of any Popes to have given off any ſuch Temporal Benefit, we muſt then ſuppoſe that it was done more for peace-ſake, then really to give to others a true Title to them.* Fine Rules, if they were true, to keep all Juriſdiction and Territories in their own clutches. But alas, they are too ſimple and childiſh to be imbraced by any but fools, and ſuchlike Papal Scriblers.

Not long after him, we have a truſty *Spaniard*, *Alvarus Pelagius* Confeſſor to *Balthaſſor Coſſa*, call'd *John* XXII (or XXIII) who writ a large Book,

a Many of which you may finde collected together in a Quarto Book, call'd Scriptorum *Galliæ* Maledicentiæ & Adulationes Impiæ, *Anno* 1635.

b Volaterran. lib. 23. fol. 366.

c Ant. Panormita de rebus geſtis *Alphonſi.*

d De Poteſtate Eccleſiaſtica, Queſt. 44. Art. 1.

e Id. Part. 1. Queſt. 1. Art. 1.

Book, in part to vindicate his Maſter, by many then held an Antipope. This *Alvarus*, amongſt other things, affirms that no Emperour muſt be held to rule[a] juſtly, who received not his Power and Authority from the *Roman* Church, eſpecially after Chriſt had granted all Rule and Government to St. *Peter:* which ſeems a pretty Paradox, as if the Church at *Rome* by right ruled all the world, before ever St. *Peter* was ever there, or held as Supream there; or for ought that I know, before any other Chriſtian in that City had any abode. Nor will that which followeth any whit mend the matter, *viz.* that every Pope hath all the ſame, or as much power upon Earth, as *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf had; and that the Pope is as a God to the Emperour.

a De planctu Eccleſiæ, lib. 1. cap. 13.

Some years before this, *Urban* the Sixth and *Clement* the Seventh bandying for the Popedom, the Chriſtians not agreeing which of them was the true one; inſomuch that the Kings themſelves were alſo divided, from which troubles it may be he might expect ſome diſadvantage: However it was, he had one *Johannes de Therano* his Chamberlain, who upon his command writ a Book to leſſen all Temporal Authority in Princes, in which he very finely evades theſe words —— *Give unto* Cæſar *the things that are* Cæſars, *and to God the things that are Gods*, by affirming that theſe words of *Chriſt* have place onely for a time, *viz.* until his Aſcention; and that after his Aſcention they are of no force or value: proving it from this Verſe —— [b] *When I ſhall be lifted up from the Earth, I will draw all men unto me*; which he interprets by all Kings and Kingdoms to be under the Popes juriſdiction: a bundle of ſuch ſtrange Aſſertions, that [c] *Coquæus* himſelf ſeems almoſt aſhamed of them.

b Joh 12.32.

c Tom. 2. pag. 232.

But to go on: long before any of theſe, above five hundred years[d] ago in a Council at *Rheimes*, ſome one or other (for his certain name I finde not) made a learned and wiſe Sermon, as he thought, in commendation of the Pope, telling his Auditors, that he was *greater than* Moſes, *greater than any Angel, greater than* Solomon; --- *nay, except God, there is none like unto him either in Heaven or Earth.* And that this might carry the more credit with it, they have foiſted this into the Works of [e] St. *Bernard*, though [f] *Baronius* himſelf cannot believe that he was the Author of it.

d Anno 1131.

e Sermo ad Synod. *Rhemenſ.* beginning Grave eſt quod mihi injungitur.

f Anno 1131. Sect. 4.

Yet good *Bernard* knew not all things, nor in ſome things could he ſee any farther than that blinde Age in which he lived would allow him; nor will I take upon me to cenſure him of flattery, for his thus complementing with his Holineſs, —— [g] *Thou art the Prime of all Biſhops, the Heir of the Apoſtles, an* Abel *for Primacy, a* Noah *for Government, an* Abraham *by Patriarchſhip, a* Melchiſedech *by Order*, Aaron *by Dignity*, Moſes *by Authority*, Samuel *by Judicature*, Peter *by Power*, Chriſt *by Unction*, &c.

g *Bernard.* de Conſiderat. ad *Eugenium*, lib. 2. cap. 8.

And this piece of canting Courtſhip, was taken up by the Arch-biſhop [h] *Stephanus Tigliatius*, and beſtowed upon *Innocent* the Eighth with ſome Additions.

h Vid *Abrah. Bzov.* Rom. Pont. c. 6. p. 56.

But we might go higher yet, and ſee what goodly Priviledges *Gregory* the Seventh got an Aſſembly at *Rome* to beſtow upon him, as that [i] *onely the Pope of* Rome *can depoſe Biſhops: That he onely according to the Times may make Laws: That he onely may uſe the Imperial Enſigns: That all the Princes are to kiſs his feet: That he can depoſe Emperours, and Tranſlate Biſhops: That no Synod can be held without his command, nor any Book is Canonical without his Authority: That he is undoubtedly made* [k] *Holy by the Merits of St.* Peter: *That there is but one name in the World*, i. e. the Pope.

i *Baron.* Anno 1076. Sect 31, 32, 33.

k Vid. Diſt. 4c. c. *Non nos.*

Nor can ſuch Extravagances as theſe ſeem ſtrange to any, who is acquainted with their writings and ſtories; the Popes themſelves not a little

tle delighting in these Flatteries, and accordingly they never want such complying Pick-thanks.

Thus *Fernando de Velasco* in behalf of his Master *John* the Second King of *Portugal*, applyed that to *Innocent* the Eighth, which the Apostle speaks of Christ, *viz.* That he is [a] *far above all Principality and Power, and every name that is named, not onely in this world, but also in that which is to come*; and that he is *the Sun and Light of the World.*

Vid. Bzov. de Rom. Pont. c. 6. p. 56, 57, 58, 66.

a Ephes. 1. 21.

Thus *Scala* the *Florentine* Ambassador told the same Pope, That *his Dignity was so great, that a more Excellent could not be invented or fancyed on Earth:* Nay, *that to dispute or doubt of his Power, is no less than Sacriledge*, as *Cheurer* flattered him from the Duke of *Savoy*. *Julius* the Second was told by *Diego Pacettus*, Envoy from *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, That he was the *Door-keeper of Heaven, and held the Keys of eternal Life:* And *Bernardus Justinianus*, Agent from the *Venetians*, assured Pope *Paul* the Second, that [b] *he could damn and save whom he pleased:* Which was also affirm'd to *Julius* the Second, by *Michael Risius*, from *Lewis* the Twelfth of *France*, with this Addition, that *the Necks of all Kings and Princes must submit to him.*

b Cui claudere Cœlos & aperire, detrudere ad Inferos, & eruere quoscunq; velit, concessum.

Narius Bandinæus, Ambassador from *Sienna*, fob'd up Pope *Paul* the Third with the Epithites of *The Father of Godliness, Day-star of Justice, Prince of Faith, Chieftain of Religion, Arbitrator of all things, Saviour of Christians, and Image of Divinity.* And as if the Princes of *Italy* strove in the magnifying of his Holiness, the Ambassadors of *Genoa*, *Sienna*, *Lucca*, *Venice*, *Florence*, *Parma*, *Milan* and *Ferrara*, humbly told *Leo* the Tenth, That he *excell'd all Kings as much as the Sun doth the Moon.*

And well might these petit Potentates thus tumble themselves before their Infallible Chair, when the great *French* Monarch, *Francis* the Second, by his Deputy *Johannes Babo à Burdæsia*, did creenge to *Pius* the Fourth, in the acknowledgement, *that all Laws depended upon his pleasure; that Kings threw themselves down at his feet, and Heaven opens at his will; and that his pleasure did stand for a Law, as his voice for an Oracle.*

* Vid. Bzov. pag. 53, 55.

d Extra. Com. de Major. & Obed. c. *unam sanctam.*

Pope *Pius* the Fifth was once told, that *the whole world lay at his Feet:* And *Sixtus* the Fifth, that *Princes, Kings and Emperours were so much subject to him, that they should not onely attend upon him, but worship and adore him.* Which if true, then *Aquinas* was not amiss, when (as they say) he told the world, That * *our Kings ought to be as much subject to him, as to Christ himself.* Nor those others, who with the *German* have declared, that all must *be obedient to him, upon pain of Salvation*, according to the Decree of [d] *Boniface* the Eighth.

e Sext. de Electione, cap. *Fundamenta.*

f Dist. 12. c. *Non decet.*

g Dist. 19. c. *Sic omnes.*

h Ib. c. *Enimvero.*

i Ib. c. *In Canonicis.*

Their *Canon*-Law tells us, that Christ *received St.* Peter *into the* [e] *Fellowship of his undivided Unity:* Informs us, that as [f] Christ *did the Will of his Father, so we should do the will of the Church of* Rome. That [g] *all the Orders of that Church ought to be held, as if St.* Peter *himself had proposed them to us.* And therefore are [h] *perpetually and inviolably to be observed.* And so are the Papal *decretal Letters*, which they say are to be [i] *numbred amongst the Canonical Scriptures:* Nor is any man [k] *to judge or revoke the Popes sentence:* For the [l] *Decrees of the Popes are of equal force and authority with the Canons of Councils.* And good Reason, since they Decree that every one is to be [m] *obedient to the Pope, upon pain of damnation*; and so must we believe that [n] *all Nations and Kingdoms are under the Popes jurisdiction:* And that [o] *God hath delivered over to him the Power and Rule of Heaven and Earth.*

k Caus. 17. Q. 4. & Dist. 81. c. *Si qui sunt*, c. *Nemini est.*

l Paul. Lancellottus Institut. juris Can. l. 1. Tit. 3. c. *Decreta.*

m Extra. Com. de Major. & Obed. c. *unam sanctam.*

n Extra. Com. Tit. 1. c. *Super Gentes.*

o Extra. Joh. XXII. Tit. 5. & Dist. 22. c. *Omnes.* Glos.

And well may he thus triumph over Principalities & Powers, since the *Glossaries* have

have the confidence to assure us, that he [a] *can change the Nature of Things, make* (or rather create) *something out of nothing*; since his *will must stand for a Law, nor must any man say to him, Why do you so?* since his power is such, as *to dispence beyond Law it self, and so of Injustice can make Justice, either by correcting or changing the Laws or Rights*; *and* [b] *dispence too against the Apostle.*

a Naturam rerum immutat substantialia unius rei applicando aliis---de nihilo aliquid facere potest.--- sententiam quæ nulla est facit aliquam. In his quæ vult ei est pro ratione voluntas. Nec est qui ei dicat, Cur ita facis? Ipse enim potest supra jus dispensare——de injustitia potest facere justitiam corrigendo jura & mutando. Decret. *Greg.* lib. 1. Tit. 7. c. *Quanto personam.* Gloss. Sect. *Veri Dei vicem.*

b *Dist.* 34. c. *Lector.* Gloss.

Their *Canon*-Law brags, that *Constantine* the Great call'd the Pope a [c] God: But their extravagant *Gloss* speaks out more plainly in these very words—— [d] OUR LORD GOD THE POPE.

c *Dist.* 96. c. *Satis evidenter.*

d Credere Dominum Deum nostrum Papam Conditorem, *&c.* Extra. *Joh.* XXII. Tit. 14. de verborum significat. cap. 4. *Cum inter nonnullos. Gloss.* Sect. *Declaramus*, prope finem.

Because [e] Father *Parsons* affirmeth he could never finde any such expression, though he saith he sought much for it; I have been the more exact and plain in the Quotation, as also to confute [f] *Andræas Eudæmon-Johannes*, and some others, who are apt to perswade their Readers, that there is no such thing to be found, at least in those Copies that they can meet withal: for confutation of which, take this Catalogue of Editions which I have met withal, in which they will finde the said words expresly set down.

e *Warn-word to Sir* Fran. Hastings's *wast-ward, Encount.* 1. c. 2. Sect. 10.

f Apol. pro *Hen. Garn.*

Lugduni.	*Lutet. Paris.*
1526	1522
1556	1561
1559	* 1585
1572	* 1601
* 1584	* 1612

Several of which, *viz.* those you see here noted with the *Asterisks*, were printed after Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth had corrected the *Canon-Law*, and were as they confess printed and publish'd according to the *Roman* Copy, by Authority of the said Pope.

Vid. *Pet. Moulin* vates, lib. 5. cap. 6.

And it may be from such like wicked expressions as this, that abominable Varlet *Francois Ravaillac* drew this Blasphemous Doctrine, [g] *The Pope is God, and God is the Pope.* And therefore supposing that *Henry* the Fourth of *France* would make War upon the Pope, he thought himself obliged to murther the said King, lest he should fight against God, that is, the Pope. However, though I cannot say that the wisest of them think the Pope really to be God; yet this I am certain of, that they commonly paint one so like the other, with a Triple Crown, and all other Pontifical Garments, that you can scarce know whether they designed it for the Picture of God Almighty, or the Pope.

g Parceque faisant la guerre contre le Pape, c'estoit la faire contre Dieu, d'autant que *le Pape estoit Dieu, & Dieu estoit le Pape.* Procez, Examen, Confessions, *&c.* du *Francois Ravaillac*, pag. 39. & *Is. Casaubon.* Epist. ad *Front. Ducæum*, pag. 14.

But others would have us to think, that he is not really a God, no more than he is really a man; but something or other between both, according to our Country-man in their [h] *Gloss.*

h *Clement.* in Proem. *Gloss.* v. *Papa.*

Papa

Papa ſtupor Mundi——
—— *Qui maxima rerum es;*
Nec Deus es, nec homo, quaſi neuter es inter utrumque.

Pope! the worlds wonder, greateſt in all the world,
Nor God, nor Man, but between both, thou'rt Purld.

And now can we think that they give theſe almoſt-almighty Titles and Power to his Holineſs, without ſure grounds and good cauſe? And that of all Reaſons and Authorities, the *Canon*-Law, which hath been ſo carefully compoſed, and ſo often reviſed by their wiſeſt ones, doth not afford the beſt? No ſurely, and therefore for a taſte, take ſome of their invincible Arguments, and thoſe too, for more Authority, framed by the Popes themſelves, and ſo infallibly true.

Can any deny that the Pope hath all [a] Temporal as well as Spiritual juriſdiction, ſeeing the Apoſtles ſaid,— [b] *Behold, here are two Swords*; and Chriſt anſwered, That *it is enough*? Which is alſo ſufficiently teſtified by Chriſt's ſaying, *Peter* [c] *put up thy ſword into the ſheath.*

What need any man queſtion the [d] Popes Authority to depoſe Kings, ſeeing God told the Prophet *Jeremiah*, ſaying, —— [e] *Behold, I have this day ſet thee over the Nations and over the Kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to deſtroy, and to throw down, to build and to plant?*

Is it not as plain as a Pike-ſtaff, that there is but one Supream Authority in the World, and that that is the [f] Pope, becauſe God [g] *created heaven in the Beginning?* for it is not ſaid in the plural number, in the *Beginnings*. And therefore he that believes not that the Pope is the Chief, muſt be an Heretical *Manichee*.

Again, is it not impudence to deny the [h] Pope to be above any Emperour, (be he Eaſt or Weſt) ſeeing God himſelf decided long ſince the Controverſie, by creating [i] *two great Lights, viz.* the *Sun* and the *Moon*, whereby he did plainly demonſtrate, that the Pope is as far above the Emperour, as the *Sun* is greater than the *Moon*? And for the Kings, they are no more to be compared to the Pope, than [k] *Lead* is to *Gold*.

Upon the ſtrength of theſe Authorities and mighty Reaſons, though not a Ruſh to the purpoſe, their Writers vapour with his Holineſs over all poor Hereticks. [l] *Rodericus Cupers* thinks that thoſe who *deny the Popes Temporal* and ſpiritual Supremacy, *deny alſo the Goſpel*; and the great [m] *Antoninus* of *Florence*, that he hath power not onely on earth, but in *Heaven* and *Hell*. Doctor [n] *Marta* ſaith, that he is *Judge* of all men in the World. And ſo any may *appeal* from their ſecular Judges to him: He being the [o] *Fountain* and *Original* of all Temporal juriſdiction, and having all the Power that [p] *Chriſt* had.

[q] *Henricus à Gondavo* with his Commentator, *Marcus Vitalis*, *Zuccolius*, and [r] *Alexander Carerius*, with a multitude of others, are great ſticklers for this his Authority; and the later of them tells us, that it is the common opinion of all their Divines and Canoniſts. Nay, *Stephanus* an Arch-biſhop, in one of their Lateran Councils, applauded the Opinion, That the [ſ] *Pope was above all Power both of Heaven and Earth.*

One tells us that he is not onely the *Judge*, but the [t] *Spouſe of the Univerſal Church*, and the *Arbitrator of Heaven and Earth.* [u] Another goeth on, and affirms him to be *King of Kings, Lord of Lords: that there is but one and the ſame Judgement-ſeat and Council-houſe belonging to God and the*

a Extra. Com. de Major. & Obed. c. *unam Sanctam.*
b *Luke* 22. 28.
c *Joh.* 18. 11. *Mat.* 26. 52.
d Extra. Com. c. *unam ſanctam. Greg.* de Major. & Obed. c. *Solitæ.*
e *Jer.* 1. 10.
f Extra. Com. c *unam ſanctam.*
g *Gen.* 1. 1.
h *Greg* de Major. & Obed. c. *Solitæ.*
i *Gen.* 1. 16.
k Diſt. 96. c. *Duo ſunt.*
l Comment. in c. *Oportebat.* pag. 48. Sect. 9.
m Sum. Part. 3. Tit. 22. c. 5.
n Tract. de juriſdict. part. 4. cent. 1. caſ. 56. Sect. 1.
o Ibid. Sect. 8.
p Id. cap. 25. Sect. 20.
q Quodlibet. VI. Quæſt. 23. fol. 369. a.
r De Poteſtat. Rom Pont. l. 2. c. 9. Sect 7. & cap. 10.
ſ Concil. Edict. Regia. Tom. 34. pag. 440.
t *Jo. Rubeus* in *Boniface. VIII.* pag. 216.
u *Iſidor. Maſconius* de Majeſtate Militant. Eccleſ. p. 26, 27

Pope, and ſo all the world obliged to ſtand to his judgement: for ſhould all people bandy againſt it, their ſentence would be of no force. A third proceeds, and maintains that he *can do (a) all things that God himſelf can do, onely ſin excepted.* And another from the ſame Authority aſſures us, that he *(b) can take away any mans right, and give it to another:* Nor need we to think much at this, ſince they allow him to *(c) do any thing above all right, againſt all right, and without all right:* That he is the *Cauſe of Cauſes,* and *can declare ſquare things to be round.* And then I warrant you that we are Hereticks, if we do not believe that the ſquare thing is really round.

a *Jac. de Griffis* Deciſiones auriæ, part. 1. cap. 31.

b *D. Guido* Deciſiones, Quæſt. 589.

c *Jaſon Mayn.* Concil. 145. Sect. 7. & Vol. 3. Conſ. 68. Sect. 14.

The *Rabbins* told their *Jews,* that they were to *believe* the Judges, though they told them that *the Right-hand was the Left, and the Left-hand the Right.* And this knack of credulity, was lately indeavoured by the *Jeſuites* to be an Article: the famous and judicious Father *Paul* aſſuring us, that the third of their *Rules* found at *Padoa* 1606 was, that —— *(d) Men muſt believe the Hierarchical Church, although it tell us, that that is black which our eye judgeth to be white.* And ſomething like this, is the Doctrine which *Bellarmine* himſelf layeth down, in theſe words, —— *(e) If the Pope ſhould err, in commanding Vices or prohibiting Vertues; then is the Church obliged to believe that Vices are good, and Vertues are evil, unleſs ſhe would ſin againſt her Conſcience.*

Si dixerit tibi, quod dextera ſit ſiniſtra, vel ſiniſtra dextera, talis ſententia eſt tenenda. *Nic. de Lyra* in Deuter. c. 17. 11.

d Hiſt. of the Quarrels of Pope *Paul* the Fifth, with the *Venetians,* lib. 1. pag. 96.

e Si autem Papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Eccleſia credere vitia eſſe bona, & virtutes malas, niſi vellet contra conſcientiam peccare. *Bellarm.* de Rom. Pont. lib. 4. cap. 5. Sect. *quod autem.*

And I doubt he is willing to give to St. *Peter,* and by his conſequence to the Pope, the *(f) power of making ſin to be no ſin, and that which is no ſin to be a ſin.* Certain I am, that when Pope *Clement* the Eighth deſired the ſaid Cardinal to draw him up ſome private Rules and Directions for the benefit of the Church; he could not in that Paper of ſecrecie, keep himſelf from flattery, by telling the Pope, that *(g) he had no limits or bounds in the whole world, but thoſe which the world it ſelf had.*

f Contra *Barklaium,* cap. 31.

g *Jac. Fuligatus* vita *Card. Bellarm.* lib. 3. cap. 5.

About twenty years ago, *Innocent* the Tenth being choſen Pope, Cardinal *Columna,* as he delivered him St. *Peters* Keys, told him, that *(h) the Angels in Heaven reverenced him, the Gates of Hell feared him, and the whole world adored him.* But this ſnip of flattery is nothing to the Blaſphemous Paper preſented to the ſame Pope by the hands of the *German* Jeſuit *Melchior Inchofer* (though himſelf was not the Author of it) then living at *Rome.*

h *Laur. Banck,* Roma Triumphans, p. 216.

The Elogy it ſelf, with the bold alluſions to the Popes Sir-name *Pamphilio,* whereby he would make him better than our Saviour, take as followeth; though we may gueſs that they were compoſed a little before his Election.

Id. pag. 81, 82. *Herm. Conringius* Caſtigat. de Elect. *Alexand.* 7. p. 55, 56.

Eminentiſſime & Reverendiſſime
D. CARDINALIS PHAMPHILI.

I. PHILIUS *Dei (ſuperlativus amor Patris, quia* φίλτατος, *ideo* Philius *dictus) ex æterna ejus charitate, qua ſe Deo Patri obtulit, in amantiſſimum Interceſſorem ac Mediatorem Dei ac hominum ab inſtanti Conceptionis*

in

in utero B. Mariæ *Virginis, factus fuit Sacerdos in æternum, ſecundum Ordinem* Melchiſedech, *ac Primus Pontifex Optimus Maximus.*

II. *Sed* Filius *fuit Philius, non fuit* Pamphilius.

III. *Fuit interceſſor Dei & hominum.*

IV. *Non fuit Univerſalis Mediator Angelorum & hominum, ſeu* Pamphilius.

V. *Si ex Nominis analogico æternoq; Anagrammate præſagire licet, Myſterium aliquod in Tempore: Tu ab æterno Prædeſtinatus es, eſſe* Pamphilius *in Terris, ac dici* Pamphilius, *æmulus filii Dei in Cœlis.*

VI. Pamphilius *ergo eris, Univerſalis nimirum Reconciliator Angelorum & hominum, in Terris hoſtiliter pugnantium Regum & Populorum.*

VII. *Quod præſtabis non niſi electus in Pontificem Opt. Maximum.*

VIII. *In cujus fauſtiſſimum augurium* Evangelus *ego, felixq; Nuncius ter ſanctos Pedes Eminentiæ veſtræ ex nunc deoſculor.*

IX. *Quod etiam* Græcè *ſcripſi decem abhinc annis, in* Græca *noſtra Academia* Baſiliana *in Columbæ veſtræ ſtemmata* τὰ τῆς ἁγίας συμβόλου, *Rex Pacificus eris & Clementiſſimus.*

Ter genu flexus *Italo-Græcus* ego

Joan. Baptiſta Catum Syritus.

Pope *Paul* the Second told [a] *Platina* and others, that *all right and power were lodged in his Breaſt*, and that his Authority was ſuch, that even according *to his own pleaſure and will, he could null or approve of other mens actions.* And why not? ſeeing [b] *Baronius* affirms, that when *Vigilius* ſat in the Chair, that *then alſo Chriſt himſelf, not onely as he was man, but as he was God alſo, ſat with him.* Upon which ground, it may be that *Albizzi* (made Cardinal, I ſuppoſe, by this preſent Pope *Alexander* the Seventh) told two *Cordeliers*, that the [c] *Goſpel would not be the Goſpel, if the Pope had not approved of it.* And to go a little higher, thoſe of *Palermo* having ſent their Ambaſſadors to Pope *Martin* the Second; theſe *Holy men* (as my Author calls them) being come into his preſence, having firſt thrown themſelves all along before his feet, thus began their Speech to him:

a *Plat.* in *Paulo* Secundo.

b Anno 552. Sect. 11.

c St. *Amours* journal, p. 170.

O thou! who takeſt away the ſins of the World, have mercy upon us.
O thou! who takeſt away the ſins of the World, have mercy upon us.
O thou! who takeſt away the ſins of the World, have mercy upon us.

Paul. Æmilius Hiſt. *Francor.* in vita *Philippi* III.

Nor did the Pope finde any fault in this Salutation, but onely that he thought them to be Hypocrites, and to have ſpoke him fair, when he thought they perfectly hated him.

As for Kings, their [d] *Canon*-Law tells us, that the Pope is as far above them, as the *Sun* is greater than the *Moon.* Upon which their old *Gloſſator* takes upon him to finde out the diſtance; and according to his skill in *Aſtronomy*, he makes the Pope to be about forty ſeven times better than a King: But this ſeeming too little for his Holineſs, it fairly concludes him to be above 7744 times greater than any King.

d *Greg.* de Major. & Obed. c. *Solitæ.*

And though this ſeems brave, and ſound high, yet [e] *Staniſlaius Orichorius*, of a later cut, makes it his buſineſs to out-vapour the *Gloſs*, by affirming that a *common Prieſt is as much better than a King, as a Man is better than a Beaſt.* Nay farther, *that as much as God Almighty doth excel a Prieſt, ſo much doth a Prieſt excel a King.*

e Chimæra, fol. 97. a.

And

And this may ſomewhat agree with *Gaſpar Scioppius*, a great man amongſt them, though of more words and paſſion, than Charity or Diſcretion, who in the ſwindge of his Zeal, alloweth all *Lay-men* to be no better than *Horſes*, *Mules* or *Aſſes*; and that with ſuch ſmall diſtinction, that the *Romaniſt* himſelf hath but the honour to be a *tame Aſs*, whilſt the *Heretick* is a *wilde one*. Nor do the *Kings* of the Popiſh perſwaſion get any more addition of eſteem from him, then that they are *the foremoſt or leading Aſſes with ſine jangling Bells about their necks*. And that favorite of their Church, *Charles* the Great, is honour'd enough, as *Schoppius* thinks, by calling him *a wiſer and greater Aſs than our King* James, becauſe he was obedient to the Pope.

Eccleſiaſticus, cap. 147.

Reges Catholici ſunt Aſini cum Tintinnabulo, &c.

And the truth is, many of our chief Princes, by their too much debaſing themſelves to that Chair, have rendred themſelves little better than *Scioppius* his compariſons; or his *Holineſs* muſt have thought them to be ſo, in reſpect of his Almighty Greatneſs: Witneſs the great Kings and Emperours who have held the Popes Stirrops, have kiſs'd his Toe, have like Foot-boys led their Horſes along; witneſs *Alexander* the Third, for preſuming to tread upon the Emperour *Frederick Barbaroſſa*'s neck; witneſs *Gregory* the Seventh, for making the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth to wait upon him three ſeveral days in the midſt of Winter, bare-foot, bare-headed, and faſting: and ſeveral ſuchlike impudent ſtories, which may be ſeen more at large in the proſecution of this Hiſtory.

Vid. *Tho. Bozium* de *Italiæ* ſtatu, l. 3. c. 4. pag. 298.

And for more confirmation of this Papal Pride and Greatneſs, let us take a ſhort view of ſomewhat to this purpoſe, which they have left upon Record, with a ſtrict injunction to be performed by all Kings and Emperours whatſoever.

Sacrarum Ceremoniarum, Edit. Rom. 1560. lib. 1.
a Fol. 22.
b Fol. 25.
c Fol. 26.

The Pope in the Book of their holy Ceremonies, doth command as a Law, That when an Emperour goeth to be Crown'd by a Pope, (*a*) *he is as ſoon as he eſpyeth his Holineſs, to kneel and worſhip him bare-headed; then to approach nearer and kiſs his feet: and the ſame is to be done by the* (*b*) *Empreſs when ſhe is Crowned.* When the Emperour is Crowned, at the publick Proceſſion, before a world of people, he is to (*c*) *go to the Popes Horſe, and there to hold the Stirrop till his Holineſs mounts on Horſe-back*; and then like a Lackey muſt he *lead the Popes* Roſonante *ſome way by the Reins.* And this piece of ſervice or ſlavery muſt the (*d*) *Emperour, King, or chief Potentate perform, when the Pope is choſen, in his Proceſſion to the Lateran Church:* But if there be *two Kings* preſent, then hath the Pope expreſly commanded, that (*e*) *one of them on his Right-ſide, the other on his Left, muſt lead his Palfrey along by the Bridle.* And this Office of the Yeoman of the Stirrop, they are confidently pleas'd to tell us, that *Conſtantine* the Great did it to Pope *Sylveſter.* But the (*f*) Copy whence they produce this, I ſhall prove to be a whiſking lye and forgery, in the following Hiſtory.

d Fol. 17.

e Ibid.

f Viz. Donatio vel Privilegium *Conſtantini.*

The Pope goeth on in his proud Laws, by decreeing, *that the beſt Layman, though he be Emperour or King, muſt* (*g*) *carry water for the Pope to waſh his hands in:* nor muſt his trouble and ſlavery ceaſe here, but he *muſt alſo carry up the firſt diſh of meat to his Table.* And as if all this were not enough to debaſe the Temporal Princes, the ſame Authority goeth on, commanding, that if the *Pope will not ride on horſe-back, but be carryed in his Chair, that then the four of the greateſt Princes, yea, although the Emperour be one of them, ſhall put their* (*h*) *ſhoulders to the ſaid Chair, and ſo carry him ſome ſpace:* yet this being a tyranny beyond all expreſſion, therefore ſomewhat to mitigate it, they provide, that four luſty fellows ſhall ſo far aſſiſt, as to eaſe thoſe Royal Shoulders from the great weight.

g Sacrar. Cerem. lib. 1. fol. 20.

h Fol. 17.

The truth is, the Pope is wont to call himſelf the *ſervant of ſervants of God:*

God: But 'tis none of the leaſt ſigns of great Pride, to affect a ſeeming Title of humility, when in the mean time they make it their deſign to Domineer over the whole world: and ſomething to this purpoſe, their *Gloſs* upon *Gratian* affords us this Diſtich:

* *Servierant tibi* Roma *prius Domini Dominorum,*
Servorum ſervi nunc tibi ſunt Domini.

* 1 q. 7. c. *Quoties Cordis*, Gloſſ. *Et per te.*

The greateſt Kings once ſerv'd thee, *Rome*, but now
To th'leaſt of Servants thou thy neck muſt bow.

And ſuch another like cheat as this doth his Holineſs afford the *Romans*, or rather the holy Scripture, when he is elected and carryed to the *Lateran*, where he takes up as much (*a*) money as he can in his hand, and throws it amongſt the people, ſaying,— (*) *Silver and gold have I none; but ſuch as I have, give I thee.* A moſt ridiculous Ceremony for his Infallible Holineſs, thus to abuſe the words of St. *Peter!*

a Sacrar. Cerem. lib. 1. fol. 17.
* Acts 3. 6.

And though Pope *Julius* the Third was content to call himſelf no more than *Gods Vicar*, yet the extravagancy of the expreſſion ſpoil'd the Complement: For as the ſtory goeth, having once commanded a Peacock to be ſet by, that he might eat it cold, and being miſſing when he deſired it, forced him into a great rage; and being deſired by a Cardinal, not to be angry for ſuch a Trifle, thus replyed,— *If God was ſo angry for an Apple, as to drive* Adam *out of* Paradiſe; *why might not he that was* Gods Vicar, *be angry for a Peacock of more worth?* And like this was another reply of the ſaid Pope, who wanting his Diſh of Pork, and being told that his Phyſitian had forbad it, as not then good for him, thus unholily commanded,— *Bring me my Pork in ſpight of God.*

H. Eſtienne Apol. pour Herod. p. 191.

Porta mi quel mio piatto al diſpetto di Dio.

Methinks *Johannes Andræas*, Biſhop of *Aleria* in *Corſica*, thought himſelf no ſmall Wit, when his fancy reached ſo high, as to call Pope *Leo* the Great, (*b*) *The* Tully *of Church-Oratory*, *The* Homer *of Divinity*, *and the* Ariſtotle *of Faith:* and this mode of School-boy-alluſion is uſed alſo by ſome others, as amongſt other Monuments of the Great Duke of *Bourbon* who took *Rome*, this following is at *Gaieta:*

b Epiſt. ad *Paulum* II. præfix. Opuſcul. *Leonis.* *Fran. Sweert.* pag. 115.

Conſiliis, Calchas, *animo* Hector, *robora Achilles*,
Eloquio Neſtor, *jacet hic* Borbonius *Heros.*

And thus the other day a (*c*) *Romaniſt* thought he had commended our bleſſed Martyr King *Charles* the Firſt beyond all compariſon, when he call'd him a *Prince wiſe as* Apollo, *Valiant as* Achilles, *Vertuous as* Socrates, *Pious as* Æneas, *and Beautiful as an Amazon.* So that it ſeems to make a noiſe, any thing that ſounds great, be it deviliſh or wicked, muſt be brought in; like the people of *Sofala* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, who appropriate to their King, by way of commendation, all things that are great, be it good or bad; inſomuch, that they call him not onely (*d*) *Great Lyon*, but *great Thief*, *great Witch*, and ſuchlike.

c Philanax Anglicus, or a Chriſtian Caveat againſt *Proteſtants of Integrity*, pag. 57, 58.

d Purchas Pilgr. Vol. 2. pag. 1539.

But for ſuch alluſions of Biſhop *Andræas*, I ſhall let them alone, as impertinent to my purpoſe, and of as little harm as they are of diſcretion; I only meddling with thoſe of a higher pitch, ſuch as attribute a *Deity*, or little leſs, to his Holineſs, of which formerly; and to them I might add this Diſtich ſet upon a Triumphal Arch at *Rome*, relating to Pope *Sixtus:*

Da. Magerus Tranſenna Theologica, pag. 61.

Oraculo vocis mundi moderaris habenas,
Et merito in Terris crederis eſſe Deus.

And

And therefore they command us (a) *to bow at the name of the Virgin* Mary *and the Pope*, as well as at the name of Christ. And if these and suchlike Extravagances (not to say Blasphemies) have not been asserted, yea, and by those who think themselves the wisest, concerning the Pope, I shall desire the same censure that the famous *Parisian* Chancellor *Gerson* (by themselves stiled the *most Christian Doctor*) did in the same case, *viz.* to be held a (b) *lyar*.

But to end all with a story or two: the famous *Stephanus* assures us, that a Priest at *Tours* told his Auditors, that if * *Christ and the Pope were by him, and one commanded him one thing, and the other another, that he would obey the Pope rather than Jesus Christ.* And this Doctrine agrees somewhat with the *Cardinal*, who told his Confessor, That *he had rather adore the Pope than God, because one was visible, and the other not.*

And these Extravagances, and the Popes taking upon him to domineer over all mankinde, made the *Greek* Church send this short Compliment to his Holiness, *John* XXIII, —— *We do really acknowledge thy high Authority over thine own Subjects: but we cannot indure thy great pride, nor are we able to satisfie thy avarice: So the Divel be with thee, and the Lord with us.*

Thus when we finde their Grandees, and those who think themselves the wisest of their Religion, to ascribe such excessive Power and Prerogatives to his Holiness, we may the less wonder at the simplicity of the poor people of *Limosin*, who (according to the story) hearing and so believing that the Pope was not onely Gods Vicar, but a God too, and so had such great power in Heaven and Earth, *&c.* and also knowing that the then Pope was their Country-man, and so near them at that time, as in *France* at *Avignon*; and so full in hope (for Relation-sake) to receive some comfort and help from him; sent to him, laying open the poverty of his and their Country, scarce any thing growing in it, but Rapes, Chesnuts, and a little Corn to serve them on Sundays; and therefore humbly beg'd that his Holiness would be pleas'd to make their poor Country so fruitful, that they might have two Harvests in a year.

The Pope after long consultation with his Grave Council about this weighty matter, was pleas'd very graciously to grant their request; but upon this condition, that for the future they should not reckon twelve, but twenty four Months for the year. The Messengers glad at heart of this unspeakable favour and benefit, return merrily into their Country with this good news, to the great rejoycing and triumph (no doubt) of their Neigbours.

However these people, with those of *Munding* in *Schwaben*, who knew not the difference between a (c) Crab, Pigeon and Stag, and contended in voice with a (d) Cuckow; and those Inhabitants of (e) *El Campo* in *Estramadura*, who knew not three Miles beyond their own homes: and our *Virtuosi* of *Gotham* may be, for ought that I know, as honest, though they are not the wisest of their four respective Nations.

But though the Pope may think himself above all Power in this World, and so not liable to any censure whatsoever; yet against this, I remember a droling story. A Fryar *Minorite* having proved that the Pope might be Excommunicated, by this, as he thought, invincible *Dilemma*: —*Either the Pope is a Brother, or not; if he be a Brother, he may be Excommunicated by a Brother; if he be not a Brother, why doth he say Our Father?* The Pope not knowing how to answer this, a merry Courtier undertook the solution, and so to ease him of his troubled minde, by this advice: — *Let your Holiness never say the* Lords Prayer, *and the Argument is void, and of no force against you.* And so I leave his Holiness in deep consultation with his Cardinals in the Consistory, what to do in this case; not troubling my self a Rush what advice he shall follow

THE

a *Paris Crassus* de Ceremoniis Cardinalium, & Epist. lib. 1. cap. 22.

b Mentior si non inveniantur hæc scripta, & ab illis etiam qui sapientes sunt in Oculis suis. *Jo. Gerson.* de potest. Eccles. Consid. 12.

* Apol. pour Herod. p. 291.

Jo. Bale. Acta Pontif. Rom. l. 6. p. 253.

Da. Magerus, Transenna Theologica, pag. 65.

c *Bebel.* Facet. l. 2. p. 184.

d Id. l. 1. p. 56.

e *Mart. Zeiller.* Hispan. Itiner. pag. 199.

THE TREASONABLE AND Rebellious Principles Of the ROMANISTS.

Book II.

Chap. I.

Their fancying that the Pope hath Power and true Authority to depose Emperours and Kings, and dispose of their Dominions.

HAving hitherto taken a short view of the Glories (as they fancie) of the *Romish* Church; let us now see some of their Destructive and Treasonable Principles, whereby we shall perceive that Heathens in some things have better Tenets, than those who call themselves the truest Christians.

For though *Attabalipa* King of *Peru* told that *Cacafuoco Dominican Vincent Valverde*, That *the Pope*, who would thus dispose of Kingdoms, *was not onely Impudent, but a great Fool, to give that which was none of his own:* Yet they may suppose, that the *Inca* spake this not like a *Romanist*, but an Heathen as he was; for their Writers anon will tell us another Doctrine: and yet all parties smile at the Fool in *Athens*, for thinking all other mens ships to be his own.

Pontificem insigniter fatuum & Impudentem esse, eo facile prodi, quod aliena tam liberaliter largiatur. *Hier. Benzo.* Hist. Novæ Orbis, lib. 3. c. 3.

Whether the Pope hath any real Reason for the exercising of this his suppos'd Prerogative, is nothing to the Purpose; as *Thomas*

Eozius affirm'd to Pope *Clement* the Eighth, and all people elſe: * *For although*, ſaid he, *that the King be lawful, and not onely ſo, but underſtanding, careful, powerful, one of the Popes Religion, and godly too; yet can the Pope take his Empire or Kingdoms from him, and give it to another, although there be no neceſſity far ſo doing, it being enough if he think it onely convenient.* Nor is this all; for he attributes the ſame Authority to the Biſhops, which is of ſufficient validity, if the Pope do but approve of their actions.

* Sirq; aliquis Rex jure, ſolers, induſtrius Potens, Catholicus, pius; tamen Pontifex, Epiſcopiq; Pontifice approbante, jure naturali Divino in Divinis Scriptis expreſſo ac tradito per Chriſtum & Apoſtolos —— valent, huic auferre Imperia, Regna, alteriq; nullum jus alieq; habenti adjudicare, ubi judicave int id eſſe non modo neceſſarium ſed expediens. *Tho. Bozius*, de jure ſtatus, lib. 3 cap. 4.

De Italiæ ſtatu, p. 300. & 311.

This *Eugubian* in other places of his Writings, harps much upon the Popes power in depoſing of Kings, and dividing the World amongſt them, as if they were his Sons, and he the Father of all. And then would ſeem to thruſt into the World an Opinion of bad conſequence, of none being held for Kings, but thoſe who were anoynted and Crown'd: but the Prieſts *Watſon* and *Clark* 1603 found that this Plea would neither quit them from Treaſon, nor ſave their lives.

Dante aut auferente Imperia Regnaq; opulentiſſima & omnium Maxima, Orbem terrarum diſtribuens, ac partiens, inter maximos omnium Principes veluti inter filios. Ib. pag 301.

Id. pag. 305.

Amongſt other things, to Buoy or bolſter up this his Opinion of the Popes Spiritual and Temporal Power, he (*a*) brings the Authority of one *Roderigo Zanchez*, Biſhop of *Zamora*; and the truth of it is, that where wording is all, this *Spaniard* may carry the Bell away, boldly affirming, * *That by Natural, Moral, and divine Law, we muſt believe that the Pope hath the immediate and onely Rule of the whole World, in Temporals as well as in Spirituals; all imperial Authority depending ſo much upon him, that it is alterable, puniſhable, or null'd as he ſhall command.* The ſmall eſteem which this Biſhop thus declared to the World by his Pen, he had of Temporal Greatneſs. Another of the ſame Sea, *viz.* *Antonio de Acunna*, by his Sword declar'd his approbation to it, though upon different accounts; by his turbulent ſpirit, adding freſh Fuel to the Treaſonous humours then raging in *Spain*: this old *Don* ſtill charging in the head of above four hundred Prieſts, which he had under his Command well armed, his Word being, *Here my Prieſts.* But at laſt by a ſtrangling, he paid for his Rebellions againſt his Soveraign *Charles* the Fifth, Emperour of *Germany*.

a Id. pag 430.

* Eſt vero naturaliter, moraliter & Divino jure cum recta fide tenendum, Principatum Romani Pont. eſſe verum & unicum immediatum Principatum totius Orbis, nedum quoad Spiritualia ſed quoad Temporalia, & Principatum Imperialem eſſe ab ipſo dependentem, & mediatum, miniſterialem, & inſtrumentalem eidem ſubminiſtrantem, & deſervientem, foreq; ab eo ordinatum & inſtitutum, & ad juſſum Principatus Papalis mobilem, revocabilem, corrigibilem & punibilem.

Prud. de Sandoval. Anno 1520.

Lælius Zecchus a great man with them, both for Law and Dignity, is earneſt for this juriſdiction of the Popes, affirming that he can *depoſe both Emperours and Kings, being abſolute Lord of the Chriſtian World.* And another *Italian* Lawyer, *viz.* (*a*) *Alexander Clericus* is much of the ſame opinion, and declares that he writ this Book *againſt the wicked Polititians and Hereticks of his time*; amongſt the reſt, whether he intended Cardinal *Bellarmine*, let others judge, ſince he hath ſeveral whole Chapters againſt him. But a greater Lawyer than the former, and one of more Learning and Modeſty, *viz.* (*b*) *Didacus Covarruvas*, is willing to let himſelf be perſwaded by the Canon-Law to imbrace this King-depoſing Opinion. And his Country-man, though of an ancienter Cut, (*c*) *Alvarus Pelagius*, out of the ſame Box ſwallows down the like Poyſon. *Gaſpar*

Papa enim Cæſares deponit, jura Imperia transfert, & Reges Regnis privat. &c. *Lal. Zecch.* Tract. Theolog. p 82, 83.

a De poteſt. Rom. Pont. l. 2. c. 3. Sect 18. Adverſus impios Politicos & hujus temporis Hereticos

b De Teſtament. cap. 6. Sect. 19.

c De planctu Eccleſiæ, l. 1. cap. 13, 37, 56.

Gaſpar Scioppius that unruly *German*, though of the ſame wicked judgement, yet he will pretend to give you ſome pretty Reaſons for it; as, that becauſe the Pope is the Head, as he ſaith, and the Emperour and Kings but Arms or Hands to the ſame monſtrous Body; therefore if theſe do not their duty in being careful to preſerve the Body, the Head as Lord and Maſter may cut them off. A pretty ſimile, to make the ſuppoſed wiſe Head cauſe of its own ruine. But if this do not pleaſe you, he will give you another as good, from the great benefit, forſooth, that ſome Countries have received by this Temporal Power of the Popes: As, by this *France* had their Antient Family of the *Meroveens* thruſt out from being Kings, and the *Carlovingiens* popt into the Throne. That *Germany* by this hath got the Weſtern Empire; but not a word of the Emperours wanting *Italy*. And as for *Spain*, it's obliged to hug and defend this unlimited Prerogative of St. *Peter*, ſince it gain'd the Kingdom of *Navarre* by (*a*) *no other Right nor Title*, but onely becauſe it ſo pleas'd the Pope. In the mean time, was not *Don John* of *Albret*, and his Wife *Catharina*, King and Queen of *Navarre*, and their poor Subjects alſo, much beholden to Pope *Julius* the Second, for his thus ruining of them by the hands of their Enemies? By this Argument, *Schoppius* might maintain the knack of *Plagiery*, he gaining at firſt the name of ſome Learning by his ſlie tranſcribing of his Maſters Notes; but never the more honeſty or right ſtuck by him; nor had he mended his manners, had he lived to the age of his great Grand-father or great Grand-Mother, the firſt living one hundred and ten, and the other one hundred and five years: what ſpirit he was of, may in part be ſeen by his violent perſwading to the ruining of all Proteſtants in his *Claſſicum Belli Sacri*, and his ranting and calling of it (*b*) *Dathaniſmus* and *Abironiſmus* in King *James*, becauſe he would not believe that the Pope had power to depoſe Kings.

Itaq; ſi Reges non nutriant neq; veſtiant Corpus--- certe manus aut brachia munere non funguntur----- itaq; velut membrum----- inutile capitis Imperio amputantur. Gaſp. Sciop. *Eccleſiaſticus*, c. 141. p. 511, 512.

a Hiſpania, Navarræ Regnum nullo alio titulo, niſi quia capiti Eccleſiæ Pontifici ſui viſum fuerit, obtinuit. *Ib.*

b Eccleſiaſt. c. 74. p. 242.

But enough of *Schoppius*; let us now ſee the Judgement of one greater than he, *Martinus Becanus*, a man of great Parts and Learning, yet is pleas'd to compare Kings and Princes to *Dogs, That by their bitings and force do defend the Church from the Aſſaults and Incurſions of Hereticks*. And theſe he ſaith, upon ſome occaſions, may not onely be (*c*) *Excommunicated*, of which he endeavoureth to give ſome Inſtances, but alſo (*d*) *depoſed by the Pope*. And therefore a little after, he affirms that none can with a ſafe Conſcience take our *Engliſh Oath* of *Allegiance*, becauſe amongſt other things it declares that the Pope upon any account cannot depoſe a King; which Aſſertion he ſaith all Catholicks hold to be (*e*) *falſe*, and againſt the *Lateran* Council.

Per Canes——— partim Reges & Imperatores qui morſu & externa vi defendunt Eccleſiam ab Incurſione Hæreticorum & Infidelium, *Mart. Becan*, Controverſ. Angl. p. 131, 132.

c Bec de Republ. Eccleſiaſt l. 3. c. 4. Sect. 48, 49.

d Reges & Principes quando negligentes ſunt in arcendis vel expellendis Hæreticis excommunicandos, & a Pontifice deponendos. *Controverſ. Angl.* lb. Id. Tom. 3. Part. 2. Theologiæ Scholaſticæ, cap. 15. q. 5. pag. 421, & Id. Refutatio Tort. Torti. p. 23.

e Catholici judicant hanc propoſitionem apertè falſam eſſe, Id. pag. 139.

Gabriel Vaſquez, one of the moſt famous School-men of *Spain*, is alſo of opinion, that it is in the Popes power to (*f*) *puniſh Princes*; and that the crime of Hereſie againſt him is of ſuch force, that none of ſuch Conditions are capable of Rule, ſo that the Kingdom muſt chuſe ſome body elſe. But if it ſo chance that the whole Kingdom be not of the *Romiſh* perſwaſion, then the * *Pope can aſſign them one*, whom the people muſt not deny; for if they do, his Holineſs, forſooth, *may bring him in by force of Arms*.

f Com. in 1. 2. Thom. Tom. 2. Diſt. 152. Sect. 8.

Si omnes de ſtirpe Regia Hæretici ſint, tunc devolvitur ad Regnum nova Regis electio: nam juſtè à Pontifice omnes illi ſucceſſores Regno privari poſſunt. Id. diſp. 169. Sect. 42, 43.

* Quod ſi Regnum infectum eſſet, Pontifex —— aſſignare poſſet Catholicum Regem—— & ipſum vi armorum, ſi opus eſſet, introducere. *Ib.*

Nor can we expect any better Doctrine from *Franciſcus Feu-ardentius*, his very name ſomewhat ſhewing the fury of his Zeal: this *Franciſcan* is reſolved for the Popes pulling down of Kings; and yet he could wiſh that in theſe things his Holineſs would conſult with the holy Conſiſtory of *Cardinals*. *Julius Ferrettus*, though not ſo hot-headed as the former, and one that could indure cold as well as any *Italian*; yet though he ſeldom uſed a Fire, his Doctrine was Zealous enough in behalf of the Pope, affirming that he could (*a*) *give Empire and Kingdoms, nay, and depoſe the Poſſeſſors*, becauſe he is judge of all, and inſtead of a God on Earth. And in another (*b*) place he concludes with the ſame Doctrine againſt the Emperour: And yet this Doctrine he intended for *Charles* the Fifth, and aſſured it to his Son *Philip* the Second. And for all this bad Doctrine, this Lawyer was in great Repute, as appears both by his great Preferments and Imployments: and the latter end of his Epitath may ſerve for a hint.

Jura Poli atq; fori belli terræq; mariſq;
Deſcripſit, tandem conditur hoc Tumulo.

And *Celſus Mancinus*, Friend, Towns-man born, *viz. Ravenna*, and of the ſame Profeſſion with the former, is juſt of the ſame Opinion. (*c*) Nor need this be any ſuch wonder to us, when a greater than either of them, doth not onely affirm that this (*d*) King-depoſing Authority is not onely in the Pope, but in the very people too: and of this Opinion is no leſs man, than the voluminous *Toſtatus*; ſo that the word *Treaſon* will become null'd. Although his Country-man (*e*) *Joſephus Stephanus* doth not ſpeak any thing of this Power in the people, yet he is as forward as any to give it to the Pope; eſpecially if the Kings be not of his *Romiſh* Religion: and in another of his (*f*) Books, gives you a Catalogue of ſome Emperours and Kings unthroned by the Pope. For thoſe Opinions, and other his Writings in honour of the Porphyry-Chair, he was made Biſhop of *Oribuela* in *Valentia*; and his learning might deſerve ſome preferment, being well ſtudyed in Church-Antiquities. Another *Spaniard, viz.* (*g*) *Dominicus Bannez* allows the ſame power to the Pope of King-depoſing; but had this *Guipuſcoian* in his old age ſtudyed Loyalty more than *Hebrew*, he might have alter'd his judgement, and it might have been more for his credit. And with this noted ſon of *Mondragon*, doth another Spaniard (*h*) *Gregorius de Valentia* agree. And though their Orders be Enemies, yet like *Herod* and *Pilate* they can ſhake hands to propagate Rebellion.

But we have a Country-man of our own, as famous as either of the other two, both for his Learning, and his ſtedfaſtneſs in this wicked Opinion; and this is *Thomas Stapleton*, who boldly declares, that for *Hereſie* the (*i*) *Pope may not onely puniſh, but alſo deprive Kings* of their Countries. And to have this done, he thinks this the beſt way; he would have the Pope to work about by the *people, or the Parliaments*; but if theſe will not fadge, *either becauſe they cannot or will not*, then his Holineſs may do it *himſelf, by giving that Kingdom to another Prince, or let them have it that can get it.* It may be it was for theſe pretty Doctrines that *Clement* the Eighth was ſo taken with this mans Writings, that he would have his Books read to him whilſt he was at Victuals; and beſides other large liberalities, had once a minde to make him *Cardinal*.

--Reges--Regnis ſuis abdicare, & omni poteſtate dignitareq; privare poteſt. Com. in Eſther, p. 82.

a Papa dat Imperium & Regna----iis de cauſis rite deponuntur ab eo. *Jul. Ferrettus* de re & diſciplina Militari, p. 156. Sect. 113.

b Id. pag. 354. Sect. 26.

c Conſpicuum ſit omnibus à ſummo Pontifice deponi privariq; Imperatores, & è contra eligi. *Mancin.* de jurib. Princip. l. 3. c. 3. p. 76.

d Reges noſtri in multis caſibus poſſunt deponi, ſive per Papam, ſive ipſis Regnicolis. *Toſtat.* Com. in III Reg. c. 11 q. 35.

e De poteſtate coactiva, cap. 12. Sect. 17.

f De adorat. pedum Pont. cap. 7.

g In 2. 2 Tho. q. 12. art. 2. col. 478.

h Tom. 3. diſp. 1. q 12. punct. 2. col. 439. 443.

i Rom. Pont. —— & punire quoſvis Principes poteſt, & ſi rei neceſſitas exigat Regno privare. Tom 1. pag. 710. Contr. 3. q. 5. Art. 2. — Nempe per populum ipſum, cujus eſt eligere ſuum Principem, aut Ordines Regni, vel Senatum Civitatis —— At vero ſi iſtud non ſuccedat —— poteſt per ſe immediatè procedere, dando illud Regnum alteri Orthodoxo Principi, vel primo Victori Orthodoxo illud aſſignando. Ib. Sect. 4. p. 711.

We have formerly ſeen the Opinion of *Thomas*, and now let us ſee what his Brother *Franciſcus Bozzius* ſaith, and we ſhall preſently perceive them to be Birds of a Feather; this fobbing up the ſame Pope *Clement* the Eighth with the ſame Language that the other had, telling him, that though (*a*) *he ſhould not take away lawful Rule, yet upon juſt grounds he might depoſe Emperours*: and this he ſaith hath been ſeveral times done by Popes, as in another (*b*) place he endeavours to ſhew by ſeveral Examples.

a Juſtis de cauſis poſſe deponi Imperatores, transferri Imperia. *Fr. Boz.* de Temporal. Eccleſ. Monarch. lib. 3. cap. 16. pag. 553.

Poſſunt ab Eccleſia leges temporales condi, novi creari Reges, juſtis de cauſis auferre Regna, quod ſæpe actum eſſe conſtat à ſummis Pontificibus. Id. lib. 5. cap. ult. pag. 823.

b Id. lib. 1. cap. 21. pag. 225. *&c.*

And to this purpoſe was *Gregory* the Fourteenth claw'd by his Protonotary, *Anaſtaſius Germonius*, by affirming what great power he had over the world; he could (*c*) *throw down Emperours and Kings, and put others in their places*: and if any man doubt of this Authority in the Pope, he plainly calls him a *Madman*; and that he *can alter the place of Election, allow or throw by him that is elected, quit Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance*, and ſeveral ſuchlike tricks as theſe can he do.

c Imperatores enim Reges alioſq; magnos Principes Principatu Regno atq; imperio privat, necnon alios cum libet in eorum locum ſufficit, ſubrogat——— nemo ——ſanæ mentis dubitare debet, quin facere valeat, faceatq; cum opus ſit. *Anaſtaſ. Germon.* de Sacrorum immunitat. lib. 3. cap. 3. Sect. 38, 39.

Hujus eſt Imperium ex uno in alium locum transferre electionem, aut admittere, aut rejicere electum ac confirmatum ex juſtis de cauſis deponere, ſubditos à fidelitatis juramento abſolvere, & alia id genus facere. Id. lib. 3. procm. Sect. 9, 10.

And as for (*d*) *Petrus Albinianus Tretius*, do but compare the Contents with the Text of the next Section, and you will ſee him fairly grant the Pope to have power (*e*) without the conſent of his Cardinals to depoſe the Emperor. And another *Italian* Lawyer (*f*) *Ludovicus Bologninus*, from the *Canon-Law*, tells the world that he may do it clearly of himſelf. And I think that (*g*) *Johannes Andræas* doth not much vary from him, when from the ſame Authority, he ſaith, That he *can take away any mans Right and give it to another*. But *Julius Cæſar Madius* doth not mutter in his Teeth, but ſpeaks boldly out, that upon ſome Reaſons, the Pope hath Authority (*h*) *to turn the beſt of them out of their Kingdoms and Soveraignty*. And the ſame doth another *Italian*, *Antonius Sanctarellus*, one that hath made ſome noiſe in the World, not onely by his confident Aſſertion of the Popes Power in (*i*) *depoſing Kings, and quitting their Subjects from their Obedience*; but by the ſtory which hapned at *Paris*, upon its being cenſured there: For the Court of Parliament perceiving the Book to be printed at *Rome*, by permiſſion of the Superiors, and approbation of *Vitelescus* General of the *Jeſuits*; the Fathers of that Order in *Paris* were ſent for by the Court, and demanded, *Whether they believed as their General did*, concerning this Book? They anſwered, That *their* General *living in* Rome, *could not but approve that which was agreeable to the Court of* Rome. But being demanded then, what they believed? Anſwered, That they believed *the clean contrary*. Being again aſkt, *And what would you do, if you were at* Rome? Anſwered, *As they do at* Rome. Which made ſome of the Court ſay, *Have theſe men one Conſcience at* Rome, *and another at* Paris? *God keep us from ſuch Confeſſors.*

d De Pontif. poteſtate, Sect. 19.

e Papa poteſt deponere Imperatorem ſine conſenſu Cardinalium. Id. Sect. 20.

f Solus Papa etiam ſine Concilio poteſt deponere Imperatorem. *Lud. Bolo.* addit. ad *Cataldinum de Boncompagnis* de tranſlatione Concilii *Baſil.* Sect. 5.

g Quæſt. Mercuriales, Q. 25. Sect. 3.

h Eos à Regnis & Principatibus eorum deponere poſſe. *Mad.* de Sacris Ordinibus, cap. 9. Sect. 17.

i Poteſt non ſolum eos excommunicare, ſed etiam Regno privare, eorumq; ſubditos ab illorum obedientia liberare. *Sanctarel.* de Hæreſi. c. 30. p. 293.

Johan. Baptiſta Vivianus, agreeth very well with the former, and their Canon-Law and Court of *Rome*, by maintaining their Article, that the

the (a) *Pope for ſome Reaſons may depoſe the Emperour*; his Imperial Majeſty and all others being ſubject to him, and to be puniſh'd by him according to their faults. And to him we may joyn a great Cardinal, *Johannes Hieronymus* of *Alba*, who tell us, (b) that the Pope being Judge of all things, nothing in the world can quit themſelves from his juriſdiction: and that *Dante*, that famous *Italian* Poet, was in a manner condemn'd as an Heretick, becauſe he did not think that the Empire held its being from the Church; and in another of his (c) Books, gives us the names of ſome Kings depos'd by the Pope.

Petrus Hurtadus de Mendoza, might by the rudeneſs and incivility of his Country *Biſcay*, ſuck in with his Milk ſome Principles of Rebellion; that Country having an Antipathy againſt Biſhops and good Government: But theſe might ſomewhat be corrected by his ſeverer Studies, were it not a Principle amongſt them, that * *Heretical Kings againſt their Church are deſervedly depoſed, and others put in their places.* Yet methinks 'twas ſomewhat of boldneſs of him, to preſent this Doctrine to his Soveraign, the Preſent King of *Spain*, *Philip* the Fourth: yet this wonder will ſcarce laſt nine days, when we ſee (d) *Guido* and (e) *Leander Galganettus*, thoſe famous Lawyers, affirm the ſame by their own Canons; and the latter to dedicate this falſity to no leſs than to *God* himſelf, and the Virgin *Mary*. And *Bartholomæus Nardius* ſaith, We have no reaſon to look upon this Authority as a ſtrange thing, ſince (f) *God ſet the Pope over the whole World, not onely to eſtabliſh and plaint, but alſo to aboliſh and deſtroy.* And no leſs man than *Johannes de Capiſtrano* tell us, that of this power we need not doubt, it being now as (g) *clear as the Noon-day*, that *the Pope may ſometimes depoſe the Emperour*: And at this poſitive Doctrine, none muſt ſo much as ſmile, or ſeem offended; for of this Book, thus ſings his Country-man *Antonius Amicius*:

Quis te Docte liber vel ſubſannare cachinno
Audeat aut ſævo rodere dente queat?
Cum graviter reſeres decus & ſublimia ſceptra
Pontificis ſummi Conciliiq; ſimul.

And a great deal of ado, and ſome money hath been ſpent by the *Franciſcans* and others, to get this man Sainted; but how it thrives, I know not.

As (h) *Didacus Cantera*, from the *Canon-Law*; ſo (i) *Franciſcus Duarenus*, by few Examples and as little Reaſon, aſſert the Popes Authority in depoſing Kings. And I think (k) *Antonius Poſſevinus* will not be diſpleaſed with the Prerogative, ſince he tells us that the Scepters of Kings humble themſelves to the Popes feet; and that Chriſtian Kings are not ſo poſitively of Gods apppointment, but they muſt have his Holineſs to confirm their Crowns. And (l) *Franciſcus Sylvius*, Doctor and Profeſſor at *Doway*, though he will not allow the Pope to depoſe Kings upon every toy, yet he denyeth not, but that there may be Reaſon ſometimes for thus pulling down of Kings. And if we conſult (m) *Gregorius Polydorius*, we ſhall finde him rather to outſtrip than come ſhort of the former: And this he thought would not be unpleaſing to *Urban* the Eighth. And to this *Italian* we may add *Antonius Cordubenſis*, who in this cauſe ſpeaks out freely, that the (n) *Pope cannot onely do every thing that ſecular Princes can, but alſo make New Princes, and pull down the Old.* And to this

a Papa Imperatorem deponere poteſt ex cauſis legitimis. *Jo. B. Vivian.* Rationale, l. 2. p. 283.

b Lucubrat. in *Barthol.* Tom. 1. fol. 83, 84.

c De poteſtate Papæ, part. 1. Sect. 67.

* Merito quidem Hæretici — Regno privantur — *Hurt. de Mendoz.* Scholaſticæ, diſp. 21. Sect. 304.

d Deciſiones, quæſt. 589.

e De jure publico, lib. 3. Tit. 13. Sect. 2.

f Conſtituit namq; dominus vicarium ſuum ſuper gentes & Regna, poteſtatemq; ei dedit ampliſſimam, ut evellat & diſtruat, & deſperdat, & ædificet, & plantet. *B. Nard.* Expunctiones, cap. 4. pag. 172, 173.

g Clarum eſt hodie quod ex juſta cauſa Papa poteſt Imperatorem deponere & privare. *Jo. à Capiſt.* de Papæ ſive Eccleſiæ autorit. fol. 61. a.

h Quæſt. Criminales, p. 173. Sect 9.

i De Beneficiis, lib. 1 cap. 4.

k Bibliotheca ſelecta, lib. 1. cap. 1. pag. 17.

l In 2. 2 *Tho.* q. 66. Art. 1. p. 461. Sect. *ad Tertium.*

m Loca pleraq; ex B. *Pauli* Epiſt. ad *Galat.* locus 67. pag. 316, 317, 317, 378.

n Poteſt non ſolum omnia quæ poſſunt Principes ſæculares, ſed etiam facere novos Principes, & alios tollere & Imperia dividere & unire, &c. *Ant. Cord.* Quæſt. Theolog lib. 1. q. 57. p. 495.

this *Spaniard* may be joyned (*a*) *Franciſcus Ghetius* of *Corno*, being of the ſame Opinion, moved thereto by pretty Reaſons, *viz.* Example, as if Emperours had not formerly done the ſame to Popes; and becauſe, as the ſoul rules the body, ſo may the Spiritual Popes triumph over Temporal Monarchs.

a Theolog. Moral. Tom. 2. v. *Papa*, Sect. 10.

If theſe Arguments of this *Milanois* do not ſufficiently convince you, *Rutilius Benzonius* a truſty *Roman*, will think to do it with his thrid-bare Alluſion of Heretical Kings to *Wolves*; and ſo they may be (*b*) *turned from their Kingdoms, not onely by the Pope*, but alſo *by the people*, forſooth: yet he would have them to take advice of his Holineſs, before they begin their Rebellion; and then I warrant you, they are as ſurely free from that Crime we call Treaſon, as the Chappel of *Loretto*, of which this Author was Biſhop, was dapperly carryed by Angels through the Air. And in the Popes great Power in Temporals, in another of his (*c*) Books he gives us ſome hint.

b Jus deponendi, & abdicandi è ſolio Reges ac Principes, non ſolum Eccleſiæ, ſed interdum populis competere ratione, & exemplis oſtenditur —

Poteſt [i.e. *the Pope*] ——ipſo Principes ac Reges, ſi ex ove aut ariete evadant lupi, *i.e.* ex Chriſtiani fiant Hæretici —— privare dominio, &c. *Rut. Benzon.* Com. in Canticum *Magnificat.* lib. 3. cap. 27. dub. 6. p. 134.

c Diſput. de Immunitate Eccleſ. contra *Venetos*, pag. 68.

And yet if after all theſe thwacking Arguments, you do not finde your ſelf convinced, and will not believe the truth and honeſty of this King-depoſing Article, you may aſſure your ſelf to be no leſs than an Heretick; for *Johannes de Solarzano* tells us plainly, that not to believe that the Pope can depoſe Kings, *is, and that deſervedly too, declared and damn'd for an Hereſie.* This may be good Doctrine to preach amongſt the *Indians*: the *Spaniard* pleading moſt of his Right from the Popes Gift. And ſo whether the Author by his Office relating to thoſe places, might be encouraged to propagate ſuch Principles, let others conclude; yet probably he might have ſpared his dedicating of them to the preſent King of *Spain*, who, two to one, if the State came in Queſtion, would ſcarce conſent to the Canon, let the Hereſie lye where it would.

—Hæc opinio —— merito ut Hæretica jampridem damnata eſt. *Jo. de Solarz.* de *Indiarum* jure, lib. 2. cap. 22. Sect. 4.

From the ſame Root doth his Country-man (*d*) *Petrus de Aragon* draw his Authority, that Princes may ſometimes lawfully looſe their Rule over their Subjects: and ſo doth the great *Portugal* Lawyer, (*e*) *Auguſtinus Barboza*, that the Pope can depoſe the Emperour. (*f*) *Marius Alterius* runs upon the ſame account; and ſo doth Biſhop *Joban. Maria Bellettus*, but that he thruſts up the Authority a little higher than the former, affirming that this depoſing of the King, may *not* (*g*) *onely be for his Hereſie, or Schiſm, but for any other intolerable Crime, or, if he be not ſufficient, and not fit to Rule.* To which there needs no Reply, but what if the Lyon do judge the Fox's Ears to be Horns?

d In 2. 2. *Tho.* pag. 224.

e Paſtoral Solicitud. part 1. p. 250. Sect. 90, 91.

f Diſputat. l. 3. c. 5. p. 371.

g Et non ſolum propter Hæreſim, aut Schiſma, ſed etiam propter aliud crimen intolerabile, ac etiam propter inſufficientiam. *Jo. Mar. Bellet.* Diſquiſitio Clericalis, part 1. pag. 282. Sect. 109, 100.

With all this doth agree *Raymundus de Pennafuerte*, telling us, that if he be (*h*) *negligent to extripate Hereſie, to do Juſtice in his Government, unprofitable or looſe, the Pope may then take his Kingdom from him.* Whether this Doctrine was any motive, not long ago, to *Clement* the Eighth, for Canonizing this man for a Saint; or thoſe vaſt ſums of money gather'd in *Catalonia* (where this *Raymond* was born) for the ſame purpoſe, was beſt known to the Court of *Rome*

h Non ſolum propter Hæreſim, ſed etiam propter negligentiam contra Hæreſim extirpandam, poteſt non ſolum excommunicari ab Eccleſia, ſed etiam deponi, —ſuerit inutilis, diſſolutus & negligens circa Regimen & juſtitiam obſervandam. *S. Raym.* Summa, lib 1. Tit. de Hæreticis, Sect. 7. pag. 41.

Rome, and is not two pence matter to our deſign. But yet for all his Saintſhip, his great admirer and Gloſſographer, *Johannes de Friburgo*, will not agree with him about the Popes *direct* Authority, though he allows him an *indirect* one to depoſe Kings: and it is not a farthing matter whether he kill a man with his right or left-hand.

With the former Saint, doth another, but of a far older date, *viz.* St. *Bonaventure*, in the main agree, affirming with the reſt, that (a) *Prieſts and Popes for ſome Reaſon or other, may put down Kings, and depoſe Emperours.* But though our Learned Countryman, *Alexander* of *Hales*, uſed to ſay by this famous and pious Cardinal his Scholar, That *it ſeemed to him that* Adam *had not ſin'd in* Bonaventure; yet for all his Title of *Invincible*, he ſhall not perſwade me, but that our *Seraphical Doctor* was wide from Truth, in this his King-depoſing Aſſertion.

a Poſſunt Sacerdotes & Pontifices ex cauſa amovere Reges, & deponere Imperatores. S. Bonavent. de Eccleſiaſt. Hierarcha, part 2. cap. 1.

Much about the ſame time with the former, lived another famous Cardinal *Henricus de Seguſio*, but now better known by the name of *Hoſtienſis*, who is as reſolute as any for the (b) *depoſing of Kings by this Power, if they be either negligent in the adminiſtration of their Government, or do not extirpate all Hereticks out of their Dominions*, then comes a clap of Excommunication, and the Land lyeth gaping for him that can firſt take it. To this Cardinal, we ſhall add another of as great eſteem as any, and one that had formerly been Maſter *del ſacro Palazzo*; and this is *Johannes de Turrecremata*, who affirms that the Pope cannot onely uſe *his Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures againſt Kings, but alſo* (c) *depoſe them.* And with this *Spaniard*, doth a *Sicilian*, one of their moſt famous Canoniſts (d) *Abbas Panormitanus* agree. And (e) *Gabriel Biel* an old *German* Divine, upon the ſame foundation raiſeth the ſame deſtructive Principles.

b Domini Temporales non ſolum propter ſuam Hæreſim, ſed etiam aliorum, quos dum poſſunt, admoniti, exterminare negligunt, Excommunicari poſſunt, & Terræ ipſorum exponi Catholicis occupandæ —— idem ſi Princeps negligens inveniatur circa Regni Regimen & juſtitiam faciendam. *Hoſtienſ.* Summa, lib. 5. Tit. de Hæreticis. Sect. *Qua pœna feriatur.* Sect. 11.

c Verum etiam eos nonobiliter negligentes à dignitate deponere. *Jo. de Tur.* Summa de Eccleſ. cap. 14. propoſ. 44.

d In V lib. Decretal. de Hæreticis, cap. 13.

e Super Canone Miſſæ, lect. 23. fol. 41. pag. 1. col. 1.

To theſe ſubſcribe the *Sicilian* Lawyer (f) *Antonius Corſetus*, the *Italian* (g) *Petrus Andreas de Gambara*, and his Country-man (h) *Bartholomæus Ugolinus*, who alſo ſome years (*) after, affirm the ſame Power to lye in *Paul* the Fifth; nor doth the *Pavian* Lawyer, (i) *Boſchus Codecha* differ from the reſt. Thus do they madly ſeem to dote upon this Papal juriſdiction, as the *Mantuan Galeatius* did upon a young Woman of this City, who upon her jeaſting command drown'd himſelf.

f De Poteſtate Regia, Q. 76.

g Tract. de officio legati de latere, lib. 2. Tit. de variis ordinarium nominib. Sect. 220.

h De cenſuris Eccleſiaſticis, Tab. 2. cap. 23. Sect. 9. num. 8.

* De juſtitia & validitate Monitorii *Pauli* V in *Venetos*, pag. 16.

i Repet. Rubr. de Conſtitut. Sect. 76.

Nor is multitude of their Lawyers wanting to confirm this their Seditious Doctrine: for here might we bring (k) *Johannes Baptiſta Ferretus*, (l) *Stephanus Aufrerius*, (m) *Garſias Maſtrillius*, yet for all this Principle imploy'd by the Catholick King about *Sicily*; (n) *Arnaldus Albertinus*, Inquiſitor General of *Valentia*, and Biſhop of *Patti* in the former Iſland; and *Lancellotus Conradus*, amongſt other Priviledges and Prerogatives attributed to the Pope, for the Twentieth ſaith, that he (o) *depoſeth both Emperours and Kings.*

k Repet. in C. Canonum Statut. de Conſtitut. Sect. 32.

l Repet. in *Clem.* ut Clericorum de offic. ord. Sect. 40, 43.

m De Magiſtratibus, lib. 1. cap. 2. Sect. 5, 7, 8.

n Repet. in Rubr. de Hæret. Quæſt. 9. Sect. 5. Rep. in C. quoniam de Hæret. Quæſt. 15. Sect. 34, 36.

o XX. Deponit Imperatorem propter ipſius iniquitates, & etiam Reges, *Lanc. Conrad.* Templum Omnium judicium, pag. 613.

Franciſcus

Franciſcus Vargas being deſired by Pope *Pius* the Fourth, with whom he was very gratious, to inform him of the juriſdiction and authority of himſelf, and other inferiour Biſhops, (then ſomewhat diſcours'd of in the Council of *Trent*) tells his Holineſs plainly, That it belongs to (*a*) *him alone to depoſe Kings and Emperours, and put others in their places*; and then for more confirmation of it, names ſome ſo uſed. And whether *Fernandus Rebellus*, the famous *Portugal* Jeſuit be not of the ſame opinion, let indifferent parties judge, and they will ſoon conclude, that his Name did not much differ from his Principles; telling us, That the *Portugal* had one title of right to the *Indies*, by the gift of *Alexander* the Sixth, and the (*b*) Biſhops of *Rome* have a great power in giving and taking away from Princes. And this he dedicates to *Claudius Aquaviva*, then General of the Jeſuits; nor could he ſcarce hit upon a better Patron for ſuch Doctrines, ſeeing by his *Licenſe* he had formerly Priviledg'd ſeveral ſuch principles of Sedition.

a Hæc item ea Poteſtas eſt qua idem ſummus Pont. & non alius Imperatores & Principes nonnunquam privat, alioſq; in eorum locum ſufficit. *Fr. Varg.* de Epiſcoporum juriſdictione & autorit. Pontif. Confirm. 10. Numb. 7, 8.

b Quibus — jus competit ſuper omnes Principes Chriſtianos concedendi & auferendi, ordinandi retendi ea quæ opus fuerint ad finem ſupernaturalem ſalutis gentium tam fidelium quam Infidelium. *Fer. Rebel.* de Obligationib. juſtitiæ, Part. 2. l. 18. Q. 23. Numb. 26.

But now we have one that ſpeaks to the purpoſe, *viz. Ludovicus à Paramo*, a great Lawyer of *Sicily*, and Divine of *Leon*, who maintains in ſeveral places of his writings the (*c*) *Popes power in depoſing Kings, and ſetting up new ones, and proceeding againſt all heretical or ſchiſmatical Princes with* the ſame Authority; and at laſt falls into a fury, and rails pertly againſt thoſe, who think that the (*d*) Pope hath no juriſdiction this way in *France*, nor can depoſe Hæretical Kings. This is good ſtuff, but of a far older date than this *Spaniſh* print: for above three hundred years ago, *Auguſtinus Triumphus de Ancona*, being deſired by *John* XXII, to vindicate the Papal juriſdiction, amongſt other grand Prerogatives which he attributes to his Holineſs, are theſe two, the (*e*) *election of Emperours and Kings*, and the (*f*) *depoſing of them again:* and of this latter, he ſaith, *there is no doubt.*

c — Poteſt ſummus Pont. antiquos Reges & Imperatores deponere & novos inſtituere. *Lud. à Param.* de Origini & progreſſ. S. Inquiſit. l. 1. Queſt. 1. Opin. 4. Numb. 55.

Id. Numb. 49. Poſſe mutare Regna, & uni auferre atq; alteri conferre. ——

Id. Numb. 58. Poteſt non ſolum omnia quæ Princeps ſeculares poſſunt, ſed & facere novos Principes, & tollere alios, & Imperia dividere, *&c.*

Id. Numb. 94. Si Princeps aliquis aut hæreticus, aut Schiſmaticus electione fieret, tum etiam poſſit Papa uti gladio temporali, & adverſus eum procedere uſq; ad depoſitionem, & expulſionem illius à Regno.

d Id. Numb. 145.

e Unde puto quod Papa — juſta & rationabili cau- Eccleſ. Quæſt.

f 35. Art. 1. Queſt. 37. Art. 5. Queſt. 46. Art. 3.
Id. Queſt 4. Art. 1. Poteſt ergo terrenum Imperatorem deponere.
Id. Art 2. —— Merito Imperator eſt deponendus.
Id. Queſt. 46. Art. 2. Papa poteſt Reges deponere — dubium non eſt.

This Poyſonous Principle is alſo maintained by the *Venetian* (*g*) *Petrus à Monte*, Biſhop of *Breſcia*, and the Methodical *Dominican* (*h*) *Sylveſter de Prierio*; and therefore might well expect a golden Roſe from Pope *Leo* the Tenth. And to him we ſhall joyn a learned *Spaniard* of the ſame Order, (*i*) *Dominicus Soto*, who, though Confeſſor to *Charles* the Fifth; yet probably never troubled him about this point. And next to this ſhall follow another of the ſame Country, and Relation to *Charles* the Fifth; (*k*) *Alphonſus a Caſtro*, who affirms it to be without diſpute, That if *a King turn Heretick, he hath no right to his Kingdom; and ſo no man ought to think it ſtrange if the Pope depoſe him.*

g De Imperat. Magiſt. Orig. Quæro, 4. Numb. 7.
h Summa v. Papa. Numb. 10, 11.
i In quartum ſentent. diſt. 25. quæſt. 2. art. 1, Numb. Tertio. *Ad horum tamen ſecundò ad eandem.*

k — Hoc dominium etiam amittitur per hæreſim manifeſtum, ita quod Rex factus Hæreticus ipſo jure & Regno ſuo privatus — nec mirari debet aliquis, quod Papa propter Hæreſis crimen Regem à Regia dignitate deponat, & Regno privet. *Alph. à Caſtro* de juſta Hæreticorum punit. lib. 2. c. 7. col. 1245, 1246.

But *Ployden*, when he ſaw himſelf concern'd, could ſay, *The caſe is altered*; and there is never a Ruler amongſt them, but would think it odd to looſe a Kingdom by a *Fiat* from *Rome*; yet they go on to propagate this doctrine: and amongſt the reſt, *Cunerus* Biſhop of *Lewcerden*, thinks it very fitting, for *an* [*a*] *heretical King to be depoſed, and another appointed in his place.* And next to him ſhall follow, one, though no Biſhop, yet of ſuch noted learning, that *Vittoria*, the chief Town of *Alava* in *Old Caſtile*, doth think it no ſmall honour to have brought forth and given a Name to ſuch a famous *Dominican*, as *Franciſcus a Victoria*; yet for all his parts, he dotes too much upon this Papal Authority, affirming that he cannot onely [*b*] *do what our ſecular Monarchs can do, but alſo turn them from their Thrones, and ſet up new Potentates.* And from the *Canon*-Law doth the Lawyer [*c*] *Guilielmus de Monſerrat* ſuck in the ſame Doctrine. And though another of the ſame Profeſſion, [*d*] *Remondus Rufus*, ſeem unwilling either to meddle with the Popes power in this caſe, or when he took upon him ſuch Authority; yet by his ſigns and hints one may have ſome reaſon to ſuppoſe his agreement with the reſt.

a Si Princeps hæreticus ſit, & obſtinate vel pertinaciter intolerabilis deponi poteſt. *Cuner.* de Offic. Princip. c. 8. p. 76, 77.

b Poteſt non ſolum omnia quæ Principes ſeculares poſſunt, ſed & facere novos Principes & tollere alios, & Imperia dividere & pleraq; alia. *Fr. à Victor.* Relect. Theolog. Relect. 1. Sect. 6. Numb. 12.

c De ſucceſſione Regum. dub. 1. Numb. 30.

d In Mo'inæum, pag. 106.

But ſome other Lawyers of a far greater account, leave off hinting, and ſpeak more boldly to the purpoſe, as [*e*] *Petrus de Ancharano*, the famous *Italian*; [*f*] *Bartolus de Saxaferrato*, and his no leſs learned Pupil and Scholar, [*g*] *Baldus*; the noted *Frenchman*, [*h*] *Johannes Quintinus*; [*i*] *Guillielmus Durandus*, commonly known by the name of *Speculator*, Biſhop of *Mande*, and Scholar to *Hoſtienſis*, and [*k*] *Johannes Faber*; nor doth [*l*] *Julius Clarus* permit the Pope to part with this juriſdiction. And if you any way doubt of the meaning of the laſt; *Urbanus Cancellarius a Spoleto*, will refer you to an Expoſitor in this quibling Diſtick.

e Repet. in C. canon. Statura de Conſtitut. Numb. 9.

f Cod. de legibus, l. *Si Imperialis*, Numb. 4.

g Cod. de precibus Imperat. offeren. l. *Reſcripta*, Numb. 8.

h Repet. in C. Novit, de judic. Numb. 127.

i Speculum, lib. 1. Partic. 1. Tit. de legato, Numb. *Nunc oſtendendum*, Numb. 17.

Clarior ut fiat Clarus, *ſua Clara* Johannes
Baptiſta *his jungit Lumina luminibus.*

That *Clarus* might be more *clear*, *Don John Baptiſta*
Adds his *clear* lights, to take away the miſt-a.

And in obedience to his Poetry, let us conſult the Annotations of *Johannes Baptiſta Baiardus*, and the caſe will be as plain then as a Pike-ſtaff; there he telling us, that the [*m*] *Pope may depoſe the Emperour for ſeveral Reaſons*, amongſt which he puts *Perjury* and *Sacriledge*, two notable pretences for the Pope, ever to take hold on, at a dead lift.

k In Cod. lib. 1. de ſum. Trinit. & fid. Cath. Numb. 13.

l Practica Criminalis, quæſt. 35. Numb. 6.

m Adde quod Imperator à Papa poteſt deponi, & excommunicari propter hæreſim, Sacrilegium, Perjurium & exinanitionem feudi, quod ab Eccleſia tenet, &c. *Jo. Bap. Baiard.* Additiones ad *Julii Clari* Practicam Criminalem, Quæſt. 35. Numb. 6.

Our Country-man [*n*] *Robert Holaote* ſaith, it belongs to the Biſhop of *Rome* to make the *Emperour*, and to ſee that fit Kings be choſen: but *Alphonſus Alvarez Guerrero* concerns himſelf moſt with the Popes power in pulling down Monarchs, and therefore he tells

n In lib. Sapient. Numb. 899.

tells us that (*a*) *Julius* the Second did *very well and juſtly* to declare *John Albret* King of *Navarre*, to be a *Schiſmatick*, *Hæretick*, *an enemy to the Church*; nay, and a *Traytor* too: and ſo to give his Kingdom away from him to the *Spaniſh* King; for he forſooth hath power to depoſe Kings. And much about the ſame Opinion is *Petrus de Palude*, affirming that the Pope can not onely (*b*) *depoſe a King for Hereſie, Schiſm, or ſuch like crimes; but alſo, if he be inſufficient, by being either weak in underſtanding or body.*

a Nonne igitur juſtè *Julius* II. *Johannem* Regem *Navarra* ſchiſmaticum, hæreticum, Apoſtolicæ ſedis hoſtem publicum atq; *reum læſæ Majeſtatis*, declaravit? Regnumq; & omnia ejus bona publicavit primo occupanti, atq; nominatim Catholico Regi *Hiſpaniarum* conceſſit? —Poteſtq; ita Papa Principes Apoſtantes à fide privare dominio temporali, quod habent ſuper fideles. *Alph. Alvar.* Speculum vel Theſaurus, cap. 16. Numb. 8. & cap. 31, Numb. 17.

b — Poteſt deponere omnem talem, non ſolum propter Hæreſim, aut Schiſma, aut aliud crimen intolerabile in populo: Sed etiam propter inſufficientiam, utpote ſi quis Idiota ſenſu vel impotens viribus in Regno præeſſet— talis certum eſt qui mireretur deponi. *Petr. a Palud.* de cauſa immediate Eccleſiaſticæ poteſtatis. Art. 4.

A man might think it ſtrange, that ſuch good and honeſt-meaning men, as the famous *Spaniſh* Lawyer, (*c*) *Martinus Azpilcueta*, but better known by the title of *Doctor Navarrus*, ſhould be for this King-depoſing power of the Pope; but that it is a wicked Principle maintained as we ſee by their chiefeſt Writers, doting too much upon that irrational body of their *Canon*-Law: And this alſo makes his Country-man (*d*) *Michael de Aninyon* ſubſcribe with him to this Doctrine. And *Johannes Driedo*, that *Lovan* Doctor, is ſo earneſt for it, that he ſeems to be careful, leſt he ſhould forget to tell the people, that the (*e*) *Pope out of the greatneſs of his power, can deprive them of their Kings.*

c Relict. in C. Novit. de judicii Notab. 2. Numb. 3. 99.

d Tract. de unitate ovilis, c. 23. Numb. 12.

e Verum hoc non eſt ſitentio præteriundum, quod Papa ex plenitudine poteſtatis ſuper univerſos Chriſtianos Principes, poteſt hæreticos Reges ac Principes propter crimen hæreſis privare ſuis Regnis atq; Imperiis. *Jo. Dried.* de libertate Chriſt. lib. 1, cap. 14.

And this is no new opinion, it ſeems: for, above five hundred years ago, *Stephanus* or *Harrandus*, the XIV Biſhop of *Halberſtat* in *Saxony*, declared to *Valtramus* of *Magdeburg*, that he that was *an* (*f*) *Hæretick and Excommunicated by the Pope, could have no right to rule over thoſe who were true Chriſtians.* And the truth of it is, *Childerick* the Fourth, King of *France*, found by experience, that the Pope above nine hundred years ago took upon him to depoſe Kings.

f Dominus *Henricus* hæreticus eſt, pro quibus nephandis malis ab Apoſtolica ſede excommunicatus, nec Regnum, nec poteſtatem aliquam ſuper nos, quia Catholici ſumus, poterit obtinere. *Dodechinus* Append. ad chronicon *Mar. Scoti*, anno 1090. pag. 460. col. 1.

Donyſius a Rickel, or *Leeuwis*, but now better known by the name of *Carthuſianus*, from his Order; though for his Piety, he procured the name of *Doctor Extaticus*; yet this Doctrine of King-depoſing, though it was no part of Holineſs, however it may be, that the Pope and others might have a better opinion of him for it, becauſe it is not (*g*) once onely, but (*h*) twice, and for ought that I know oftner, that he boldly affirmeth it, let the King have never ſo much right to the Throne. And to him we may add (*i*) *Petrus Bertrandus*, who to confirm his opinion, ſaith, that *Chriſt* had not *done wiſely*, if he had not left the Pope ſuch power: and had he been of another judgement, probably he had gone againſt his

g Imperatorem poteſt deponere, & Reges —— Regnis ſuis privare. *Dion. Carthuſ.* de Regimine Polit. Art. 19.

h Id. de authoritate Papæ & gen. Concil. l. 1. art. 6.

i De origine juriſdict. Queſt. 4, 5, 6.

Church. The great Cardinal [a] *Francis Zabarella* affirming, that it is not only a received Opinion, but that the *Canons* alſo declare ſuch power to lye in the Pope. And if a man ſo modeſt, impartial, and learned, as this honour of *Padoua*, affirm thus much; we need not admire that the *Lovan* Doctor [b] *Jacobus Latomus*; the *Italian* Dominican, [c] *Umbertus Locatus*; the ſame Country-Lawyers, [d] *Tiberius Decianus*, [e] *Paulus de Caſtro*, [f] *Reſtaurus Caſtaldus*; and our Country-man [g] *Johannes Bacon*, or *Bacondrop*, are carryed along with the ſame current; and the latter (of whom 'tis ſaid, that he writ ſo much, that his little Body could not carry his great Writings) might have left this out, though not for its weight, yet for the trouble of penning it, but that he would be according to his name *Doctor Reſolutus*; and in all things with the reſt, pin his Faith upon the *Roman* Sleeve.

a Concil. 154. Numb. 1.

b De Eccleſia, c. 14.

c Judiciale Inquiſitor verbo, *Dominini Temporales*, p. 90.

d Criminalis, lib. 4. c. 15. Numb. 6, 10. & lib. 5. c. 52. Numb. 8.

e Super Dig. de legibus, l. non ambigitur, Numb. 6.

f De Imperatore, Queſt. 53. Numb. 3. & 3.

g Super ſententias, lib. 4. in Prologo. Queſt. 11. Art. 4.

And from theſe, we ſhall not have the *German Lupoldus de Bebenburg*, above three hundred years ago Biſhop of *Bamberg* in *Franconia*, diſſent, plainly telling the world, That *a* [h] *King not onely for hereſie, but other crimes alſo may be depoſed*; and ſhews himſelf very valiant for the Pope. And whether it was his zeal for that Chair, that procured him after (as I think) to be tranſlated to the Arch-biſhoprick of *Mentz*; let others judge: Nor do I know whether this King-depoſing Opinion was the reſult meerly of his judgement, or his dependance as Prelate of *Bamberg* upon the Pope; that *See* having been formerly ſnatcht from the Metropolitanſhip of *Mentz*, by *Clement* the Second, once Biſhop of *Bamberg*, and annext to the diſpoſition of the Pope.

h Poſſet tamen propter crimen hæreſis vel aliud gravius crimen notarium de quo incorrigibilis appareret à Regno deponi, *Lud. de Bebenb.* de juribus Regni & Imperii, cap. 12. pag. 65.

[i] *Franciſcus Pegna* knew this Doctrine was pleaſing to *Rome*, and agreeable to her Laws; and ſo could finde no better Patrons for it and himſelf, than *Gregory* the Thirteenth; and the *Cardinals* who ruled the roſt in the Inquiſition Purgatory-like Slaughter-houſe. And let it diſpleaſe who it will, ſo it be but according to the Canon, it will be maintain'd, and held authentick, by the *obſervant* Fryar *Minorite* [k] *Baptiſta Trovomala* in his *Roſella*; the noted Lawyers, [l] *Johannes de Selva*, [m] *Auguſtinus Beroius*; and the Learned *Neopolitan*, [n] *Jacobus Antonius Marta*, though both by himſelf and others, vulgarly call'd *Doctor Marta*, who in this place is ſomewhat large in proving it: yet probably his reputation of the Pope was ſomewhat ſlackned before his death; if he and the *Novus Horno* (ſent to the Emperour, our King *James*, and ſome others, by way of ſupplication againſt *Paulus* V.) were one and the ſame perſon, as hath been ſuppoſed.

i Comment. in Directorium Inquiſitor. *Nicol. Eimerici*, part. 3. com. 158. p. 661.

k Roſella Caſuum, vel ſumma Roſella, v. *Hæreticus*, Numb. 11.

l De Beneficio, part 4. Queſt. 8. Numb. 25.

m Concil. 147. Numb. 22.

n De juriſdictione, part. 1. cap. 23. Numb. 1.
Potentiam habet privandi Reges & Principes ex cauſa Temporali, alioſq; —inſtituendi. *Marta.*

[o] *Donyſius Paulus Lopiz* with the Canon-law affirms this power in the Pope; and as if perſwaded by the ſame authority and practice, *Caſtillo*

o Floſculus de Clericorum excellentiis, Part. 2. Numb. 77.

(*a*) *Caſtillo de Bovadillo* ſteers the ſame courſe, though with as much truth and right, as when at the ſame time he joyns to our Queen *Elizabeth* the name of *Stuart*. And to him we ſhall put a *Catalonian* Lawyer, (*b*) *Gabriel Berart*, one, I warrant you of no ſmall eſteem; *Ludovicus de Caſſanate*, looking upon him as the honour of his Country; *Franciſcus de los Herreros* tells us, that if we have a minde to know in a manner all things, we muſt get his Books, in which he aſſures us, there is not one fault, though I cannot ſay ſo of his Verſe:

Accipiat Speculum quod dat ſine mendo Berardus.

and to make up the Diſtick, we will allow you the *Pentameter* of *Antonius de Ioredo Coronos*, who thus rants it out in the Authors praiſe;

Berart *ſuus liber ſapiens & leo eſt.*

yet for all this, you may acknowledge the Authors Doctrine to be as falſe as his friends Verſes are.

Another *Spaniſh* Doctor, *Johannes Blaſius*, at large aſſures us of the Popes authority, not onely in (*c*) *depriving Biſhops, but alſo Kings, and abſolving their Subjects from the Obedience due to them.* Another of the ſame Nation, but of greater repute than the former, *viz. Rodericus de Arriaga*, a learned Jeſuit, and no leſs man than Chancellor of the University of *Prague*, exactly followeth in this caſe, thoſe who went before him, teaching how *Kings may be depoſed, and their Kingdoms given to others.* And to theſe, I think, I may add another of their Country, and of a greater ſway than either of them, (*d*) *Antonio Zapata*, Cardinal, Protector, and Inquiſitor-General of *Spain*: becauſe amongſt other inſtances, in his late Index of prohibited Books, he is ſo expreſly earneſt againſt that which ſuppoſeth the Pope to have no ſuch Authority over Princes, witten by *Roger Widrington*, though his true name was *Preſton*, a *Benedictan* Monck.

And now that we have entred into *Spain*, before we leave it, let's conſult a noted Scholar of *Toledo*, *Alphonſus Salmeron*, the fifth Jeſuit in the world; in ſome places he tells us, That the (*e*) *Pope hath power to puniſh Kings by depoſing them, and giving their Kingdoms to others*: and not onely that this Authority lyeth in the Pope, but that other (*f*) *Biſhops, though never ſo poor and weak may throw down Kings.* Though in ſome places he is a good Expoſitor; yet here I fear he uttereth Doctrine that St. *Paul* was never uſed to. And if at *Ingolſtad* in his Sermons upon theſe

a La Politica, lib. 2. cap. 17. Numb. 5.

Abad y otros dizen, que en los graves y arduos negocios, y en las muy grandes dificultades, que cauſan Ycandalo en la Chriſtiandad, podra el *Papa* uſar contra legos de la poteſtad temporal, que tiene de Deos, y no de otra manera, y muder el ſolo Imperio, y los Regnos con juſta cauſa de Oriente à Occidente, y de una unotra Gente ---- y el Papa *Zacharias* privo à *Chulderino* del Regno de *Francia*.

b Speculum Viſitationis, cap. 22. Numb. 46.

c Reges ac temporalis Principes Regnis ſpoliare, illorumq; ſubditos à fidelitatis ſacramento, quo ſuis Principibus erant aſtricti abſolvere. *Jo. Blaſ.* de ſacro Eccleſ. Principatu, lib. 2. c. 12. fol. 63.

Unde neceſſum fuit ut Eccleſia poſſet eos exceſſus fremare, ſi non poſſet rationibus & monitionibus, ſaltem Cenſuris, ſi vero neq; his, privando illos ſua poteſtate, dandoq; alus ſæcularibus licentiam, ut poſſint etiam vi eos privare Juriſdictione, Regno, *Rod. de Arriag.* diſput. Theolog. in 1. 2. S. *Tho.* Tom. 2. diſp. 18. Numb. 74.

d Index nover librorum Probibit. 849.

e — Poteſt eos imperio & Regno privare, vel eorum ditiones alteri Principi tradere. *Alph. Salm.* Tom. 4. Part. 3. Tract. 4. Numb. *Tertiam poteſtatem*, P. 410. & Tom 13. in Epiſt. ad Rom. lib. 4. diſp. 4. Numb. *ad objecta vero*, P. 679. & in Epiſt. B. *Pauli* lib. 1. Part. 3. diſp. 12. Numb. *Jam de poſtremo*, Pag. 251.

f Ergo per Epiſcoporum ſententiam poſſunt deponi & debent, etiamſi Pauperes Piſcopi & inermes. *Id.* Tom. 13. Pag. 251.

Epiſtles,

Epiſtles, he taught his Auditors theſe Principles; the Duke of *Bavaria* was too liberal of his Reward, who inſtead of puniſhment, built a famous Colledge for him and his Brethren.

Johannes Paulus Windeck, though he ſpeak nothing of our inferior Biſhops, yet he declares that he of (*a*) *Rome* hath power to kick *down Kings, and put others in their Thrones.* And of the ſame Opinion is that voluminous Lawyer of *Pavia*, (*b*) *Jacobus Menochius*; and this, he ſaith, can not onely be done to the King, but *alſo to all of his Line or Race.* And a Country-man of ours, a Doctor in Divinity, but of what certain name I know not, lurking under the Viſard of *L. C.* in a Letter of his againſt the foreſaid *Roger Widdrington* or *Preſton*, is ſo furious for this King-deposing Authority to rely in the Pope, that he ſaith, to think otherways, is not onely (*c*) *expreſly againſt the Catholick Faith*, but doth alſo ſavour of (*d*) *Heatheniſm.*

a Hinc firmiter deducimus Papam poſſe Principes deponere & alios inſtituere. *P. Wind.* de Theolog. juriſconſultorum, Pag. 23.

b —Jure poteſt ſummus Pont. Regno privare non modo Regem ipſum hæreticum, ſed etiam ejus diſcendentes. *Menoch.* Concil. 808. Numb. 76.

c Fidei Catholicæ veritati aperte repugnare.

d Ethniciſmum mihi videntur, ſapere, Numb. 4. *See the letter it ſelf*, in Reſponſ. Apologetica *Rog. Widdringtoni*, Pag. 153.

Though another of our Country-men, *viz.* (*e*) *Gregorius Sayes*, of the ſame Order with *Preſton*, be not ſo furious as his enemy *L. C.* yet he ſeems to comply with this Papal juriſdiction over Kings and Kingdoms: And I believe, I ſhall not any way diſpleaſe a learned *Roman Doctor*, (*f*) *Alexander Peſantius*, if I bring him in amongſt the Champions againſt abſolute Monarchy; for beſides that he makes it his buſineſs to prove that the Pope can deprive Infidels of their Rule over Chriſtians, and by the interpretation of his Margin aſſures us, that Pope *Zacharias* turn'd out the King of *France*; in the next Queſtion he takes a ſtep farther, and affirms, that for *hereſie*, a man doth not onely looſe as a Father the Rule over his Children, as an Huſband the ſame over his Wife, and ſo ſhe not obliged in any thing to be obedient to him, and the ſame as a Maſter over his Servants; but alſo though a Prince and Ruler, yet by this fault, he quite looſeth his Right and Authority over his Subjects.

e Caſ. Conſcient. lib. 5. cap. 10. Numb. 14. p. 442.

f Comment. in D. Thom. in 2. 2. quæſt. 10. art. 10. diſp. 1. & quæſt. 11. art. 4. diſp. 1.

Of the ſame humour is (*g*) *Jacobus Simancas*; and with this Doctrine, as the former claw'd *Paul* the Fifth, ſo doth this *Spaniard* fob up *Gregory* the Thirteenth: Nor will he have the *Father onely to looſe his Kingdom, but* he alſo agrees with theſe, who *throw out the Children too.* Though this Author would once diſpute whether a Divine or Lawyer would make the beſt Biſhop; yet here we need make no Controverſie, which of the Faculties amongſt them is the beſt aſſertor of this ſeditious Doctrine; ſince we ſee by experience, that both Parties do their utmoſt to uphold it. 'Tis ſaid, that the fields adjoying to *Badaioz*, of which this *Simancas* was Prelate, are ſo peſtered with the multitude of Locuſts, that the King is forced to provide many men for the burning of them. And it would do well, if he and others by puniſhment would reſtrain the publiſhing and maintaining of ſuch miſchievous Principles within their Dominions.

g De Catholicis Inſtitut. Tit. 46. Numb. 74, 75. & Tit. 23. Numb. 11.

Propter Hæreſim Regis non ſolum Rex Regno privatur, ſed & ejus filii à Regni ſucceſſione pelluntur. *Salman.* Tit. 9. Numb. 259.

Another *Spaniard*, and a famous Jeſuite, (*h*) *Ludovicus Molina*, though at firſt he ſeems a little modeſt in reſpect of the Pope, but would

h De juſtitia, Tom. 1. Tract. 2. diſp. 29. col. 213, 214.

would have the Subjects take upon them to chaſtiſe their Kings; yet that a little advice from his Holineſs would do no harm: However, the farther he goeth, the more he imbraceth this juriſdiction of *Rome*; and then at laſt in ſeveral places, boldly affirms the (*a*) Popes power *in depoſing Kings*: A Doctrine, which I dare ſay he never learned from that pious Manuel, of his darling and daily companion, *Thomas à Kempis*; and yet, this durſt he offer to the King of *Spain*.

a Poteſt ſummus Pontifex depone Reges, eoſq; Regnis ſuis privare. *Molin.* de juſt. Tom. 1. col. 217.

Id. Col. 225.—Imperatoris depoſitionem ex juſta cauſa pertinere ad ſummum Pontificem. *Id.* Col. 220. poſſe ſummum Pont. deponere Reges, eaq; ratione merito tranſtuliſſe Imperium à *Græcis* ad *Germanos*, depoſuiſſeq; *Hildericum*, & privaſſe Regni adminiſtratione quendam *Luſitanice* Regem. *Id.* Col. 221. ſi Princeps aliquis Hæreticus aut Schiſmaticus fieret, poſſet ſummus Pont. uti adverſus eum gladio Temporali, procedereq; uſq; ad depoſitionem & expulſionem illius à Regno.

Another *Spaniard*, but a Dominican, *Petrus de Ledeſma*, tells the people pretty ſtories how to get rid of their Kings: for if the Prince, as he ſaith, be an Heretick, and that crime by his cunning, cannot be ſufficiently proved againſt him; then let him publickly *be excommunicated*, and all is as ſure as a gun: for by this means *he is abſolutely deprived of all Rule whatever, and his Subjects are obliged (if they be able) to raiſe war againſt him, and root him out*; *for* (as he ſaith) *by the aforeſaid Excommunication, they are all abſolved from their Obedience and Oath of Allegiance, which they formerly owed to him.* And this he tells us, is the judgement of *Thomas Aquinas* and all his followers. And I think in this, he doth not at all wrong this famous School-man, who was ſo great a Champion for the *Romiſh See*, that at laſt he was Canonized by *John* XXII. yet for all his title of *Angelical Doctor*, he could maintain the black poſition, that Subjects were not to obey nor acknowledge Excommunicated Princes. And ſome of the *Thomiſts* to make the Authority of Temporal Monarchs leſs valid, make uſe of his Book *de Regimine Principis*, but to what purpoſe, I know not: However, (*b*) *Franciſcus Panicarola*, the preaching and worded Biſhop of *Aſti* is no enemy to the Popes coercive Authority over Princes.

Poſt ſententiam declarativum de crimines hæreſis aut Apoſtaſiæ Princeps injuſte poſſidet Principatum, & inique dominatur in Subditos, qui ſi viribus polleant tenentur ſe eximere ab ejus obedientia, & bellum ipſi inferre. *Petr. de Ledeſm.* Theologia Moralis, Tract. 1. cap. 7. concluſ. 6, 7.

Id. Concluſ. 5. Quam primum quis declaratur excommunicatus propter Apoſtaſiam à fide aut hæreſim, privatur dominio & juriſdictione in ſubditos ſi quos habet, & ſubditi abſolvuntur à juramento fidelitatis quo antea tenebantur.

—Quam cito aliqui per ſententiam denuntiatur excommunicatus propter Apoſtaſiam à fide, ipſo facto, ejus ſubdito ſunt abſoluti à dominio ejus & juramento fidelitatis, quo ei tenebantur. *Tho. Aquin.* 2, 2. q. 12. art. 2.

b Deſceptat. *Calvin.* pag. 152.

That the *Italian* Dominican, (*c*) *Paulus Carraria* is a great magnifier of the Popes power in Temporals, need not be long in proving, if we do but conſider, what Laws and Examples he makes uſe of, to ſhew that Kings may be depoſed, and Kingdoms given away by him. And to him we may joyn another of the ſame Order, (*d*) *Johannes à S. Geminiano*, ſince they both go the ſame way, and upon the ſame errand.

c De literali ac Myſtica Regularum juris Canon. interpretat. Queſt. 2. art. 4. punct. 2. Numb. 25, 26, 27. & Queſt. 3. art. 9. Numb. 101. pag. 270.

d Summa de Exemplis, lib. 8. cap. 60.

Gregorius Nunnius Coronel, though but a *Portugal Auguſtan* Mendicant Fryar, yet is as furious and proud as the beſt of them againſt Temporal Government: and it may be for this fault, *Clement* the Eighth, and *Paul* the Fifth, were ſo kinde to him, and got him to *Rome* to

to be neer them. He declares that if they (a) *will not be obedient to his Church, then may the Pope by his great power from Heaven, very juſtly turn them from all their Royalties and Government.* Nay, that ſometimes, the (b) *Subjects themſelves, if the Pope bid them, muſt take up arms againſt them, and dethrone them.* And in another of his Books, he ſaith, that an (c) *Heretical King muſt not be permitted to rule, but turned from his Kingdom:* and this not onely for Hereſie, but alſo, if (d) *he be given to to any great ſins:* Nay, if by his weakneſs (e) *he be not fit to Rule:* Or, if by (f) *his negligence, ignorance or wilfulneſs, juſtice be not done, and the Common-wealth ſuffer.* And that the Pope hath this great Authority over Kings, he ſaith, is the (g) *Opinion of all their Divines and Lawyers:* And he that denyeth this power, doth not onely go (h) *againſt the truth, but ſeems to be mad:* And thus he indeavours to prove this power; which he ſaith, unleſs Chriſt had left with his Vicars (i) *he had not done wiſely.*

a *Greg. Nun. Cor.* de vera Chriſti Eccleſ. lib. 9. pag. 345. Tam regalibus inſignibus, quam regia poteſtate privare, ex muneris ſui vi & authoritate cœlitus ſibi tradita, æquiſſimo jure valent.

b *Id.* Pag. 369. In illos arma capiant, & tanquam Regio diademate indignos à ſede dejectos agnoſcant.

c *De optimo Reipub. Statu*, lib. 3. c. 13. pag. 508, 509. & p. 511. Rex impiis hæreticorum dogmaticus obſirmato animo adhærens à Regni ſede & ab adminiſtratione Imperii quod in Chriſtianos habet amovendus eſt.

d *Id.* Cap. 14 pag. 521. Si Reges & Principes graviſſimis ſint dedixi ſceleribus efficitor proculdubiò, ut ex his duabus cauſis juſtiſſime Rom. Pont. poſsit acriter in Reges animadvertere, & eos a Regali ſolio muneris ſui poteſtate deturbare.

e Cap. 16. pag. 545. Non ſolum propter hæreſim aut ſchiſma, aut aliquod aliud intolerabile ſcelus, verum etiam propter inſufficientiam.

f *Id.* Pag. 547. Poſſe ſum. Pont. ex ſui muneris authoritate Principes è ſolio deturbare, ſi ob eorum negligentiam, & inſciriam, aut malitiam, juſtitia conculcatur, & Status Reip. periclitatur.

g *Id.* Pag. 557. Legantur tam veteres, quam recentiores Theologi & utriuſq; juris Prudentes, certe omnes una mente una & voce hanc ſententiam amplectuntur.

h Pag. 558. Non modo à veritate quam longiſsime aberrare, verum etiam inſanire mihi videantur.

i *Id.* Cap. 14. pag. 520.

I need not trouble you at length, to tell you the humour and ſpirit of this *Portugal*, when you do but know how heartily he deſired the (k) Murder of our Queen *Elizabeth*, affirming it to be but juſt, that her head ſhould be cut off, her body not to be honoured with a burial, but by the Hang-man left, to be torn in pieces and devoured by Dogs. And yet was this hot-ſpur, his Books and Doctrine in great favour and eſteem at *Rome*: and *Gratianus*, one of the chief of his Order, could thus ſing in commendation of him and his Writings:

Lumen es, & Columen fidei, rectiq; Magiſter.

——Reſponſaq; ſana miniſtras;
Nempe facis, per te, creſcat ut Urbis honos.

k De vera Chriſti Eccleſ. pag. 433, 434.

This *Nunnius* hath Cardinal *Aſcanio di Colunna* Patron to one of his Books; and though I believe amongſt their *Eminencies* he could not aim amiſs, yet this 'tis probable, he did by choice, as being well acquainted with his compliance with this Doctrine, of which, at the deſire of *Paul* the Fifth, he gave ſome hints to the world, in his (l) Tract againſt the *Venetians*.

l Sententia contra Reip. *Veneta* Epiſcopos, p. 27.

Of this *Nunnius*, to ſhew the Popes power over Emperours and Kings, (m) *Thomas a Talamello*, of the ſame *Mendicant* Order, makes

m Rationale utriuſq; poteſtatis, pag. 198, 102.

makes ſome uſe, and give you alſo St. *Geminianus* word for word. He tells you alſo in one place, that the Pope hath as *(a) much power in Temporals as in Spirituals:* Nay, that *(b) in either of theſe, he can directly do more than any King*; and that *Kings depend as much on the Pope, as effects on their Cauſes:* and then makes uſe of the *(c)* Canon-law to prove his Authority in depoſing of Emperours. And an *Italian* Lawyer *(d) Camillus Gallinius*, from the ſame puddle, draws out the ſame muddy Principle, of the Popes right to dethrone Kings.

a Id. Cap. 3. p. 39.
b Pag. 41.
c Id. Cap. 11. p. 109.
d De verborum ſignificatione, lib. 10. cap. 17. & 24.

What was the Opinion of Cardinal *Perron*, and the chief of *France* in this caſe, this following ſtory will ſomewhat inform us. *Lewis* the Thirteenth being come to his Majority, about fourteen years old, ſummoned the three Eſtates to meet: two of them, *viz.* the *Clergy* and *Lords* [*la Nobleſſe*] preſently agreed for theſe two Propoſitions, Decemb. 1614. Jan. 161⅔.

1. *That the Council of* Trent *be publiſh'd and received in* France.
2. *That the ſelling of Offices be ſuppreſs'd.*

The third Eſtate, [whether to ſtop theſe two, ſome of them favouring the *Proteſtants*, others of them having places, which they might ſell, as well as they bought; or out of meer loyalty (however they reaſoned ſtifly againſt the *Trent*-Council) having had the two Kings before this murdered,] made a third Propoſition, much like our Oath of Allegiance; which being of publick concern, the cauſe of great diſputes and animoſities beyond Seas, and as I think, as yet not known in *Engliſh*, take as followeth with the Original.

Que pour arreſter le Cours de la pernicieuſe doctrine *qui s' introduit depuis quelquees annees contre les Roys & puiſſances Souveraines eſtablies de Dieu, per* Eſprits Seditieux, *qui ne tendent qu'a les troubler & ſubverter: Le Roy ſera ſupplie de faire arreſter en l' Aſſemblée des ſtates, pour loy fondamentale de Royaume, qui ſoit inviolable & notoire a tous; Que comme il eſt recognu Souverain en ſon eſtat, ne tenant ſa Couronne que de Dieu ſeul; il n'y a puiſſance en Terre quelle qu' elle ſoit* Spirituelle *ou* Temporelle, *qui ait aucun droit ſur ſon Royaume, pour en priver les perſonnes ſacrées de nos Rois, ny diſpenſer ou abſoudre leurs ſubjets de la* Fidelite *& obeiſſance qu'ils luy doivent, pour quelque cauſe ou pretexte que ce ſoit.*

To hinder the ſpreading of the pernicious Doctrine lately taught and maintain'd by ſome ſeditious ſpirits, enemies to good Government, againſt Kings and Soveraign Powers: His Majeſty ſhall be humbly deſired, that there ſhall be eſtabliſh'd by the three Eſtates, for a Fundamental Law of the Land, to be kept and known by all men;

That the King being acknowledged head in his Dominions, holding his Crown and Authority onely from God, there is no power on Earth whatever, ſpiritual or Temporal, that hath any right over his Kingdom, either to depoſe our Kings, or diſpence with, or abſolve their Subjects from the fidelity and obedience which they owe to their Soveraign, for any cauſe or pretence whatever.

Que tous ſes ſubjets, de quelque qualite & condition qu'ils ſoi-

That all his Subjects, of what quality or Condition ſoever, ſhall

ent, tiendront cete loy pour ſainte & veritable comme conforme a la Parole de Dieu, ſans diſtinction, equivoque ou limitation quelcunque : Laquelle ſera juree & ſignee par tous les Deputes des Eſtats, & d'oreſnavant par tous las Beneficiers & Officiers du Royaume, avant que d'entrer en la poſſeſſion de leurs Benefices, & d'eſtre recens en leur Offices : Tous Precepteurs, Regens, Docteurs & Predicateurs tenus de l'enſeigner & publier, Que l'opinion contraire, meſmes qu'il ſoit loiſible de tuer & depoſer nos Rois, s'elever & Rebeller contr'eux ſecouer le joug de leur Obeyſſance, pour quelque Occaſion que ſe ſoit, eſt impie, deteſtable, contre Verete & contre l'Eſtabliſſement de l'Eſtat de France, *qui ne depend immediatement que de Dieu.*

Que tous livres qui enſeignent telle fauſſe & perverſe Opinion, ſeront tenus pour ſeditieux & damnables : tous Eſtrangers qui l'eſcriront & publieront, pour Ennemis jurees de la Couronne : tous ſubjets de ſa Majeſte qui y adhereront de quelque qualite & Condition qu'els ſoint pour Rebelles, infracteurs des loys fundamentales du Royaume, & Criminels de leſe Majeſte au primier Chef.

Et s'il ſe trouve aucun Livre ou diſcours eſcrit par Eſtranger Eccleſiaſtique, ou d'autre qualite, qui contienne Proposition contraire a la dite loy directement ou indirectement, ſeront les Eccleſiaſtiques des meſmes Ordres eſtablis en France, *obliges d'y reſpondre, les impugner & contredire inceſſamment ſans reſpect, ambiguite ny Equivocation, ſur peine d'eſtre punis de meſme peine que deſſus, comme fauteurs des enemis de cet Eſtat.*

Et ſera ce premier Article leu par chacun an, tant es Cours Souveraines, qu'es Bailliages & Seneſchaucees du dit Royaume,

keep this Law as holy, true, and agreeable to Gods Word, without any diſtinction, equivocation, or limitation whatſoever; which ſhall be ſworn and ſigned by all the Deputies of the Eſtates, and henceforward by all who have any Benefice or Office in the Kingdom, before they enter upon ſuch Benefice or Office; and that all Tutors, Maſters, Regents, Doctors, and Preachers ſhall teach and publiſh, that the contrary Opinion, *viz.* that it is lawful to kill and depoſe our Kings, to rebel and riſe up againſt them, and ſhake off our Obedience to them, upon any occaſion whatever, is impious, deteſtable, quite contrary to Truth, and the eſtabliſhment of the State of *France*, which immediately depends upon God onely.

That all Books teaching theſe falſe and wicked Opinions, ſhall be held as ſeditious and damnable: All ſtrangers who write and publiſh them, as ſworn Enemies to the Crown: and that all Subjects of his Majeſty, of what Quality and Condition whatever, who favour them, as Rebels, violators of the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and Traytors againſt the King.

And if there be a Book or diſcourſe writ by any forraign Church-man, or any other, that then the Clergy of the ſame Orders eſtabliſh'd in *France*, ſhall be obliged continually to anſwer, oppoſe and confute them, without any reſpect, ambiguity, or equivocation, upon pain to be puniſh'd, as aboveſaid, as a favourer of the Enemies of the State.

And this Article ſhall be read every year, in the Soveraign Courts, Bayliwicks and Seneſchalſhips of the ſaid Kingdom, and

at

a l'ouverture des audiences, pour eſtre garde & obſerve avec toute ſeverite & rigueur.

at the opening of their Courts of *Audience*, that they may be the better preſerved and obſerved, with all rigor and ſeverity.

This ſtartles the Clergy, who with the *Nobleſſe*, preſently ſet themſelves againſt the third Eſtate (ſomewhat like our Houſe of *Commons*) with a reſolution to expunge this honeſt and loyal Propoſition; yet declared their continuable obedience to their King: And as a main Engine to carry this their deſign about, they deſired *Jaque Davie*, the famous Cardinal of *Perron*, to endeavour to work over to them the third Eſtate, knowing that his voluble Tongue, uſed to be carryed on with ſo much Learning, Judgement and Sweetneſs, that it ſeldom miſt of that it ſpoke for. Accordingly attended with ſome Lords and Biſhops, (as Repreſentatives of their reſpective Eſtates; and ſo to ſhew to the Commons, that both the other did agree ſo in judgement in this caſe with the learned Cardinal, that he ſpoke not onely his own, but their Opinions too) He, though at that time ſomewhat indiſpoſed, went accordingly, where he made a very long Speech to ſhew the unreaſonableneſs and abſurdity of the foreſaid propoſition, endeavouring to prove by Reaſon, that ſometimes Kings ſhould, and by Example that they had been depoſed, their Subjects being juſtly quit from their Oaths of Allegiance, and ſo not bound to obey them. The Harangue it ſelf being large, I refer you to it in his *Diverſes Oeuvres*.

Yet this Oration wrought little upon the third Eſtate, which hugely troubled all their Cergy, and the Popes *Nuntio* then at *Paris*; and (*a*) *Scipion Dupleix*, one of the Kings Hiſtoriographers can accuſe the Article with *manifeſt abſurdity*, by which he ſhews his compliance with the reſt in this Doctrine. But the Pope *Paul* the Fifth ſhew'd himſelf moſt troubled, in his Letter to *Perron*, dated from *Rome*, *Febr.* 1615. he call'd it a *Deteſtable Decree*; and the voters of it, *Enemies to the Common good and quietneſs, and mortal adverſaries to the Chair of* Rome. But at the ſame time gives the Cardinal all the commendations and thanks that can be. But our King *James* was not ſo complemental, nor had he Reaſon: For the Cardinal in his Speech, having ſeveral reflections againſt the Government of *England*, the cruelty of her Laws, the perſecution of the *Roman Catholicks*, and ſhew'd himſelf mainly concern'd againſt our Oath of Allegiance, which did not a little reflect upon the King himſelf: upon which his Majeſty looking upon this Cardinal as ſomewhat too buſie in putting his Oar in another mans Boat, and ſo concern'd to have ſomewhat of juſtice done him, by his Ambaſſador publickly complain'd of this affront to the young King, the Queen-mother and others, and himſelf publickly anſwered the Speech. But this was no trouble to the Cardinal, who was hugely complemented and magnified from ſeveral Biſhops, and other great perſons, for this his Speech, and valiantly defending the right of the Church.

(*a*) Hiſt. de *Louis* XIII. Pag. 49.

But how to end this grand Controverſie amongſt the Eſtates, was the cauſe of ſome Conſultations: at laſt the King was cunningly perſwaded to take it to himſelf; which he did, affirming he underſtood his own Right and Poſſeſſion, and ſo forbad them to determine any thing about it. However, the two *Eſtates* were gallantly careſſed by two *Breves* from the Pope, ſtufft with Commendati-

ons and thanks for their Doctrine, and valour for the Church.

But enough of *Perron* and the *French Eſtates* (now in a manner neglected in that Kingdom.) And ſhould we look upon our own *Oath of Allegiance*, made onely upon a politick account, for the prevention of Treaſon, we might ſee it as ſtrongly oppoſed and girded at, as that of *France*: For no ſooner was it made [that horrid *Gunpowder-plot* being a main *Motive*] but *Paul* the Fifth abſolutely forbad it to be taken, by two *Breves* ſent into *England*; and preſently began a Paper-ſcuffle on all ſides, *Bellarmine*, *Gretzer*, *Parſons*, *Coquæus*, *Scioppius*, and many others by might and main oppoſing its taking; but they were inſtantly anſwered, not onely by King *James* himſelf, but ſeveral of his learned Subjects, as Biſhop *Andrews*, Dr. *Abbot*, *Carleton*, *Donne*, *Prideaux*, *Burhill*, *Widdrington* or *Preſton* a *Benedictan* Monk (for which, there were Rods laid in piſs for him by the *Romaniſts*) and ſeveral others.

Amongſt thoſe who zealouſly oppoſed it, was one *Adolphus Schulckenius*; but whether a true name or no, I know not: yet he is very furious in behalf of the Popes depoſing of Kings; and this he tells us the Pope may do, by the (*a*) Opinion of *all Divines both Ancient and Modern, of all Catholick Lawyers, of Oecumenical Councils and Popes*: and that in this, there is *no* (*b*) *diſagreement amongſt them*, this power being (*c*) *given to the Pope by God*, and he *cannot be held a Catholick that is againſt it*: For not *one* (*d*) *Catholick Author can be brought out, who expreſly denyeth it*; nor can any (*e*) *Reaſon be brought againſt this Authority of the Pope*: And that *Zacharias* did not well, when he depoſed honeſt *Childerick* King of *France*, cannot be ſaid (*f*) *without great raſhneſs and Blaſphemy*.

a Apologia, pag. 24.
b Id. P. 26.
c Id. P. 59.
d Id. P. 128.
e Id. P. 163.
f Id. P. 596.

Another there is ſomewhat voluminous in this point, and of the more note, becauſe a *French-man*, and a great favourite, both there and in *Italy*; and this is *Leonardus Coquæus*, a Mendicant *Auguſtine* Fryar, who in Oppoſition to King *James*, ſaith that the (*g*) Pope cannot onely *Excommunicate*, *bridle or puniſh Kings*, *but alſo turn them out of their Kingdoms*. And to make this more convincing, in another place he (*h*) endeavours to prove by Example, that this hath been done: Nor is this any (*i*) uſurp'd Authority of the Pope, but it is properly belonging to him; for as *Coquæus* ſaith, Chriſt had not been *careful enough* of the Church, and ſalvation of Souls, if he had not left the Pope a power over Kings. And in a larger (*k*) Book, he harps very often in behalf of King-depoſing.

g Habet authoritatem excommunicandi & coercendi & proſcribendi Reges hæreticos ovili Chriſti perniciosos. *Lem. Coq.* Examen præfat. Monit. pag. 103.

h Id. Pag. 142, 143.
i Id. P. 49.
k *Antimorosus*, Tom. 1. pag. 380, 523. Tom. 2. p. 6, 17, 21, 105, 128.

Gregorio Servantio a *Dominican* and Biſhop of *Trevico*, being angry with the *Venetians*, gives the Pope power over them and other Temporal Princes: and to carry on his deſign the more cleverly, he makes a great deal of do with the common alluſion, that *if the King, from a Sheep turn Wolf, and tyrannize over his Subjects, or let Hereſie enter amongſt them, or become a timerous* Dog, *that then the Pope* may *turn*

Se uno di pecorella divien Lupo, che ſi mangia iniquamente con tirannide le pecorello de' ſuoi ſudditi ò laſcia entrer la peſte dell' Hereſia, ò diventa un cane tanto timido come quel *Childerico* detto, che non val niente, potrà il *Papa*, come vicario di Chriſto diſcacciare il Lupo overo ſoſtituire un altro Cane valente, che cuſtodeſca la greggia. E ſe il ſuo precetto qualche volta non ſera eſſeguito, queſto ſara de facto non de jure, ſecondo il quale, noi ragioniamo. *Deſeſa della poteſta & Immunita Eccleſ.* p. 68.

turn out the Wolf, *or put in a more* valiant Dog. And for more confirmation of this, he makes uſe of the Canon-Law. And much to the ſame Authority is hinted at, and imply'd by (a) *Giovanni Filoteo di Aſti*, to make good the Popes power in the diſpoſing of Kingdoms and Kings.

a Nuova Riſpoſta ſopra le Cenſure di *Paolo* V. contra la Signoria di *Venetia*, pag. 16. & pag. 59.

Of this humour of King-depoſing, is the famous Spaniard (b) *Franciſcus Suarez*: And if the Pope do deprive him, *and give his Kingdom to another, the other may* (c) *juſtly invade and take it.* And this power of the Pope over Kings, he affirms *to be as* (d) *true and as certain, as that the Church is infallible in Faith.* And to prove this, I ſuppoſe was one of the main Reaſons, if not the chief of his (e) writing that Folio, wherein he would gladly perſwade King *James*, that he was in an (f) *error* in denying the Popes power in depoſing Kings.

b Poteſt & talem Principem dominio ſuo privare. *Suar.* Defenſio fid. Cathol. l. 3. c. 23. Numb. 21.

c *Id.* Lib. 6. cap. 4. Numb. 19. Si Pontifex—aliis Regibus poteſtatem tribuat invadendi tale Regnum, tunc juſte fieri poteſt.

d Id. Lib. 3. c. 23. Numb. 16.

e Hic eſt ut dixi cardo & præcipuus ſcopus præſentis Controverſia. Id. L. 3. c. 23. Numb. 1.

f Id. Lib. 6. c. 4. Numb. 22.

And what was the ſentiment of ſome of our *Engliſh* Prieſts in this caſe, you may perceive by theſe following Remarks.

Auguſt 1. 1581.

EDmond *Campion* being demanded ---- whether he doth at this preſent acknowledge her Majeſty [Queen *Elizabeth*] to be a true and lawful Queen, or a pretended Queen, and deprived, and in poſſeſſion of her Crown onely *De facto*; *He anſwereth*, ---- *That this Queſtion depends upon the fact of* Pius *the Fifth, whereof he is not judge, and therefore refuſeth further to anſwer.*

Edmond Campion.

This was thus anſwered and ſubſcribed by *Edmond Campion*, the day and year above written, in the preſence of us,

Owyn Hopton, Jo. Hammond, Robert Beal, Thomas Norton.

ALexander Briant, *He is content to affirm that the* Queen *is his Soveraign Lady: But he will not affirm, that ſhe ſo is lawfully, and ought ſo to be, and to be obeyed by him as her Subject, if the* Pope *declare or command the contrary. And he ſaith, That that Queſtion is too high and dangerous for him to anſwer.*

May 6. 1581. Before *Owen Hopton* Knight, *John Hammond*, and *Thomas Norton.*

The Examination of *Ralphe Sherwin*, *November* 1580.

Being aſkt whether the Popes Bull of deprivation of the Queen, were a law ſentence or no, *he refuſeth to anſwer.*

Being aſk'd whether the Queen be his lawful Soveraign, and ſo ought

ought to continue, notwithſtanding any ſentence that the Pope can give: *He doth not Anſwer.*

Being again aſk'd whether the Queen be his Soveraign, notwithſtanding any ſentence that the Pope can give, *He prayeth to be asked no ſuch Queſtion as may touch his life.*

Novemb. 12. 1580. Ralph Sherwin.

Articles miniſtred to the Seminary Prieſts, who were in the Tower, and were condemned; with their Anſwers to the ſame. *May* 13. M. D. LXXXII.

I.

Whether the (*a*) Bull *of* Pius the Fifth *againſt the* Queens Majeſty, *be a lawful ſentence, and ought to be obey'd by the Subjects of* England?

a It depoſed the Queen by Declaration, and abſolved her ſubjects from their obedience due to her.

II.

Whether the Queens Majeſty *be a lawful* Queen, *and ought to be obeyed by the Subjects of* England; *notwithſtanding the* Bull *of* Pius *the Fifth, or any other* Bull *or ſentence that the* Pope *hath pronounced, or may pronounce againſt her Majeſty?*

III.

Whether the Pope *have or had power to authorize the* Earls *of* (*b*) Northumberland *and* Weſtmerland, *and other her* Majeſties *Subjects, to rebel or take Arms againſt her* Majeſty, *or to authorize* (*c*) *Dr.* Saunders, *or others, to invade* Ireland, *or any other Dominions, and to bear Arms againſt her; and whether they did therein lawfully or no?*

b Who upon the ſcore of Religion, Rebell'd againſt her, *anno* 1569.

c Sent into *Ireland* by *Gregory* XIII to foment the Rebellion.

IV.

Whether the Pope *have power to diſcharge any of her* Highneſs *Subjects, or the Subjects of any Chriſtian* Prince *from the* Allegiance, *or* Oath *of* Obedience *to her* Majeſty, *or to their* Prince, *for any cauſe?*

V.

Whether the ſaid Dr. Saunders *in his Book of his* viſible Monarchy of the Church; *and Dr.* Briſtow *in his Book of* Motives [*writing in allowance, commendation and confirmation of the ſaid Bull of* Pius *the Fifth*] *have therein taught, teſtified, or maintain'd a truth or a falſhood?*

Both of them affirming that Kings may be depoſed by the Pope.

VI.

If the Pope *do by his* Bull *or ſentence pronounce her* Majeſty *to be* deprived, *and no lawful* Queen, *and her Subjects to be diſcharged of their Allegiance and obedience unto her; and after, the* Pope *or any other by his appointment and authority, do invade this Realm; which part would you take? or what part ought a good Subject of* England *take?*

The Anſwer of Mr. *Luke Kirby.*

Luke Kirby. *To the Firſt he ſaith that the Reſolution of this Article dependeth upon the general Queſtion,* whether the Pope may for any

any cauſe depoſe a Prince? *Wherein his Opinion is, that for ſome cauſes he may lawfully depoſe a Prince, and that ſuch a ſentence ought to be obeyed.*

II.

To the ſecond, he thinketh that in ſome caſes, (as infidelity or ſuch-like) her Majeſty *is not to be obeyed againſt the* Popes Bull *and* ſentence; *for ſo he ſaith he hath read, that the* Pope *hath ſo done,* de facto, *againſt other Princes.*

III.

To the third, he ſaith, he cannot anſwer.

IV.

To the fourth, that the Pope *(for Infidelity) hath ſuch power, as is mentioned in this Article.*

V.

To the fifth, he thinketh, that both Dr. Saunders *and Dr.* Briſtow *might be deceived in theſe points in their Books: but whether they were deceived or not, he referreth to God.*

VI.

To the laſt he ſaith, that when the caſe ſhall happen, he muſt then take counſel what what were beſt for him to do.

Luke Kirby.

John Popham, Da. Lewes,
Thomas Egerton, John Hammond.

Mr. *Thomas Cottoms* Anſwer.

THomas Cottom. *To the firſt, in this and in all other Queſtions he believeth as the* Catholick Church *(which he taketh to be the* Church *of* Rome) *teacheth him. And other anſwer he maketh not, to any of the reſt of theſe Articles.*

By me Thomas Cottom *Prieſt.*

John Popham, Da. Lewes,
Thomas Egerton, John Hammond.

Mr. *Lawrence Richardſons* Anſwer.

LAwrence Richardſon. *To the fifth he anſwereth, that ſo far as Dr.* Saunders *and Dr.* Briſtow *agree with the Catholick Doctrine of the Church of* Rome, *he alloweth that Doctrine to be true. And touching the firſt and all the reſt of the Articles, he ſaith, that in all matters not repugnant to the* Catholick Religion, *he profeſſeth obedience to her Majeſty, and otherwiſe maketh no anſwer to any of them; But believeth therein, as he is taught by the Catholick Church of* Rome.

Lawrence Richardſon.

John Popham, Da. Lewes,
Thomas Egerton, John Hammond.

Mr.

Mr. *Thomas Ford's* Anſwer.

I.

THomas Ford. *To firſt he ſaith, that he cannot anſwer, becauſe he is not privy to the circumſtances of that* Bull; *but if he did ſee a* Bull *publiſhed by* Gregory *the Thirteenth, he would then deliver his Opinion thereof.*

II.

To the ſecond he ſaith, that the Pope *hath Authority to depoſe a* Prince *upon certain occaſions: and when ſuch a* Bull *ſhall be pronounced againſt her* Majeſty, *he ſhall then anſwer what the duty of her Subjects, and what her right is.*

III.

To the third he ſaith, he is a private Subject, and will not anſwer to any of theſe Queſtions.

IV.

To the fourth he ſaith, that the Pope *hath Authority upon certain occaſions (which he will not name) to diſcharge Subjects of their Obedience to their Prince.*

V.

To the fifth he ſaith, that Dr. Saunders *and Dr.* Briſtow *be learned men, and whether they have taught truely in their Books mentioned in this Article, he referreth to anſwer to themſelves, for himſelf will not anſwer.*

VI.

To the laſt he ſaith, that when that caſe ſhall happen, he will make anſwer, and not before.

Thomas Forde.

John Popham, Da. Lewes,
Thomas Egerton, John Hammond.

Mr. *John Sherts* Anſwer.

JOhn Shert. *To all the Articles he ſaith, that he is a Catholick, and ſwerveth in no point from the Catholick Faith: and in other ſort to any of theſe Articles he refuſeth to anſwer.*

John Shert.

John Popham, Da. Lewes,
Thomas Egerton, John Hammond.

Mr. *Robert Johnſons* Anſwer.

I.

RObert Johnſon. *To the firſt, he ſaith, he cannot anſwer.*

II.

To the ſecond, he cannot tell what power or authority the Pope *hath in the points named in this Article.*

III.

To the third, he thinketh that the Pope hath authority in ſome caſes

caſes to authorize Subjects to take arms againſt their Princes.

IV.

To the fourth, he thinketh that the Pope *for ſome cauſes may diſcharge Subjects of their Allegiance and Obedience to their natural Prince.*

V.

To the fifth, he ſaith, the Anſwer to this Article dependeth upon the lawfulneſs of the cauſe, for which the Pope *hath given ſentence againſt her: But if the cauſe was juſt, then he thinketh the Doctrine of Dr.* Saunders *and Dr.* Briſtow *to be true. Whether the cauſe were juſt or not, he taketh not upon him to judge.*

VI.

To the laſt, he ſaith, that if ſuch deprivation and invaſion ſhould be made for temporal matters, he would take part with her Majeſty: *but if it were for any matter of his Faith, he thinketh he were then bound to take part with the Pope.*

Robert Johnſon.

John Popham, Da.Lewes,
Thomas Egerton, John Hammond.

Mr. *John Harts* Anſwer.

I.

JOhn Hart. *To the firſt he ſaith, that it is a difficult Queſtion, and that he cannot make anſwer thereunto.*

II.

To the ſecond he ſaith, that her Majeſty *is lawful Queen, and ought to be obeyed, notwithſtanding the* Bull, ſuppoſed *to be publiſhed by* Pius *the Fifth. But whether ſhe ought to be obeyed and taken for a lawful Queen, notwithſtanding any* Bull *or ſentence that the* Pope *can give, he ſaith he cannot anſwer.*

III.

To the third he cannot anſwer; and further ſaith, that he will not meddle with any ſuch Queſtions.

IV.

To the fourth, he ſaith, he is not reſolved, and therefore he cannot anſwer.

V.

To the fifth he ſaith, he will not deal with any ſuch Queſtions, and knoweth not whether Saunders *and* Briſtow *have taught well herein or not.*

VI.

To the laſt he ſaith, that when ſuch a caſe ſhall happen, he will then adviſe what becometh him to do, for preſently he is not reſolved.

This he did acknowledge to us, after he had fully peruſed the ſame, but refuſed to ſubſcribe to it.

John Popham, Da.Lewes,
Thomas Egerton, John Hammond.

Mr. *William Filbee*'s Anſwer.

I.

WIlliam Filbee. *To the firſt he ſaith, the* Pope *hath authority to depoſe any Prince: and ſuch ſentences when they be promulgated, ought to be obeyed by the ſubjects of any Prince: But touching the* Bull *of* Pius *the Fifth, he can ſay nothing; but if it was ſuch as it is affirmed to be, he doth allow it, and ſaith that it ought to be obeyed.*

II.

To the ſecond he ſaith, it is a hard Queſtion, and therefore he cannot anſwer it; but upon further adviſement, he anſwereth as to the firſt.

III.

To the third, he knoweth not what to ſay thereunto.

IV.

To the fourth, he ſaith, that ſo long as her Majeſty *remaineth Queen, the Pope hath no authority to warrant her Subjects to take Arms againſt her, or to diſobey her; but if he ſhould depoſe her, then he might diſcharge them of their Allegiance and Obedience to her* Majeſty.

V.

To the fifth, he ſaith, he will not meddle with the Doctrine of Dr. Saunders *and Dr.* Briſtow.

VI.

To the laſt, when this caſe happeneth, then, he ſaith, he will anſwer: and if he had been in Ireland, *when Dr.* Saunders *was there, he would have done as a Prieſt ſhould have done, that is, to pray, that the right may have place.*

William Filbee.

John Popham, Da. Lewes,
Thomas Egerton, John Hammond.

And becauſe ſome of theſe Anſwers depend upon the writings of *Briſtow* and *Saunders*, we muſt underſtand, that a little before this, one *Richard Briſtow* [or *Briſtolus*] born in *Worceſter-ſhire*, and bred up a Prieſt in *Flanders*, had made a little Book, which he call'd his Motives [which was after, either by himſelf or others hugely enlarged.] In this writing, he did not onely twit Queen *Elizabeth* for not obeying the (*a*) Excommunication-Bull of *Pius* the Fifth againſt her; but alſo that (*b*) Subjects may ſometimes be diſcharged from their ſubjection, and Princes depoſed: and then publickly declares that the foreſaid Earl of *Northumberland*, the *Nortons*, *Plumtree* and others, to be (*c*) *moſt glorious Martyrs of the Catholicks*, though they were deſervedly executed as Traytors, for their notorious and actual Rebellion in the North againſt the Queen. Yet (*d*) Dr. *Thomas Worthington* of *Lancaſhire* [who tranſlated the larger *Motives* into *Latine*] doth give great Commendations to Dr. *Briſtow*, for his learning and valour in thus defending the Popes Authority; whereby he may juſtly go with thoſe who favour the Opinion of King-depoſing.

a Motive 6.
b Motive 40.
c Motive 15.
d Compend. vitæ *Ric. Briſt.* ſect. 6.

As

As for *Nicholas Sanders*, he was born in *Surrey*, and at *Rome* got his Orders and Degree of Doctor: *Pius* the Fifth had him in great eſteem, knowing him to be a man of mettle, and a great Zealot for the Authority of that Chair, as he ſhews at large in his great (*e*) Book dedicated to *Pius* the Fifth; in which he is ſo far from acknowledging Queen *Elizabeth* to be a true Queen, that he calls her ſeveral times by no other title than the (*f*) *Pretended Queen*, and other times onely plain (*g*) *Calviniſtical woman*: He ſaith that the Popes power reacheth to the (*h*) *altering of Kingdoms*; that the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth was moſt (*i*) *juſtly deprived* of his Empire by *Gregory* the Seventh; greatly (*k*) commends thoſe, who impiouſly rebell'd againſt the *Queen* in the North, and calls them *Noble Martyrs*: and this he aims at again in another of his (*l*) Tracts.

e De viſibili Monarch. Eccleſiæ, Vid. lib. 2. cap. 4.
f *Id.* P. 734, 736, 737.
g Pag. 275, 355.
h Pag. 430.
i Pag. 458.
k Pag. 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, &c.
l De ſchiſmate Angl. p. 363.

From this *Sanders*, we may collect what was the judgement in this caſe of *John Story* an *Oxford* Doctor of Law; he in Queen *Maries* time ruled the roaſt in our *Engliſh Inquiſition*, and in Queen *Elizabeths* Raign being accuſed in *Parliament* of a great deal of cruelty in the adminiſtration of his foreſaid Office, replyed like himſelf to this purpoſe, That *he had offended in nothing, but that whilſt he cut off ſome Branches, he neglected to pull up the* Root; *which if he had done, Hereſie had not got up again.* And this he meant of the Queen, to whom he denyed himſelf to be a Subject, looking upon the King of *Spain* as his Soveraign, and the Queen *Elizabeth* by the *Popes Bull* of *Excommunication* utterly deprived of all Rule and Government: upon which cauſe he ſcorned to plead for himſelf, taking the Judges under ſuch a Princeſs to have no power or judgement over him.

Id. Pag. 736, 737.

And if any doubt of the Popes Authority in depoſing Kings, *Ælius Antonius Nebriſſenſis* will tell them that they need not, ſince both *Civil* and *Canon-law* doth allow it, and the learned Doctors of them; and all his Poſterity may be deprived too, for which he produceth the Example of *John Albret*, King of *Narvarre*, whom he doth not onely call *Schiſmatick* and Heretick, but, which is the prettieſt of all, a *Traytor*, though he doth not tell us to whom: But the King of *Spains* Hiſtorian muſt write any thing to vindicate his Maſters Rapine: And yet they'll think it hard that the *Portugals* ſhould redeem their own, or that *Gaſpar Sala* and others ſhould vindicate the late revolt of *Catalonia*.

Per leges quoq; Pontificias & Civiles, *Johan. Navar.* Rex vere potuit Regno ſpoliari, ex eo quod ſchiſmaticus & ſchiſmaticorum fautor, atq; proinde Hæreticus *læſæq; Majeſtatis reus*, atq; eodem jure inteſtabilis ipſe, & omni ejus Poſteritas Gentilico Regno mulctanda, quod utriuſq; juris Conſultiſſimi Doctores multis argumentis, & rationibus, exempliſq; probant. *Ant. Nebreſſ.* de bello *Navar.* lib. 1. c. 1.

Antonius de Souſa de Macedo in all his writings hugely zealous for the honour of his Country, *Portugal*, is as fierce againſt any pretence of the *Caſtilians* as any; yet when he is the moſt endeavouring to faſten the Crown on the head of *Braganza*, he makes his Maſter ſo open and weak on one ſide, that not onely that Family, nay, Nation may looſe the ſway; but they may once more fall a prey to their politick Neighbour: For he acknowledgeth that the Pope may

m Luſitan. liberata, proem. 2. § 2. § 25. pag. 117, 118.

n *Id.* Lib. 2. cap. 4. pag. 510, 511.

o *Id.* L. 2. c. 1. § 7.

p Proem. 2. p. 116.

q Opus de dignitatibus, lib. 1. c. 2. pag. 9.

(*m*) depoſe his Maſter, by the ſame power he hath over other Kings; and that they may ſometimes be thruſt from their Thrones, upon their evil (*n*) adminiſtration of Government. And another dangerous Principle he maintains, of a Kings not Ruling unleſs he hath been (*o*) *ſworn* and *Crown'd*: And ſomewhat to this purpoſe he ſpeaks in another place concerning the ancient way of (*p*) *Anoynting*. To theſe Opinions I perceive him not a little perſwaded, by Example, and the ſentiments of others: Arguments of ſo great force to the Divine Dr. (*q*) *Nicolaus Rebbe*, and the Lawyer (*r*) *Conradus Brunus*, that they alſo upon the ſame account embrace this King-depoſing Opinion: And of the ſame judgement is the Learned (*ſ*) *Albertus Pighius*; and as for a good proof to it, he ſeveral times remembers you with the action of Pope *Zachary*.

r De hæreticus, lib. 4. cap. 14.

ſ Hierarch. Eccleſ. lib. 5. cap. 14, 15. fol. 260, 266.

Giulio Cerrio having been ſomewhat large (in reſpect of the bulk of his Tract) in examples of the Popes power in depoſing Kings, fairly concludes, that (*t*) *no man muſt doubt of the Popes abſolute juriſdiction over Kings, in ſome cauſes*; and this may be interpreted to the worſt ſence well enough, ſince the whole drift of that Letter [F] is in oppoſition to thoſe who deny this depoſing power to be in the Pope.

t Hora in ſimili caſi & altri appertenenti alla Fede, niuno puo dubitare, che l'autorità de i ſommi *Pontefici* non ſe ſtenda aſſolutamente ſopra qual ſi voglia dignita Temporale. *Cerrio* Riſpoſta per la verita. *F.* pag. 111.

To tell any man what Cardinal *Bellarmine* was, would be impertinent, ſince his name is come into a Proverb. They ſay that many were formerly much beholden to *Lyranus* for his Writings:

Niſi Lyra *lyraſſet*,
Nemo noſtrum ſaltaſſet.

Some think *Cambden* as much beholden to *Leland*, *Pitſeus* to *Bale*: however, we know that ſeveral have walk'd in Engliſh habit for Authors, which in truth have ſcarce been ſo good as Tranſlations; and ſo *Samuel Clark*, the poor botching *Presbyterian-ſtory-teller*, is a voluminous partial Plagiary beyond all mercy, one as fit to write the Church-hiſtory, as *Alexander Roſſe* to continue Sir *Walter Raleigh*. As for *Bellarmine*, you may look through him like a Multiplying-glaſs, and perceive multitudes of people toyling themſelves out of his Bowels to get themſelves publiſhed in the world, that if he had never writ, the *Romiſh* Church had wanted at leaſt an hundred Authors to augment their Catalogue; and in this ſort our Country-men make as bold with him as any, to thruſt their little Engliſh Pieces, both for gain and honour, amongſt their party in theſe Nations.

This learned Cardinal was a true ſon of his Church, as he ſhews through all his writings, eſpecially when he is concerned for her greatneſs and authority: in one place he ſaith, that the Pope can ſometimes (*u*) *change Kingdoms, take away from one and give to another*, he being the *judge* (*x*) *to determine whether a King be fit to be depoſed or no*; and if it be thought fit that he ſhould be depoſed, then (*y*) *there is no wrong done to him, if he be turned from his Throne*: And this juriſdiction he defends

u —Poteſt mutare Regna, & uni auferre atq; alteri conferre—*Bellarm.* de Roman. Pont. lib. 5. c. 6.

x Ib. c. 7.

y Nec ulla eis injuria fiet, ſi deponantur. *Ib.*

fends in another of his (*a*) Books; and in another (*b*) Book he declares that this Opinion *is agreed upon by all*; and this power he affirms in another of his (*c*) Books.

a — Poſſit eos Regnis atq; Imperiis exuere, eaq;

Regna & Imperia ab aliis ad alios transferre. Id. De Translat. Imper. Rom. lib. 1. c. 12.

b Si quidem inter omnes convenit, poſſe Pontificem maximum Hæreticos Principes jure deponere, & ſubditos eorum ab obedientia liberare. *Mar. Tort.* Reſponſ. pag. 9.

c Contra *Barchaium*, cap. 27.

Though 'tis (*d*) ſaid of him, that he would never remember, that he either ever told lye in his life, or beguil'd the truth by excuſe or jeaſts; yet I ſhall ſcarce believe that he ſpeaks altogether truth, in his thus attributing ſo great authority in temporal things over Monarchs to the Pope: yet for all that he was the Chief Champion of that *See*, and allow'd to its Biſhops all the aforeſaid power and juriſdiction; yet we are aſſured by the Teſtimony of a learned *Romaniſt*, (*e*) *Guilielmus Barclaius*, that Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth was ſometimes thinking to *Cenſure* and extinguiſh all *Bellarmines* works, becauſe, as he thought, he allow'd him too ſmall authority in Temporals.

d Jac. Fuligatto, vita Card. Bellarm. l. 1. c. 2.

e De poteſtate Papæ, cap. 13. pag. 101. & cap. 40. pag. 329.

There were two of different Orders, *viz. Johannes* (*f*) *Andreas Coppenſtein* a *Dominican*, and (*g*) *Baldwinus Junius* a *Franciſcan*, who have ſeverally Epitomiz'd this Cardinals Controverſies; and with him, they embrace this *King-depoſing* Maxime: They were after tranſlated into *French*, by the appointment of Cardinal *Perron*.

f Epitome Controverſ. ex *Bellarm.* part. 2. queſt. 21. p. 180.

g Solida Chriſtianor. fidei demonſtratio, lib. 3. cap. 10.

Jacobus Gretſerus, as an induſtrious a *Jeſuite* as ever *Germany* brought forth, whoſe reſolution, zeal and ſpeedy pen, made his Books almoſt innumerable; and as in all other things, ſo in this of the Popes authority, he endeavours to vindicate (*h*) *Bellarmine*, and ſeems to wonder at King (*i*) *James* for denying ſuch power to be in the Pope: nay, when he ſeems to make it his buſineſs to vindicate his *Society* from the ſuſpition of Rebellion, and to tell to all the world what brave Subjects to temporal Kings they are and will be; even then doth he ruine all their loyalty by one exception: (*k*) *But yet*, ſaith he, *if the Pope ſhould deprive any King for hereſie*, marry then *I do freely confeſs, that we ſhall ſubmit our ſelves to the Popes judgement.* A very good *Item*, for which they deſerved the teeth as well as the heart of *Henry* the Great.

h *Gretſer.* defenſio Controverſiarum Card. *Bellarm.* Tom. 2. col. 1153, 1154. &c.

i Commentar. Exegit. in Reg. Britan. c. 6, 7.

k At ſi Pontifex aliquem ab hæreſin à regno arceat, ne ſubditos in hæreſin inducat: tum libere fateor, nos noſtrum judicium ad Pontificis judicium aggregare, ſatiuſq; reputare. Defenſ. Apol. Gal. pag. 591.

Another of the ſame Order, (*l*) *Petrus Alagonia*, and (*m*) *Johannes Honorius van Axel*, with the Canon-law write down the ſame Principles in their Compendiaries: and the *Carmelite* Fryar, *Giovanni Antonio Bovio*, findes fault with Father *Paul* the *Venetian* (famed for his learning, judgement, moderation and integrity) that amongſt the Offices belonging to the Pope, he doth not ſet down, (*n*) *his tranſlating of Empires, ſetting up and pulling down of Kings, ſince he hath ſuch authority.* An Article, that I dare ſay *Bovio* never learned from the Virgin *Mary*, whom they brag to be the Patroneſs and Foundreſs of their Order.

l Juris Canon. Compend. 984.

m Juris Canon. Compend. lib. 5. Tit. de Hæret. 13.

n Doveva anco, ſe volea numerare tutte le Opere del Carico Paſtorale, fac mentioner dello trasferire de gli Imperii d'Oriente in Occidente, habilitare & inhabilitare alli Regni, inſtituere & deſtituere i Re, che anco queſto poſſono fare i ſupremi vicarii di Chriſto in Terra, quando cio beſogni per conſervatione della fede & Religione Chriſtiana, & l'hanno fatto, quando è venuto l'occaſione, & ha hanuto effetto, è ſtato cio riceunto & appevato da tutta la Chriſtianita. *Anton. Bovio*, Riſpoſta alle conſideratione del M. *Paolo*, pag. 69.

William

William Allen, or *Allain*, born in *Lancashire*, a great darling with the secular Priests, for whom he was the first that made Seminaries at *Doway*; a severe enemy to the Protestants, and as fierce a maintainer of the power of *Rome*, and the King of *Spain*; of both which this one Example may satisfie. Queen *Elizabeth* having sent some aid into the *Netherlands* against the *Spaniard*, Sir *William Stanley* was made Governour of *Deventer* in *Over-Issel*, which he presently (betraying his trust) deliver'd with himself and Garrison to the *Spaniard*; by which he lost, by common consent, the reputation of Subject, Gentleman and Souldier; but Dr. *Allain* thinking to quell these rumours, and to encourage the new *Renegado's*, by a Letter from *Rome*, sends *Stanley* and his Regiment not onely thanks and Commendations for this their action, but as he thought, a sufficient vindication too, part of which take in his own words.——

Dr. *Allain's* Letter touching the render of *Deventer*, pag. 27, 28.

Yea, I say no more unto you Gentlemen, *seeing you desire to know my meaning fully in this point: That as all acts of Justice within the Realm done by the* Queens *authority, ever since she was by publick sentence of the Church, and* see Apostolick declared an Heretick, *and an enemy of Gods Church, and for the same by name* excommunicated, *and* deposed from all Regal Dignity; *as, I say, ever sithence the publication thereof, all is void by the Law of God and Man; so likewise no war can be lawfully denounced or waged by* her, *though otherwise in it self it were* most just: *because that is the first Condition required in a just War, that it be by one denounced, that hath* lawful *and* Supream power *to do the same, as no* Excommunicate *person hath; especially, if he be withal deposed from his* Royal Dignity *by Christ his Vicar, which is the Supream power in Earth, and his Subjects not onely* absolved *and* discharged *of their* Service, Oath, Homage *and* Obedience, *but especially* forbidden *to* serve *or* obey *any such Canonically condemned person.*

And in another place of the same Pamphlet, he thus tells them their doom, if they had been faithful to their trust and the Queen;

a Id. pag. 30. —— (*a*) *Any Excommunicate or Canonically condemn'd Prince,* —— *whom no man by law can serve, nor give aid unto, but he falleth into Excommunication.*

Thus we see what small esteem he had of his Soveraign, and how easie it is for these men to ease themselves of loyalty and Obedience. And that the Pope may thus trample upon Kings, observe his Doctrine in another of his Writings,—

b Defence of *English* Catholicks, against the book call'd *The execution of justice*, pag. 143.

(*b*) *The* Pope *may in some cases* excommunicate, *for some causes* deprive, *and in many respects fight and wage War for Religion.*— And gain,— (*c*) *Plain it is, that Kings that have professed the Faith of Christ, and the defence of his Church and Gospel, may be, and have been* justly *both* excommunicated *and* deposed, *for injuries done to Gods Church, and revolt from the same, as sometimes also for other great crimes tending to the Pernition of the whole subject unto him.*— And gain,— (*d*) *By the fall of the* King *from the Faith, the danger is so evident and inevitable, that* GOD HAD NOT SUFFICIENTLY PROVIDED FOR OUR SALVATION, *and the preservation of his Church and holy Laws,* IF THERE WERE NO WAY TO DEPRIVE *or restrain Apostata Kings.* —And then plainly declares to the world thus: —(*e*) *Therefore let no man marvel, that in case of heresie the Soveraign loseth his superiority and right over his people and Kingdom.* And in these (*f*) Opinions he endeavours

c Id. p. 207.
d Id. P. 114.
e Id. P. 115.
f Id. P. 72, 73.

vours to prove that there is no harm: And gives the Earl of (a) *Weſtmerland* for his Rebellion great commendations, and of his fellow-Traytor gives you this Character, *The renowned Count of* Northumberland *dyed a Saint and holy Martyr.* Id. 48.

When the *Spaniſh Armado* invaded *England*, he printed a pernicious *Admonition* to the Catholicks of theſe Kingdoms, ſtuft with horrid Rebellion and Treaſon, perſwading them by all means to take part with the King of *Spain*, and to Root out their own Queen. What effect his Doctrine took, I know not, but 'tis well known that the Fleet came to nothing: and enough of this *Allen*, who for his zeal to the *Spaniſh* Faction, and the authority of *Rome*, was made Cardinal *de S. Martino* by Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth, at the deſire of *Philip* the Second.

And now let us ſee what a man with a long name will tell us in this cauſe; *Andræas Eudæmon-joannes*, a man ſuſpected at firſt to ſculk under a wrong denomination; but when we know his Country and temper, we ſhall not think him aſham'd to own any thing, though never ſo bad or falſe: he was born in the Iſland *Crete* (now better known by the name of *Candia*) at *Canea* (by the ancients call'd *Cydon* or *Cydonia*) but bred up from his youth at *Rome*, and a Jeſuite. If that be true, that in the Iſland of his birth no venomous or harmful Creature can live, 'twas well that he was forthwith tranſplanted to *Italy*; for his native ſoyl, and his malicious humour could never agree: His writings are onely ſtuft with railing and vain repetitions; hath impudence to deny any thing, and affirm what he pleaſeth: his whole books are compoſed of contradictions, all along affirming that Kings may be depoſed, nay, and ſometimes cut off; and yet at the ſame time vindicating himſelf and his Order from diſloyalty; and yet ſo ſhie in his affirmations, though bald in his hints, that his books may be read over to as much purpoſe and ſatisfaction, as one of the *Brethrens* preachments, or *Olivers* Speeches: ſo that I ſhould wonder that ſuch a generous Pope as *Urban* the Eighth, and ſuch a learned Cardinal as *Bellarmine* ſhould have him in ſuch eſteem and favour, if intereſt had no ſway in this world. And though all along one may know his meaning by his Moping; yet ſometimes he ſpeaks plain enough, and declares that the (a) *Pope can depoſe Kings*, and that this (b) *hath been done, and may be done ſometimes lawfully.*

a Potuit enim non ut dominus, ſed ut Miniſter Chriſti deponere Principes. *Andr. Eudæm-joan.* Reſponſ. ad Epiſt. *Iſ. Caſauboni*, pag. 12.

b Id. Parallelus Torti & Tortoris, cap. 4 pag. 197. — ultro concedamus, & facta à Pontificibus & jure atq; ordine fieri potuiſſe, ut contumaciam ac Tyrannidem Principum excommunicatione ac depoſitione ulciſceretur.

In the year 1594, one *Jehan Chaſtel* intending to ſtab King *Henry* the Fourth of *France* with his Kinſe, ſtruck him into his Mouth, and though he miſt of his aim, yet he ſtruck out two of his teeth, and wounded him ſore: For this Treaſon the Villain is excuted, but preſently one *Franzois de Verone* writes an Apology for *Chaſtel*, affirming that he had done nothing but what became a true Chriſtian and Catholick; his reaſons being, becauſe the King, as he ſaid, was an Heretick, and ſo might lawfully be *kill'd* or *depoſed*.

That he was abſolutely perſwaded ſo in the latter [the firſt we ſhall treat of in its proper *place*] you may judge by his declaring theſe following Propoſitions to be Heretical.

That

I

Fran. de Verone Apologie pour *Jehan Chaſtel*, Part 2. cap. 15. pag. 95.

Qu'un Heretique relaps, & nommement excommunie du S. Siege, ne perd le droit de la Couronne.

II.

Que tel eſt Roy legitime, donne & Ordonne de Dieu.

III.

Que l'egliſe ne le peut priver de ce droit, ny les Eſtats, ny generallement les Princes, de leurs dignitez, ou Royaumes, pour crime ou Hereſie quelcunque.

IV.

Ny abſoudre les ſubjects de l'Obeiſſance & fidelite a eux deue.

V.

Qu'il fault reſiſter a tels jugemens, & qu'ils n'obligent en conſcience.

VI.

Qu'il ne ſe fault enquirer des actions, ny de la Conſcience de ſon Prince.

VII.

Qu'il n'eſt loyſible de reſiſter a un Prince Heretique.

VIII.

Qu'un Roy Catholique peut permittre deux Religions en ſon Royaume.

I.

That a relaps'd Heretick, and by name excommunicated by the Pope, doth not looſe the right of his Crown.

II.

That ſuch an one is a lawful King, given and ordained of God.

III.

That neither Church nor Parliament [*Eſtates*] can deprive them of that right; nor that Princes for any Crime or Hereſie whatever, can be deprived of their dignities.

IV.

Nor that ſubjects can be abſolved from their obedience and fidelity they owe to their Kings.

V.

That ſuch ſentences as theſe are not to be obeyed, being not obligatory in Conſcience.

VI.

That the Actions and Conſciences of Kings are not to be pry'd into.

VII.

That it is not lawful to reſiſt an Heretical Prince.

VIII.

That a Catholick King may permit two Religions in his Kingdom.

Id. Apol. pag. 29.

What this *Verone* was I know not, onely we may obſerve, that about the ſame time there was a *French* Jeſuit of the ſame name, who afterwards writ ſome Books: And that the ſame year, *viz.* 1595. that this Book was Printed, one *Le Bell* was puniſhed for endeavouring to convey one *Franzois Veron*, a Student at *Poictiers*, out of *France*. This ſame *Verone* alſo in the ſame Book vindicates *Jacques Clement* for murthering *Henry* the Third.

The which horrid murder was alſo publickly maintain'd as an act moſt lawful and glorious, by another *French-man*, call'd *Bouchier*; and he that will thus boldly affirm the greater, you may juſtly ſuppoſe he will not deny the leſs, *viz.* the *depoſing* of them. And this he

he tells us, the *Pope* can do if there be need of it, and the Prince contemn his inferiour cenſures.

Cum ille Chriſti vicarius ſit, ut videat ne quid Chriſto, ne quid ejus Eccleſiæ ac Religioni injuria fiet, ne quid vel populi vel Regni, vel Regum ipſorum ſalutem impediat (cujuſmodi ſunt Hæreſis, ſchiſma, perjurium, apoſtaſia, & ſimilia, quæ ſine gravi Eccleſiæ detrimento in Regibus eſſe nequeunt) id ei licere, ut cum nihil leniter admonuiſſe profuerit, cum cenſuras contemni audierit, cum periculum grave Eccleſiæ è tali regimine imminere, deponi denique; & utile & commodum eſſe agnoverit, tum populos Obedientiæ vinculo eximat, decq; operam, ut alteri commodiori grex à Chriſto redemptus committatur. De juſta *Henrici* III. abdicatione, lib. 1. cap. 5. pag. 13.

Nay, probable that a greater Authority than this *Boucher*, can more than Countenance the depoſing of *Kings*: For *anno* 1589, a little before the ſaid King *Henry* the Third was murdered, the Colledge of *Sorbone* in *Paris*, being then preſent about ſeventy Doctors, declared that all the Kings Subjects were freed from their obedience to him; of which, Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth was informed, and deſired to compleat by his Authority.

Id. P. 398, 399, 370, 373. *Jan. de Serres.*

One tells us with confidence, that the Pope can *create and depoſe Kings*. Another wonders that ſome *German* Divines ſhould deny him *to have power to tranſlate Empires*. And a third tells Cardinal *Mont'alto* (Nephew to the foreſaid *Sixtus* the Fifth) that amongſt other Priviledges which belong to the Pope, is to *give Titles to Emperours and Kings, to tranſlate Empires from one Nation to another, and to judge Princes*. And our Country-man, *Thomas Harding*, when he ſees *Childerick* of *France* depoſed by the Pope, cannot refrain from telling us — (a) *What a ſtrength of Authority is in that See, which is able with a word to place and diſplace the mightieſt King in* Europe. And this is alſo approved of by his good friend and great admirer, (b) *John Raſtell*. And the *Portugal* (c) *Emanuel Rodericus*, in ſeveral places of his Works, fob'd up by the Canon-law, tells how the Pope can alter Kingdoms, and depoſe Kings.

Vid. Phil. Horn. Theſaur. Polit. p. 318, 319, 323, 361, 362.

a *Confutation of the Apology*, fol. 181. b.

b *A brief ſhew of the falſe wares in the Apology*, fol. 93.

c Quæſtiones Regulares, Tom. 2. Queſt. 40. art. 1. & Queſt. 63. art. 7. & Tom. 4. Tit. 4. c. 3.

What force either Loyalty or Obedience is with ſome *Roman Catholicks*, may in part be ſeen by their cavilling at our Oath of *Allegiance*, as where it ſaith, that *the Pope hath no power or authority to depoſe the King* — or *diſcharge any of his Subjects of their Allegiance and Obedience to his Majeſty, upon any cauſe or occaſion whatſoever.* —— They anſwer to the firſt: — *A ſtrange prevention to ſtir up humours, and to alter them with* DANGEROUS *Phyſick without neceſſity.* —— And to the ſecond, they thus retort; — *Although the King ſhould force them to be Mahometans, Jewes, Pagans, or Infidels.*

Anſwer to the Penal Statutes againſt Catholicks, pag. 81, 82.

To that part of it, which calls the opinion of the Popes power to excommunicate or deprive Kings *Impious and Heretical*, ——They onely ſay, — *How came the Engliſh Parliament by Authority to cenſure Doctrine? who delivered them this power? who made them aſſurance of Gods infallible Spirit?* ——— To that part which ſaith, That *they do believe that the* Pope, *nor any other hath power to abſolve them of this Oath*; — They deny the Article by their thus reaſoning: — *If they do not believe it*, NOR INDEED CAN BELIEVE IT WITHOUT GROSS IGNORANCE, *why ſhould they inforce them to ſwear* Falſe? *or what get they by this?*

And to the laſt part of it, where 'tis ſaid, that — *They do acknowledge this Oath to be adminiſtred unto them lawfully, and by good and full Authority, and that they do renounce all diſpenſations and pardons*

to the contrary;—They quite null the Proposition by this their answer: ——

He that sweareth false, had need of absolution from the sin, but needeth no dispensation, because the Oath hath no force to bind, as in this case.——

By which means they declare their approbation of these following Propositions.

I.

To affirm that the Pope hath no power or authority to depose the King, is *dangerous*.

II.

That in some cases [as if the Prince should force his People to be (*a*) Mahometans, Jewes, Pagans or Infidels] the Pope may discharge his Subjects of their Allegiance and Obedience otherwise due to him.

III.

That the King, Bishops, Peers and Commons in Parliament, cannot declare or censure the opinion which *alloweth the Popes power to excommunicate and deprive Kings*, to be *Impious* and *Heretical*.

IV.

That it is *gross Ignorance* and *False*, not to believe that the Pope or any other *have power to absolve Subjects of their Oaths of Obedience and Allegiance*.

V.

That this Oath of Allegiance, though taken, is not obligatory, nor hath any power to binde.

Thus we see the foundation of Government shaken, Oaths and Obedience brought to be but trifles, and Supream Authority and Rule, upon the common-canting whining pretence of Religion consumed to nothing.

Leonardus Lessius, a Jesuite of great repute, under the false name of *Guilielmus Singletonus*, is very zealous for this Authority to be in the Pope: Tells us in one place, that if the Pope (*b*) *have not this power, then the Church of necessity must err, because it teacheth such jurisdiction to lye in the Pope: but to affirm so of the Church*, viz. *that she erreth, is Heretical*; nay, *that this error, viz.* that the Pope cannot depose Kings, (*c*) *is more pernicious and intolerable, than an error concerning some of the Sacraments:* for 'tis a (*d*) *certain and undoubted received Opinion of the Church*; and therefore he (*e*) conjures all Catholicks, as they love the salvation of their Souls, to have a care of *doubting of it, or believing the contrary:* for it (*f*) *belongs to faith, or agrees so neer with it, that it cannot be denyed without great injury to sound Doctrine.*

a Allow one or two Exceptions, and twenty will follow, if the Romanists *be Judges.* Prateolus [Elench. Hæret. & Mahometes] *compares the* Protestants *to the* Turks. Gifford. [Præf. in lib. D. Reinald Calvino-Turcismus] *saith that the* Protestants *belief is worse than the* Alcoran.

Discussio Decreti Mag. Concil. Lateran.

b Si sum. Pont. non haberet illam potestatem in Temporalia, Ecclesia erraret in Doctrina morum, & quidem circa res gravissimas; Docet enim Principe per sententiam summi Pont. abdicato, omnes subditos ab ejus obedientia esse solutos, & ditionem ejus ab alio posse occupari, ut ex Conciliis constat.——Discuss. Decret. Concil Lat. pag 46.

c Id. Pag. 90.—Hic enim error longe perniciosior erit, magisq; intolerabilis, quam error circa aliquod Sacramentum.——

d Id. Pag. 100.

e Id Pag. 123.——

f— Ad fidem pertinere, sive ita cum rebus fidei & Religionis esse conjunctam, ut absq; sanæ Doctrinæ injuria non videatur posse negari.

And

And whether this *Leſſius* in another of his Books concerning the (a) *Popes power*, maintains any Tenents more dangerous than theſe, I know not, no more than I do the reaſons that made them ſuppreſs it, though many yeaſs ago printed.

The Lawyer, (b) *Paris de Puteo*, from the Canon-law, and other ſuch-like authorities, gathers that the Pope may depoſe Kings or Emperours; and the old (c) *Glaſſator* upon *Gratian*, ſtanding upon the ſame ſandy Foundation, maintains the ſame propoſition againſt the latter; and with theſe agree another Lawyer, (d) *Johannes Baptiſta Plotus*.

a De poteſtate ſummi Pontifici.

b De ſindicatu, Summar. 4. ☞ 56, 57, 58, 59.

c Diſt. 40, Si *Papa*. Gloſs.

d— Et Imperator debet confirmari à Papa tanquam ſuperiore, & ab eo examinare, approbari ac incongi, conſecrari & coronari, ſi eſt dignus, vel rejici ſi eſt indignus, puta ſi eſſet ſacrilegus, excommunicatus, licet eſſet electus, ab Electoribus Imperii. *Jo. Bapt. Plot.* Conſilium. ☞ 64.

In the year 1619. *Frederick* Elector Palatine of *Rhine*, being over-perſwaded by the *Bohemians* [who had then denyed *Ferdinand* the Emperour to be their King] to take upon him the Government over them, was after ſome Wars overcome by the Imperialiſts, and bereft not onely of that Kingdom, but the reſt of his Territories. Upon this, great conſultation is had privately at *Rome* to get another *Elector* into his place, and for the perſon they need not ſtudy long. The Duke of *Bavaria*, having his great expence in this War againſt the *Bohemians*, and the Jeſuits, [to whom he was a great Benefactor, had a particular Devotion, and was in all things ſway'd by them] to ſpeak loud in his behalf; and beſides, which was no ſmall mover, his Zeal for the cauſe of *Rome* (*Frederick* being a Proteſtant, and thus laid by) would thus over-ſway the reformed Electors in number, whereby the Empire probably would ſtill be ruled by that Religion. Theſe and other like reaſons, made Pope *Gregory* the Fifteenth, and his Nephew and Favourite, Cardinal *Ludoviſio* [who was alſo made Protector of the *Iriſh*] to be earneſt with the Emperour about it; which at laſt (though the *Spaniard* at its firſt motion, ſeem'd not to like) took effect, and *Maximilian*, Duke of *Bavaria*, obtain'd that honour 1623.

But that which I moſt aim at in this ſtory, is the Paper of advice or reaſons to perſwade to this action, preſented to the Pope and Cardinals by *Michel Lonigo da Eſle*, belonging to his Holineſs: in which is ſtrongly pleaded for *Bavaria*, ranting and boaſting in a whole beadrole, what pretty pranks and tricks the Popes have formerly acted over Kings and Emperours, by interdicting, excommunicating and depoſing them; altering and changing of Empires and Kingdoms: and in one place ſpeaks boldly and plainly thus: — *It is in the Popes hands, as appeareth by all Hiſtories, to renew the Emperours in their Empire; to tranſlate the authority of one Nation to another, and utterly to aboliſh the right of Election.*

And that *Rome* did think her power over Kings by way of puniſhment, to be juſt and really her own, you may partly gueſs from this following ſtory.

No ſooner came forth our Oath of Allegiance, for the preſervation of the King, and ſecurity of his Kingdoms, but Father *Parſons* at *Rome* ſollicited the Pope for his *Breves* againſt it, which were obtain'd; but before they were ſent into *England*, this Jeſuite wrote a Letter hither, to intimate (though falſly) that he was for mitigation, but that

Ro. Widdrington's Theological Diſputation, cap. 10. Sect. 2. ☞ 52, 53. &c.

that (true enough) the rest were for the Popes power against the King; but take his own words, as they are delivered to us by an honest *Benedictine.*

About some four or five Months ago, it was consulted by seven or eight of the Learned'st Divines that could be chosen, who gave their judgement of it. Their Reasons are many, but all deduced to this, that the Popes *Authority in chastising* Princes *upon a just account is* de fide, *and consequently, cannot be deny'd, when it is call'd into Controversie, without* denying of our Faith; *nor that the* Pope, *or any other Authority can dispense in this.*

For if the Question were de facto, *and not* de jure; *to wit, whether the* Pope *might justly in this or that occasion, excommunicate or depose this or that Prince, upon these or these causes; or whether precedent* Popes *have done well therein or no, then might some of those reasons, which you say your Friends do alledge, be admitted into consideration; to wit, whether it would be* in ædificationem *or* destructionem, *do hurt or good, be profitable or improfitable, or whether the causes be sufficient or no; for without cause none holdeth that the* Pope *may depose, or whether the due form of admonition, touched in your Letters were observed. But for as much as the Question is* de Potestate, *of the* See Apostolick *power; what it may do upon any cause, or against any Catholick Prince whatsoever, these considerations of temporal hurt cannot enter.*

Besides these, I have conferred the matter with Cardinal Bellarmine, *and sundry others of great Learning and Conscience; and all are of Opinion in this case, that the form of the Oath as it lyeth, is* Heretical, *and no way may be admitted by him that will not deny the* Catholick *Faith.*

I have had occasion twice to speak with his Holiness; *the first in company of Mr.* Thomas Fitzherbert, *where we proposed certain manners of Mitigation suggested by Friends,* &c. *Whereto his* Holiness *answered, That as for any actual using* Censures *against his* Majesty, *he meant not, but rather all courtesie; but as for the Authority of the* See Apostolick *(to wit, for using of* Censures*) he was resolved, and would rather loose his head, than yeild one jot. The second, he being informed that some Priests did seem to incline to the taking of the Oath; he answered, He could not hold them for Catholicks,* &c.

What an enemy this *Parsons* was to his Native Country, we may discourse of hereafter; onely at this time we shall go no farther, than what belongs to the Popes power now in hand; yet we may observe by the by, that whatever he writ, he never put his own name to it, but sometimes false ones, and sometimes onely two Letters, which he commonly alter'd in every new Pamphlet, stuft up onely with evasions; resolved to let the *Romanists* know what he meant, but would never acknowledge any thing to be proved against him; yet an indifferent Judge will acknowledge his hints to be bold enough. In one place, thus he tells the Learned *Morton:*

P. R. Quiet and sober reckoning, pag. 64.

— *You know that* deposition *of* Princes *is an effect of Excommunication, and can never happen by Ecclesiastical Authority, but where Excommunication hath gone before. And I would ask M.* Morton, *in good earnest out of his Divinty, when a Christian Prince is lawfully excommunicated, and shut out from all society of Christian Communion, and he persists Impenitent, how can he be head of a Christian Commonwealth, for so much as he is no member, nor hath any place, or part at all in the whole body, the head-ship being the chief part of all others?*

In

In another place he telleth thus his own Principles from his learned Opponent. ——

—*Catholick Subjects do believe that in ſome caſes there is power left by God in the Church and the Head thereof the* Biſhop *of* Rome *over* Princes, *to uſe not onely ſpiritual Cenſures for reſtraint of Exorbitant Exceſſes, but Temporal Remedies alſo, either directly or indirectly, when urgent neceſſity of the Common-wealth ſhould require.*— Id. Pag. 80.

All Catholick Subjects alſo of other Countries do hold and acknowledge this Doctrine. Id. Pag. 81.

In another of his Books againſt the foreſaid *Oath* of *Allegiance*, to the objection that ſome *Roman* Catholicks had taken it, he thus anſwereth: ——

— *I cannot but in charity aſſure my ſelf, that they being Catholicks, took the ſaid Oath (for ſo much as concerneth the Popes Authority, in dealing with Temporal Princes) in ſome ſuch lawful ſence, and interpretation, as* [*being by them expreſſed, and accepted by the Magiſtrate*] *may ſtand with the integrity and ſincerity of true Catholick Doctrine and Faith; to wit, that the* Pope *hath not Authority without juſt cauſe to proceed againſt them.*— The Judgement of a Catholick Engliſh-man, in a Letter touching the Oath of Allegiance, p. 18. & 30.

But concerning the general Queſtion, to deny ſimply and abſolutely,— Ib. Pag. 19. & 31.
'That the *Pope* is Supream Paſtor of the Catholick Church, hath 'any Authority left him by Chriſt, either directly or indirectly, with 'cauſe or without cauſe, in never ſo great a neceſſity of the Chriſtian 'Religion, to proceed againſt any Prince whatſoever *Temporally*, 'for his reſtraint or amendment, or to permit other Princes to do the 'ſame: ---- *This, I ſuppoſe, was never their meaning, that took the* Oath, *for that they ſhould thereby contradict the general conſent of all Catholick Divines, and confeſs that Gods Providence for the Conſervation and Preſervation of his Church and Kingdom upon earth, had been defectuous, for that he ſhould have left no lawful Remedy, for ſo great and exceſſive an evil, as that way might fall out.*

And if you look but a little (*a*) farther, you will ſee where the Shoe pincheth; and that to deny the Popes power to depoſe Kings, is one of the main reaſons they have againſt this Oath; the Affirmative being one of the greateſt Pillars that upholds their puiſſant Hierarchy, right or wrong. And in another of his (*b*) Pamphlets, you will ſee him cloſe with Cardinal *Allen*, *Sanders*, and ſuchlike, againſt Princes, in behalf of the Popes power over them. Nor need we queſtion his attributing this Authority to the *See* of *Rome*, when he alloweth the ſame to the People, not onely telling them, that they may Rebel againſt, (*c*) but depoſe their King too, and it may be worſe, of which in its due place. *a* Id. P. 85. & 25.

b Temperate Ward-word p. 53, 54.

c See his *R. Dolemans* conference about the Crown.

But enough of *Robert Parſons* at this time, unleſs he were better. And if we conſult ſome others abroad, we ſhall finde (*d*) *Johannes Wiggers*, (*e*) *Hieronymus de Medicis* the Dominican, (*f*) *Luiſius Turrianus* the *Spaniſh* Jeſuit, (*g*) *Johannes Malderus*, Biſhop of *Antwerp*; and (*h*) *Johannes Antonius Delphinus*, allow that Kings may juſtly be depoſed, and that by the *Pope*: and to theſe we may add, *Carolus Scribanius* the *Dutch* Jeſuit, under the falſe name of (*i*) *Clarus Bonarſcius*.

d Con. in 2. 2. D. *Tho.* pag. 63. & 151.

e Com. in 2. 2. *Aquin.* Queſt. 12. art. 2.

f In 2. 2. D. *Tho.* in Summario Concluſionum, d. 57. concluſ. 2.

g Com. in 2. 2. Queſt. 1. art. 10. diſp. 8.

h De poteſtate Eccleſiaſtica, fol. 154. Poteſt & Papa jure optimo à gradu & dignitate ſua omnem Regem & Principem dejicere, non ſolum propter Hereſim & Schiſma & propter quamvis aliam ſceleroſam impietatem, verum etiam propter ſecordiam, negligentiam, & ad regendum ineptitudinem, ſi præſertim ejuſmodi ſit ut Regnum periclitetur Chriſtianorum.

i Amphitheatrum *Honoris*, lib. 1. cap. 12.

What

What was the Opinion of that great-read Cardinal *Baronius*, you may gueſs by this which followeth: *Henry* the Sixth [by the *Italian* Writers call'd *Henry* the Fifth] the eldeſt ſon of the famous *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, Emperour of *Germany*, being at *Rome* with his Empreſs, *Conſtance* Daughter to *William* King of *Sicily*; and being willing to be both Crowned there: Accordingly Pope *Cæleſtinus* the Third, being ſet in his Pontifical Chair in St. *Peters* Church, held the Imperial Crown between his Feet, whence both of them, humbling themſelves, by bowing down their heads, received the Crown: but the Pope preſently with his Foot kickt the Crown from the Emperours head to the ground. Upon this *Rogerus* in ſhort tells us, that the Pope did it, to ſhew that he had power to depoſe the Emperour. And this is hint enough to a wiſe man: But *Baronius* liketh the action ſo well, that he muſt make a diſcant too, it being his deſign all along to magnifie the greatneſs of the Pope; and his Comment is this, (*a*) *That the Emperour might remember, that it is in the pleaſure of the Pope to give, keep, preſerve, and take away the Empire, if there be cauſe; and that this Example might put him in minde of it.* And this he in (*b*) another place makes no doubt of.

Jo. Treviſa tranſlat. of *Ranulph* of *Cheſters* Polyçron, l. 7. c. 26.

a Ut autem id fixum menti ejus hæreret, nempe dare cuſtodire, conſervare, & auferre, ſi cauſa exigeret Imperium eſſe in voluntate Romani Pontificis: ejuſmodi voluit commonuiſſe exemplo. *Baron.* Annal. Tom. 12. *anno* 1191. § 12.

b *An.* 1157. § 13.

I cannot but wonder at (*c*) Dr. *Thomas Vane*, (if he be the Author, for ſome think, that by agreement, he fathers other mens writings) to be ſo ſtrangely in paſſion, as to call Dr. *Cozens* (now Biſhop of *Durham*) *Beaſt*, *Forrainer* and *Runagate*, and ſuchlike unhandſome language, ſince both were *Engliſh-men*, and both then living in *France*, one as freely as the other, though their going over upon different accounts, the Biſhop for his loyalty being perſecuted over, and probably in this reviling Dr. *Vane*, forgot himſelf to be an *Engliſh-man*, conſidering the King himſelf took *Aſylum* abroad upon the ſame account: and a prudent man would not caſt it as a Reproach upon Dr. *Cozens*, for not chopping and changing Religions as Dr. *Vane* did. But do but view over a few (*d*) pages of his little Book, and then tell me, if he do not allow that the Pope in ſome caſes may deprive Kings.

c Vindiciæ Concilii *Lateranenſ.* p. 4, 5.

d Vindic. Concil. *Later.* pag. 69, 70, 71.

(*e*) *Michael Bartholomæus Salon*, amongſt other priviledges which in ſome caſes he grants to the Pope, is that of *depoſing Kings*. And the Lawyer (*f*) *Martinus de Caraziis Laudenſis*, is of the ſame Opinion, though he ſeems to deſire that good reaſon ſhould be given for ſo doing.

e Comment in D. *Tho.* Tom. 1. col. 145.

f Papa poteſt deponere principes, ſi nimis gravant ſubditos. *De Principibus*, Queſt. 7.

Id. Imperator non debet deponi à Papa, niſi ſubſit maxima & graviſſima cauſa, ultra quam dici poteſt periculoſa. Imperator & alii Principes non poſſunt deponi ſine maximis periculis. Id. Queſt. 35.

And this is alſo agreeable to the Learned, and one of the beſt Caſuiſts of the Jeſuits, *Johannes Azorius*, who in ſeveral places of his (*g*) *Inſtitutions*, confirms the ſame. (*h*) *Johannes Philippus Maynardus* in his zeal againſt the *Venetians*, not onely with the reſt of his Followers in that Quarrel, exempts the Clergy from the ſecular juriſdiction, but alſo alloweth the Pope Authority to depoſe the Emperour; and

g Tom. 2. lib. 10. cap. 8. & lib. 11. cap. 5.

h De Privileg. Eccleſ. Art. 16. § 2.

Thomas

(a) *Thomas Campanella* throweth his Politicks upon the ſame Pontifical Priviledge: And with him agreeth (b) *Gregorius Capuccinus*. Nor need we marvel to finde (c) *Gilbertus Genebrard* of the ſame Opinion, when many times his choler and zeal was ſome diſcredit to his great learning.

a Nullus poſſit eſſe Monarcha, niſi dependeat à Papa. DeMonarch. *Hiſpan.* c. 5.

b Enchirid. Eccleſ. Tit. de Salario vaſall. fol. 140.

c Chron. Tom. 2. pag. 882. & pag. 899. Edit. 1581.

Of the ſame extravagancy and paſſion was the *Helvetian* Jeſuit, *Laurentius Forerus*, one who thought to procure to himſelf no ſmall name by his multiplicity of Pamphlets, and Zeal for his Order; yet when he makes it his whole deſign to clear them from any thoughts of treaſonable or bad Principles, even then he confidently affirmeth, that himſelf, and the reſt of his Order, do and did always maintain, that the (d) *Pope hath power to depoſe Princes*; and for this, he ſaith the *Jeſuits* ought not to be ſlandred or thought bad ſubjects, becauſe they affirm no more (e) *than all other Catholick Doctors do.*

d Mantiſſa Ant-Anatomiæ, Sect. 1. pag. 21, 22, 23, 25.

e —Quæq; alii Theologi communiter ante ipſum [*viz. Greg. de Valentia*] docuerunt,—apertiſsimum ſit à plurimorum ſæculorum decurſu, eandem à maximis Doctoribus Eccleſiæ & traditam & defenſam fuiſſe, pag. 23.—Dudum ab aliis Catholicis Doctoribus communiſsime tradita & recepta, pag. 25.

Nay, the famous *Piedmontois* Geographer (f) *Giovanni Botero*, (the firſt, I may ſay, that undertook prudentially to diſcover the world) runs along in the ſame error with the reſt of his Religion, and will not onely allow the Pope to depoſe Kings, but ſeem vext and angry againſt any that ſhould deny it, and reaſons the caſe with them too as largely as if he had been choſen the ſole Champion for his Church: and declares himſelf a profeſt enemy againſt thoſe who think that Kings have no Superiour but God in this World.

f L'altra ſorte di corruttione, ſi è lo ſcandolo de i Principi, che ò per malignita depravano el ben publico, é l'edificatione della chieſa di Dio; ò per neligenza laſciano ruinare la Religione ne gli ſtati loro, per l'uno e per l'altro capo, *li Pontifici*, ſe il male è incorrigibile, *ſi vagliono della ſcommunica, e dell' Interdetto. E ſi queſte arme fanno poco effetto, li dichiarano in capaci de gli ſtati*, e indegni del grado nel qual Dio gli ha poſti: *aſſolvano dal giuramento della fedelta i ſubditi e trasferiſcano i Regni, e gli Imperii all'altri.* E la ragione ſi è perche nella Chieſa di Dio, la poteſta ſecolare è quaſi corpo, la ſpirituale quaſi anima: onde quella deve ubbere, queſta commendare in tutto ciò, che ſi appartiene al ben publico di eſſa Chieſa. E i Principi ſcandaloſi ſono: come membri putridi, ò pecore ſcabbioſe, che ſi debbono *trancare dalle parti ſincere, ò cacciare fuora del gregge.* Et è coſa ridicola quella, che in queſti tempi dicono e ſcrivono alcuni Politici *Franceſi*, che il Re loro depende immediatamente da Dio; coſa, per la ſua vanità, indegna di eſſer refutata: conciоſia che tutti i Regni legitimi hanno, hanuto origine dall' Elettione de i Popoli: e per queſto, nella loro incoronatione li Re giurano di oſſervar i Privilegi à i Popoli; e i *Popoli d'eſſer fedeli a loro*, e Dio hà dato ogni auttorita di legare e di *ſciogliere il vincolo del giuramento* al *Pont. Rom.* come habbiamo dimoſtrato ſopra, &c. *Botero* le Relationi Univerſali, Part. 2. lib. 4. pag. 125, 126, 127.

(g) *Leſſius* the Jeſuit, in behalf of the Pope, makes uſe of *Johannes Pariſienſis*; but (h) *Roger Widdrington* a *Benedictine*, affirms that *Pariſienſis* and *Antonius de Roſellis*, are rather for the Peoples power to depoſe Kings than the Popes; though be it as it will, one is as bad as the other, and neither barrel better Herring.

g Diſcuſsio Decreti Concil. Lateran. pag. 29.

h A Theolog. Diſpute concerning the Oath of Allegiance, *Appendix*, pag. 402. ☞ 18.

Johannes de Bromyardo, an *Engliſh Dominican*, and famous in his time for his many writings, is alſo an aſſertor of this King-

(*a*) King-depoſing Doctrine; nor is it any ſtrange thing amongſt our Country *Romaniſts*: for wherefore elſe ſhould (*b*) *Edward Riſhton* commend *Saunders* for his Rebellion in *Ireland*? Wherefore elſe ſhould *Watſon* the Author of the (*c*) *Quodlibets* deſire that the Pope had, and would exerciſe as much power now in *England*, as he did in *Henry* the Second, and Kings *Johns* time? Wherefore elſe ſhould *Everard Hanſe* the Prieſt ſay, that he hoped *Pius* the Fifth did not err in declaring againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, and abſolving her ſubjects from their Allegiance? Wherefore elſe ſhould *John Mundine*, being aſked at his Tryal, if he thought that the Pope could depoſe the Queen; or if another Prince ſhould invade *England*, whether he would aſſiſt the Queen or the Invador, deſire to be excuſed from anſwering? Wherefore elſe ſhould *James Fenn*, at his Tryal, declare that the Pope had power to depoſe the Queen and other Princes? Wherefore elſe ſhould *James Bele* declare that he would aſſiſt the Pope, or any other againſt the Queen?

a Opus Trivium, verb. *Regimen.*

b Epiſt. ad lectorem, præfix. *N. c. Sander.* de Schiſmate *Angl.*

c Pag. 327.

Concertat. Eccleſ. Cathol. Edit. 1594. fol. 78, 140, 153, 154, 163, 169, 170, 171.

Coppie d'une lettre envoye d'*Angleterre* an ſeminaire des *Anglois* à *Douay*, contenant l'Hiſt. du Martyre de 4. Preſtres, *An.* 1616. pag. 10, 18, 49, 53.

Why ſhould *John Finch* affirm the ſame, or Father *Thomas Maxfield*, that no man under damnation could take the Oath of Allegiance? And *Nicholas Atkinſon*, refuſe to take the ſaid Oath, though he was promiſed his life, if he would take it: As they promiſed the ſame mercy and favour to *John Thulis*, and *N. Voren* at *Lancaſter*.

And we are (*d*) informed from the Records of the Memorials of the Council at *Yorke*, that a Houſe being ſearched for a Prieſt, ſtiled *David Engleby* [their own Catalogues mentions one *Francis Ingleby*, who ſuffer'd there 1586] there were found in the ſaid houſe theſe Poſitions:

d Vid. O. E. a new chalange made to *N. D.* p. 116. & *Mat. Sutcliff's* challenge concerning the *Romiſh Church*, pag. 187.

That the Queen before the Popes Bull was not a lawful Queen.

That Catholicks are not to defend her, or fight for her, if any come to execute the Popes Bull.

That it is lawful to take arms againſt her, and to do what they pleaſe with her, if they be ſure to obtain Victory.

And the onely reaſon that Father (*e*) *Garnet* had againſt ſome inſurrection againſt the King, was becauſe they wanted the Popes Authority or approbation. And if I miſtake not, 'tis no leſs man than Father (*f*) *Parſons*, who thinks it no ſmall honour for his cauſe, that *Robert Drurie*, *Matthew Flathers*, and *George Gervis*, three Prieſts, would rather dye than take the Oath of Allegiance, when life was offer'd them upon that condition.

e Vid. *Rob. Abbot.* Antilogia, pag. 156.

f A letter of a Catholick touching the Oath of Allegiance, pag. 47.

But what need I trouble my ſelf with particulars, when *Abraham Bzovius*, who thought himſelf fit to be joyned with *Baronius*, tells us, that all the (*g*) *Engliſh* Prieſts, who ſuffer'd in *England*, abſolutely maintain'd that the Pope might depoſe Kings; and he (*h*) himſelf is of the ſame pernicious Principle.

g De Rom. Pont. cap. 46. pag. 621.

h Id. Cap. 45, 46.

Of this Opinion alſo is the great *Spaniſh* Lawyer, (*i*) *Pet. Auguſtin. Morla*: and to him it would be no news to add a Souldier of the ſame Kingdom, and one that by the aſſiſtance of this *Maxime*, was to prove his Sword could do no wrong by taking away another mans Kingdom, and joyning of it to his Maſters. And this is *Fadrique de Toledo*,

i Emporium utriuſq; juris Part. 1. Tit. 2. de juriſdic. omnium judicum, Quæſt. 4. & 12.

Toledo Duke of *Alva*, who in a large Speech, told the people of *Navarre*, pretty ſtories of the Popes power in giving away Kingdoms. But the concluſion was, that by the ſame Authority, the Kingdom of *Navarre* was given to his Maſter of *Spain*, and King *Albret* juſtly depoſed. And 'tis no great matter whether he or his (a) Hiſtorian pen'd the *Harangue*. And no queſtion, but that his Grand-childe, *Don Fernando d'Alvares de Toledo* Duke of *Alva*, was altogether of the ſame judgement, when he conquer'd *Portugal* to the ſame Crown.

a *Æl. Anton. Nebriſſenſ.* de Bello *Navarr.* lib. 1. cap. 6.

Nor is (the great, but none of the beſt Text-men) the *Spaniſh* Preaching Jeſuite *Johannes Oſorius* of any better Principles. For amongſt other priviledges granted to the Popes, he tells his Auditory, that he can (b) *appoint and depoſe Kings.* And in another of his (c) preachments, he tells the people that by this Text, *Behold here are two ſwords*, is ſignified the Spiritual and material Swords of the Church, whereby ſhe doth aſſault, beat, and rob Kings of their Dominions and Authority.

b — Omnem dare, auferre aut moderari juriſdictionem, Reges creare, & iterum Regna tollere. Concion. Tom. 3. Concio in *Cathedra* St. *Petri*, col. 2.

b Ecce duo gladii hic. Duas Eccleſiæ poteſtates, quibus in peccatores animadvertit, ſignificat. Eccleſiaſticam & ſæcularem, gladium Spirituale & materiale, quo Eccleſia uti poteſt, cum oportuerit Reges expugnando ac debellando, & a poteſtate Regia expoliando. Tom. 4. pag. 87.

Of the ſame judgement is the *Italian* Lawyer and Divine too, (d) *Cæſar Carena*, of ſo great repute at *Cremona*, and a favorite of the *Engliſh* Overſeer, Cardinal *Franciſco Barberino*, Nephew to *Urban* the eighth.

d Tract. de officio S. Inquiſit. Tit. 1. §. 67, 68, 93.

But of this ſubject we have been too long, and ſo I ſhall conclude all, with the *Dominican*, (e) *Sixtus Senenſis*, a man of great Reading: but in this caſe he thought it not amiſs to ſin for company with the reſt of his Party; now affirming that the Pope, at his own pleaſure, without any cauſe, can depoſe of Kingdoms; yet a little after, he is willing to have a Reaſon, and then the depoſition is lawful enough.

e — Non ſolum ei liceat Monarchæ jus & nomen ſibi ipſi vendicare, ſed etiam ſuæ ditioni ſubditos ad Principatus, Regna, & Imperia, utcunq; ei viſum fuerit, aſſumere, aſſumpto vero etiam *ſine Cauſa* ab iiſdem Regnis deponere, & ea Regna ex uno ad alterum pro ſuæ voluntatis arbitrio transferre.

— Quod ſi forte in reprobum ſenſum traditi has [i. e. *the Popes Cenſures*] quoq; contempſerint, tunc Pontifex (ſi tamen id Eccleſiaſticæ tranquillitati expedire cognoſcet) populos abſolvere poterit à juramento Obedientiæ quo ſe Dominis illis devinxerant, cum adhuc juſte imperarent, ei quoq; licitum erit, ipſos Dominos incorrigibiles & Eccleſiæ Rebelles, Principatuum ſuorum juriſdictione privare, & eorum jura ad alios Orthodoxos Principes transferre. *Sixt. Senenſ.* Bibliotheca, lib. 6. Annotat. 72.

Chap. II.

That the Pope can abſolve ſubjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, and their Obedience due to their reſpective Princes.

ME thinks 'tis an odd humour, that the Pope ſhould be ſo much on Cock-horſe above all the world beſides, as to expect that all Emperours and Kings ſhould ſwear abſolute obedience to him, and yet allow other earthly Monarchs to have but a conditional ſubjection from their Subjects: And this Allegiance, though never ſo ſtrongly tyed up with Oaths and Duty, yet muſt the people be perſwaded, that an *Item* from *Rome* can quit them from its Obligation, as poor *Hortenſius* believed himſelf to be King of *Poland*, becauſe Roguiſh *Francion* and others told him ſo.

Though we abhor the action, yet we cannot chuſe but ſmile ſometimes, to ſee how many by the knavery of ſome Polititians, are gull'd into villany: many of our wicked States-men, (as the Devil turns himſelf into an Angel of Light) wrap themſelves in Religon to catch thoſe who know nothing of it but the word. And though we be tyed to Allegiance, with the ſtricteſt bonds of Birth and Oaths; yet from theſe, if occaſion ſerve, the *Grandees* of Faction will eaſe us, either, as one Nail drives out another, by taking a contradictory Oath to the former, or ſome way or other, procuring or making of and to our ſelves an Abſolution; the *Pope* and *Diſciplinarian* being the Chief Maſters of this Faculty.

Our *Presbyterians*, after they had above two years impiouſly rebell'd againſt their King and Church, to make their actions more plauſible to the Vulgar, took that abominable *Covenant* againſt both, and ſo declaring their diſobligation to either, as if a latter unlawful Oath could quit one of the former, which, Law, Religion and Nature did bind him to. And I cannot but think here of the impious *Guiſian* league in *France*, who having fought a great while againſt their King *Henry* the Third, and declared themſelves not obliged to their *Allegiance* to him; yet as a pretty trick to fool the world, they ſent to Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth, that he would declare their war to be lawful, and quit them from their Obedience to their Soveraign: both Knaves of a double dye, firſt to Rebel, and then to make that ſin lawful.

Veſtram, Beatiſſime Pater, opem imploramus. — Primum ut juramento, quo nos *Henrico* III. quondam abſtrinximus, & ſoluti declaremur. Deinde, ut bellum, quod cum publica Religionis ac libertatis oppreſſere neceſſario gerendum eſt, juſtum eſſe decernatur. De juſta *Hen.* III. abdicatione, pag. 398.

And that the Pope hath this power to abſolve people from their Obedience, is ſtifly maintain'd by the *Roman* Champions. Amongſt the reſt, *Martinus Becanus*, is thus perſwaded, and he ſaith, *That nothing is more certain*, amongſt the *Roman* Catholicks, than that the Pope may do not onely ſo, but command the Subjects not to obey their Prince.

— Pontifex abſolvat ſubditos à debito, ſeu vinculo ſubjectionis, quo obligati ſunt ſuis Regibus, nam ſublato hoc vinculo ex parte ſubditorum, jam ſponte ceſſat poteſtas & juriſdictio Regnum in ſubditos — Pontifex qui utriuſq; [i.e. *King and People.*] præeſt in rebus ad ſalutem pertinentibus, poteſt mandare & decernere, ut ſubditi non teneantur præſtare fidem regibus, quando Reges non ſervant ipſis fidem, *nihil certius apud Catholicos.* *Mart. Becon.* Controverſ. Angl. pag. 133, & 135.

With

With him agreeth another of the ſame Order, *viz.* a Jeſuite, but more voluminous, and of greater eſteem, and this is *Franciſcus Suarez*, telling us in one place, that the (*a*) *Pope can abſolve Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance.* And in another place, ſaith, that to affirm the contrary, is to act (*b*) *againſt the Cuſtom of the Church, the uſe and approbation of General Councils, the conſent of Catholick Doctors, nay, and againſt reaſon*, and *is plainly* (*c*) *Heretical:* And as for our *Engliſh Oath* of *Allegiance*, he ſaith, a man (*d*) need never be *abſolved from it, becauſe 'twas never binding to him.*

a — Hos à juramento fidelitatis ſolvere, vel ſolutos declarare. *Fr. Suar.* defenſ. fid. Cathol. lib. 3. c. 23. ſect. 21.

b Eſt contra Eccleſiaſticum morem, Conciliorumq; generalium uſum & approbationem, & contra Catholicorum Doctorum conſenſum — eſt etiam contra rationum. Id. Lib. 6. c. 2. ſect. 7.

c Propoſitio illa Hæretica eſt, lib. 6. c. 5. ſect. 1, 2.

d Illud juramentum, non ligat jurantem, quia non poteſt juramentum eſſe vinculum iniquitatis, quale illud eſſet, & ideo nemo poteſt ab illo ſolvi: *and the words before theſe are*, Nemo abſolvi poteſt proprie qui legatus non eſt.

(*e*) *Anaſtaſius Germonius*, (*f*) *Antonius Sanctarellus*, Cardinal (*g*) *Bellarmine*, (*h*) *Ludovicus à Paramo*, (*i*) *Auguſtinus Triumphus de Ancona*, (*k*) *Sylveſter de Priero*, and (*l*) *Rutilius Benzonius*, with others, amongſt the other Priviledges, which they allow the Pope to have to ſtraiten the Authority and Grandeur of Kings, is the power to abſolve their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegance, and ſo to give them liberty, either to chuſe or take new Maſters. And (*m*) *Robertus Cenalis* is willing to beſtow the ſame juriſdiction upon the See of *Rome*.

e De ſacrorum Immunit. l. 3. Proem. ſect. 9, 10.
f De Hæreſi. cap. 30. pag. 293, 296.
g Contra Barclaium, cap. 27.
h De Orig. & progreſ. S. Inquiſ. lib. 1. Queſt. 1. Opin. 4. ſect. 55. & 145.
i De poteſt. Eccleſ. Queſt. 40. Art. 4.
k Summa. V. Papa, ſect. 10.
l Comment. in Cant. Magnif. lib. 3. cap. 27. dub. 6. pag. 134.
m De utriuſq; gladii facultate, Tom. 2. pag. 119.

As for our Country-man (*n*) *Nicholas Saunders*, in this cauſe he is as fierce as any of them; and his great Animoſity againſt there formed Religion, his Native Country, and his legal Soveraign might prompt him to it, and much more: and with theſe do conſent (*o*) *Johannes Blaſius*, (*p*) *Franciſcus Ghetius*, and that ancient Jeſuite, (*q*) *Alphonſus Salmeron.*

n De viſib. Monarch. l. 2. cap. 4.
o De ſacro Eccleſ. principatu, lib. 2. c. 12. fol. 63.
p Theolog. Moral. Tom. 1. v. *Dominium*, pag. 393. & v. Apoſtaſia, p. 5.
q Tom. 4. Part. 3. Tract. 4. ſect. Tertiam poteſtatem, pag. 410.

(*r*) *Leonardus Coquæus* indeavouring to confute King *James*, is very earneſt, not onely for this Papal Authority in abſolving ſubjects from their obedience to their reſpective Princes; but alſo, would gladly perſwade him and others to think, that this is neither a tyrannical nor an Uſurpt Authority, but a lawful one granted to him by Chriſt. But King *James* would not be caught with ſuch Chaff; and a King that knoweth himſelf to be abſolute, muſt have a ſtrong demonſtration to the contrary, before he'll throw himſelf upon another mans mercy.

r Poteſt eum excommunicare, ſubditoſq; illius à juramento fidelitatis abſolvere, & ab illius obedientia eximere: atq; ea non eſt Tyrannica vel uſurpata authoritas, ſed legitima à Chriſto inſtituta, & illi conceſſa ad Regimen optimum Chriſtianæ Reipublicæ. *Leo. Coq.* Exam. Præfat. Monit. *Jacobi*, pag. 55. & pag. 103.

When a man's nurſt up in an error, he will commonly ſwear to it:

and though of all Authorities or Decrees, the *Canon-law* hath the leaſt reaſon in it; yet where men muſt think as they are bid, we need not wonder when we ſee the chiefeſt of the Romaniſts with (*r*) *Johannes Maria Bellettus*, (*ſ*) *Panormitan*, (*t*) Cardinal *de Turrecremata*, (*u*) *Antonius Ricciullus*, (*x*) *Stephanus Aufrerius*, and (*y*) *Jacobus Simanca*, with may others, to affirm to the world, this abſolving power to lye in the Pope: ſince beſides other reaſons, 'tis one of the beſt Cards in the Pack, that *Rome* hath to keep up her greatneſs.

r Diſquiſit. Clerical. Part. 1. pag. 282. & 109.

ſ In decretal. de Hæreticis, c. 13.

t Summa de Eccleſ. c. 14. Propoſ 5.

u De jure Perſonarum extra Eccleſ. lib. 4. cap. 52. & 1.

x Repet. in clem. ut clericorum de Offic. Ordi. & 40.

y De Cathol. Conſtitut. Tit. 46. & 73.

Whether *Albertus Pighius* read with theſe Spectacles or no, I know not; but 'tis very probable that ſomething elſe beſides true reaſon, did a little ſway him in this caſe. And though conſidering his time he had more judgement and learning than an hundred of your dull *Canoniſts*; yet we ſee him run with the reſt to embrace an error, though for his ſo doing, he ſaith, he hath the conſent of the Church for about eight hundred years; and ſo concludes, that to think that the Pope cannot quit Subjects from their Obedience and Allegiance due to their Kings, is both *Impious and Heretical.*

— Neceſſe eſt, ut Impia & hæretica ſit illa ejus ſententia, qua affirmat, eſſe hæreticum, ut poſſint ſubditi abſolvi à juramento fidelitatis, quo ante adſtricti fuerant ſuis ſuperioribus fidelibus. *Alb. Pigh.* Hierarch. Eccleſ. lib. 5. cap. 15. fol. 266.

Nor is this ſtrange, ſince a greater than he, and no leſs than (*z*) *Thomas Aquinas*, doth allow that Subjects may be ſometimes quit from their Allegiance and Oaths to their Kings; and to him conſents (*a*) *Petrus de Ledeſma*, and the Commentators upon him, ſuch as (*b*) *Hieronymus de Medicis*, (*c*) *Johannes Malderius*, and others: ſo that we need not doubt its validity amongſt them.

z Quam citò aliquis per ſententiam denunciatur Excommunicatus propter Apoſtaſiam à fide, ipſo facto ejus ſubditi ſunt abſoluti à dominio ejus & juramento fidelitatis, quo ei tenebantur. D. *Tho. Aquin.* 2. 2. Queſt. 12. Art. 2.—

a Theolog. moralis, Tract. 1. cap. 7. concluſ. 5.

b Com. in 2. 2. D. *Tho.* Queſt. 12. Art. 2.

c —Com. in D. *Tho.* 2. 2. Queſt. 1. Art. 10. diſp. 8.

Nor is it any wonder to ſee (*d*) *Johannes Driedo*, (*e*) *Baptiſta Trovomala*, (*f*) *Franzois de Verone*, (*g*) Dr. *Boucher*, (*h*) *Leonardus Leſſius*, under the falſe name of *Gulielmus Singletonus*, (*i*) *Giovanni Botero*; yet the more wonder in him, becauſe a great and underſtanding States-man, and ſeveral others, to be ſo much for the Pope, as to allow him Authority to abſolve Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, when they have no leſs than the famous Cardinal *Perron* to be their Champion, and with him the Nobility and Clergy in *France*; and this cauſe of the *See* of *Rome* to be by him boldly maintained publickly in a long Speech to the *third Eſtate*; the occaſion of which, we have ſpoken more at large in the former Chapter.

d De libertate Chriſt. lib. 1. c. 14.

e Roſella Caſuum, verbo *Hæreticus*, & 11.

f Apologie pour *Jehan Chaſtel.*

g De juſta *Hen.* III. abdicat. lib. 1. cap. 5.

h Diſcuſſio decreti Concil. *Later.* pag. 46.

i Le Relationi Univerſali, part. 2. lib. 4. pag. 124.

In

In this *Harangue*, the Cardinal endeavours to prove at large, that ſubjects might be quit from their Oaths of Allegiance and Obedience due to their Kings; nay, that Kings might ſometimes be depoſed: of which formerly. As for the firſt, *viz. That Subjects might be abſolved from their Oaths of Allegiance made to their Kings*; he ſaith, That (*a*) *all Parties of the Catholick Church did hold it, and ſo did the* French *Church ever ſince Divinity was taught in Schools amongſt them, till the coming of* Calvin: *and this hath been* (*b*) *maintain'd by all the* French Kings *themſelves*, Councils, Biſhops, *and* Doctors; *as alſo all their* Magiſtrates, Officers *and* Lawyers. Nor is this all, for he publickly declares that (*c*) *there could never be found in* France, *ſince Schools of Divinity were there ſetled, till his time, ſo much as one* Doctor, *one* Divine, *one* Lawyer, *one* Decree, *one* Council, *one* Order *of* Parliament, *one* Magiſtrate, *neither* Eccleſiaſtick *nor* Politique, *to have ſaid, that in caſe of* Hereſie *or* Infidelity, *ſubjects might not be abſolved from their Oath of Allegiance, due to their Kings.*

And ſhould they believe the contrary, (*d*) *they ſhould be plain Schiſmaticks and Heretickes, or elſe the Church muſt have failed, and the Pope to have been ſo far from being Chriſts Vicar, that he had been an Heretick and Antichriſt.*

Harangue faite de la parte de la Chambre Eccleſiaſtique, en celle du tiers Eſtat, ſur l'Article de ſerment. *'Tis printed amongſt ſeveral of his other Works.* les diverſes Oeuvres, *and in* Recueil General des Affaires du Clergé de *France*, Imprim. à *Paris* 1636. Tom. 1. pag. 295.

a *Les diverſes Oeuvres*, p. 599. ——. Toutes les autres parties de l'Egliſe Catholique, voir meſme, toute l'Egliſe *Gallicane*, depuis que les E'choles de Theologie y ont eſté inſtituées, juſques à la venué de *Calvin*, tiennent l'Affirmative, aſcavoir, que quand un Prince vient a violer le ſerment qu'il a fait à Dieu & a ſes ſubjets —— Les Prince-la peu eſtre declare decheu des ſes droits, comme coulpable de Felonie envers celuy a qui il a fait le ſerment de ſon Royaume; c'eſt a dire envers *Jeſus Chriſt*. Et ſes ſubjets abſous en Conſcience & au tribunal Spirituel & Eccleſiaſtique, du ſerment de fidelite qu'ils luy ont preſte: & que ce cas-la arrivant, c'eſt a l'authorite de l'Egliſe reſidente, ou en chef qui eſt le *Pape* ou en ſon Corps qui eſt le *Concile* de faire ceſte Declaration. Et non ſeulement toutes les autres Parties de l'Egliſe Catholique, mais meſme tous les Docteurs, qui ont eſte en *France*, depuis que les E'choles de Theologie y ont eſte inſtituees, ont tenu l'affirmative, Aſcavoir, qu'en cas de Prince Heretiques ou Infidelles, & perſecutans le Chriſtianiſme ou la Religion Catholique, les ſubjets pouvoint eſtre abſous du ſerment de fidelite.

Id. Pag. 602. —— Non ſeulement toutes les autres parties de l'Egliſe, qui ſont aujourd'huy au Monde, tiennent l'Affirmative, aſcavoir qu'en cas de Princes Heretiques ou Apoſtates & perſecutans la foy, les ſubjects peuvent eſtre abſous du ſerment fait a eux ou a leurs Predeceſſeurs. —— *And*, que depuis on ze cent ans il n'y a eu Siecle au equel en diverſes Nations ceſte doctrine n'ayt eſte crue & practiquee.

b Id. Pag. 602. —— Elle a eſte conſtamment tenuë en *France*, ou nos Roys & particulierement ceux de la derniere race, l'ont protegee par leur Autorite & par leurs armes, ou nos Conciles l'ont appuyee et maintenuë ou tous nos Eveſques et docteurs ſcholaſtiques, depuis que l'E'chole de la Theologie eſt inſtituee, juſques a nos jours, l'ont ecritte, preſchee et ſeignee, et ou finalement tous nos Magiſtrats, Officiers et Juriſconſultes, l'ont ſuivie, et favoriſee, voir ſouvent pour de Religion plus legers que l'hereſie ou l'Apoſtaſie: Mais deſquels neantmoins je ne me pretende aider, ſi non entant qu'ils peuvent ſerver a defendre ou la Theſe generale, aſcavoir, qu'en quelque cas les ſubjets peuvent eſtre abſous du ſerment, fait par eux a leurs Princes: Ou ceſte hypotheſe particuliere, qu'en cas de Princes hereniques ou Apoſtats et perſecutans la foy, les ſubjets peuvent eſtre diſpenſer de leurs obeir.

c Id. Pag. 621. N'ont jamais peu trouver en toute la *France*, depuis que les E'choles de Theologie y ont eſte inſtituees juſques a nos jours un ſeul Docteur, ny Theologien, ny Juriſconſulte, un ſeul Decret, un ſeul Concile, un ſeul Arreſt de Parlement, un ſeul Magiſtrate ny Eccleſiaſtique ny Politique, qui ait dit qu'en cas d'hereſie ou d'Infidelitie, les ſubjets ne puiſſent eſtre abſous du Serment de Fidelite qu'ils doivent a leurs Princes.

d Id. Pag. 635. Et non ſeulement cet Article [i.e. *To believe that ſubjects cannot be abſolved from their Oaths of Allegiance to their King*] nous jette en un *Schiſme* inevitable, mais meſme nous precipite en un *hereſie* evidente, nous obligeant neceſſairement de Confeſſer que l'Egliſe Catholique eſt perie depuis pluſieurs Siecles en la Terre. Car ſi ceux qui embraſſent la doctrine oppoſite, tiennent une Opinion contraire, a la parole de Dieu, impie et deteſtable; le Pape donc depuis tant de Siecles n'a point eſte chef de l'Egliſe et vicaire de Chriſt, mais heretique et Antichriſt: Et toutes les autres parties de l'Egliſe n'ont point eſte vrayes parties de l'Egliſe, mais membres de l'Antichriſt. Or cela eſtant ou eſtoit demeure l'Egliſe Catholique? en la *France* ſeule? —Mais comment ſera t'elle de meuree en *France*, ſi cet Article eſt vray, puiſq; tous les Docteurs *Franzois* ont denu depuis tant de Siecles le Contraire, es cas d' *Hereſie* et d' *Apoſtaſie* de la Religione Chriſtienne.

But

But enough of this, the former Chapter being long enough, and able to ſerve for both, ſeeing thoſe who grant that the Pope can lawfully depoſe Kings, will not deny, but that he can alſo abſolve their ſubjects from their Oaths of Allegiance and their Obedience.

Chap. III.

That Subjects of themſelves may depoſe their Kings and Governours.

IF we allow that the people themſelves may lawfully Rebel againſt their Princes, and at the ſame time be Judges of the juſtneſs of the Reaſon; to be in Authority will be a ſlavery, the word Monarchy abſolute non-ſence, the King obliged to obey every mans paſſion and folly; nor peace, nor juſtice can be expected, the Nation being in a perpetual hurlyburly, every other day, as of late times, new Magiſtrates ſtarting up by ſtrength or Policy; and he that's ſtill uppermoſt of this *Leap-frog*-Government, will extort Obedience, confirmed by Oaths from his ſuppoſed ſubjects, which will ruine the honeſt, and damn the reſt with Perjury.

Change, as a Novelty, at firſt is rather a pleaſure than gain to the People, and at laſt a burden and ruine; and what a factious people once reſolve on, they will never want pretence of Reaſon, themſelves being judges. When the Sacrilegious *Prsbyterians*, prompted by their Maſter the Devil, were reſolved to Murder that famous Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* (Dr. *Land*) for faſhion-ſake, they would have ſomething to ſay, though if we go according to the Narrative of his (*a*) Enemy, we ſhall finde, that the Lords, Commons, and *Prynne* himſelf had but the ſame Reaſon and Conſequence for ſo doing, as according to the Proverb, *Teuterton* Steeple is the cauſe of *Goodwin-Sands*.

a Pryn's Canterbury's doom.

I warrant you the ancient (*b*) *Swedes* thought themſelves as pretty Religious blades as any, when they ſlew their good King *Evic Stenchil*, becauſe he intended to bring in Chriſtianity amongſt them. Our late *Puritans* made it one of their main pleas in Print and Pulpit, for their fighting againſt the King, becauſe forſooth, he intended to bring in Popery: And the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Weſtmerland*, and others, thought to pull down and deſtroy Queen *Elizabeth*, and ſome did alſo King *James*, becauſe they ſetled the Proteſtant Religion; and I do not know which were the arraneſt knaves of the three parties: certain I am, that Chriſtian Religion doth nowhere allow Rebellion; and if a Heathen and a Chriſtian do the ſame fault, it is not the unbelief of the former, that makes him more wicked in the act than the Religion of the latter; and he that bauls out the liberty of Conſcience, and loſs of Religion, to vindicate his Rebellion, hath too much of Atheiſm in him, to be a true Chriſtian.

b Jo. Magnus, Hiſt. Goth. Sueciumq; lib. 1d. Hiſt. Metropol. *Upſal.* l. 1. p. 11.

Thus would theſe men make the condition of Kings to be like that of *Damocles*, with a drawn Sword hanging over their heads by a ſlender thred; His and the Kingdoms ſettlement to lye at the mercy and alteration of every hot-brain'd Zealot: For let him be of whatſoever

ever Religion, yet we ſee he ſhall not pleaſe; and that which ſhould have no Arms but Prayers and Tears, muſt be made a pretence to prove the Devil a Saint, and Treaſon an Article of Faith.

We have formerly ſeen how the *Romiſh* Favorites do hugely contend in behalf of their *(a) Canon-law*, that the Pope is *(b) ſet over the Nations and over Kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to deſtroy, and to throw down.* But as if this were not enough to overcloud the Authority of Kings, they will allow the people alſo the power to trample upon their Princes, by depoſing them; and this in few words, is acknowledged by *(c) Rutilius Benzonius*, Biſhop of their Miraculous *Loretto*.

a Extra. Com. l. 1. Tit. 8. c. 1. *Unam Sanctam.*
b Jer. 1. 10.
c Jus deponendi & abdicandi e ſolio Reges ac Principes non ſolum Eccleſiæ ſed interdum populis competere ratione & exemplis oſtenditur. *Rut. Benz.* Comment. in Canticum Magnificat, lib. 3. cap. 27. dub. 6. pag. 134.

Leonardus Coquæus, endeavouring to prove that the *Pope* hath power to depoſe Kings, in one place brings his Argument by way of compariſon, that if *(d)* Parliaments do ſometimes depoſe Kings, why may not the Pope much more do it? And in another place ſpeaks more plain, That *(e) without the Pope the ſubjects themſelves may pull their Kings from their Thrones.* But I warrant you, that King *James*, againſt whom he wrote, would never be converted by this *French-man*.

d Examen Præfat. monit. p. 102.
e Imo judicarem, quod non expectata ſententia Summi Pontificis poſſet talem Principem a ſubditis deponi. Id. Pag. 49.

Here we have the *Brabantine* Jeſuite, *Martinus Becanus*, keep a great deal of clutter about the old worne-out Argument, of a mutual compact between King and People; and ſo he would conclude, that if Kings do not keep their Promiſes to their Subjects, then the people may ſlip their necks out of Coller, and throw by their King: and ſomething to this purpoſe he affords you an old Rime.

Controverſ. Angl. p. 133, 134, 135.

Frangenti fidem, fides frangatur eidem.

But this in this caſe is a falſe rule with us, being no compact, nor the parties equals; ſo that, do but tranſlate his Riming Proverb to agree with the cauſe in hand, and we ſhall ſee the conſequence to be falſe.

Don *breaks his Troth, burns my poor houſe, what then?*
May I his ſlave, go and burn his agen?

This uſed to be common Logick to the borderers or Moſstroopers; but we ſee ours, if held affirmatively, cannot proſper in a ſetled Kingdom. But he goeth farther yet to extol the power of the People, affirming, *that when a King is depoſed, though there remaineth a lawful Heir, to whom the Kingdom of right doth belong, and this too apparently known to all; yet if the people do chuſe another, and throw this Heir aſide, the other ſo choſen is the true King.*

—Plus dicam in hæc re voluit conſenſus populi, ut etiamſi ſupereſſet legitimus hæres cui Regnum deberetur, & hoc palam omnibus conſtaret, tamen ſi populus prætermitto legitimo hærede, alium delegiſſet, ille alius fuiſſet verus Rex. *Mart. Becan.* Controv. Angl. pag. 120.

Almoſt an hundred years ago an *Engliſh-man*, who calls himſelf *John Raſtell*, Maſter of Arts, and Student of Divinity, then living

living at *Lovan*, (a) wrote againſt Dr. *Jewel* in behalf of Dr. *Harding*, or rather as himſelf ſaith, gathered out of Dr. *Hardings* Book; and it ſo, about this cauſe, take both their Opinions.

a A brief ſhew of the falſe wares packt together in the named Apologie of the Church of *England*, fol. 93.

For whereas every Common-wealth is greater than the Prince which governeth it, and may depoſe the ſame upon lawful cauſe; and whereas Riot and doltiſhneſs are cauſes ſufficient ſo to do (as making the Prince unable to govern it well) it followeth conſequently, that if the whole Eſtate of France *depoſed* Chilperick, *and erected* Pipine, *there was* NO FAULT *committed in ſo doing.*

Now certainly you would think that this *Chilperick* was a ſtrange Tyrant, or that his wickedneſs muſt be ſo great, that 'twas *no fault* to take the Crown from him, and give it to one of his Subjects that had no right to it; nor is this all, but the Kingdom by this means changed from one Family to another. But we ſhall finde his enormities not to deſerve ſuch puniſhment: that he wanted diſcretion, I believe, but then they might have given him an aſſiſtant; and as for his inclination, (b) *Paolo Morigi* tells us that he was *Godly and peaceful*, and when he was put into a Monaſtery, that he led an *Angelical life.*

b Hiſt. de' perſonaggi illuſtri Religioſi, lib. 3. cap. 18. —Eſſenda di natura pia — Egli menò vita Angelica.

Whether there was ſuch an *Engliſh-man* or no as this *John Raſtell*, I know not, becauſe *Pitſeus* maketh no mention of any ſuch, and doth tell us beſides, that (c) *William Raſtell*, amongſt other things, wrote ſeveral Books againſt Biſhop *Jewel:* whoſoever be the man, 'tis not much to our purpoſe, though *William* the Lawyer would have given more credit to the cauſe, though for ſo doing, would ſomewhat have encreas'd the wonder; thoſe who are ſo much addicted to our *Common-law*, not troubling themſelves ſo much with the *Romiſh* Politicks, or the niceties of the Schools. And ſo much for *Raſtell* and his friends Doctrine.

c Pag. 764.

(d) *Bellarmine* tells us, that *Martinus ab Azpilcueta*, the famous *Spaniſh* Lawyer, was of Opinion, that *the people never transferr'd their power ſo much upon, and into the Prince, but that in ſome caſes they might reſume it again from him:* And of the ſame judgement doth the Cardinal ſhew himſelf in one place, that if (e) *the King turns Tyrant, the people may depoſe him and chuſe another.* And again, that (f) *'tis the conſent of the people, that conſtitutes Kings or other Governments over them; and ſo if cauſe be given, they may turn the Kingdom into an Ariſtocracy or Democracy, or the contrary.*

d Recognit. lib. de laicis, cap. 6.

e Videmus in rebus publicis temporalibus, ſi Rex degeneret in Tyrannum, licet ſit Caput Regni, tamen a populo deponi, & eligi alium: *Bellar.* de Concil. l. 2. c. 19.

f Pendet a conſenſu multitudinis, conſtituere ſuper ſe Regem vel Conſules vel alios Magiſtratus, ut patet: & ſi cauſa legitima adſit, poteſt multitudo mutare Regnum in Ariſtocratiam aut Democratiam, & e contrario. *Bellarm.* de laicis, lib. 3. cap. 6.

(g) *Franciſcus Suarez*, in this caſe defends both *Bellarmine* and Dr. *Navarrus*; and himſelf ſpeaks plain enough to the purpoſe, when he affirms, that (h) *if a King of a lawful Title and Poſſeſſion govern tyrannouſly, then that the people by their Parliament may depoſe him:* yet he would have the people do this in their own defence.

g Defenſ. fid. Cathol. lib. 3. c. 3. § 3.

h Si Rex legitimus, tyrannicè gubernet, & Regno nullum aliud ſubſit remedium, ad ſe defendendum, niſi Regem expellere ac deponere, poterit Reſpublica tota publico & communi Concilio Civitatum & Procerum Regem deponere. *Suarez.* defenſ. fid. lib. 6. cap. 4. § 15.

Guillielmus

Guillielmus Eſtius, one of a great name, both for learning and moderation, an honour both to his Country *Holland*, and his Univerſity *Douay*, though in one (*a*) place he ſpeaks ſo much between the teeth, that he ſeems onely to hint his Opinion to the caſe in hand: Yet in another of his Books he ſpeaks boldly and to the purpoſe, confident enough of the truth of his cauſe, ſince he thinks that he hath the Scripture, and St. *Auguſtine* to back him. But let us hear his own reaſon, which in ſhort is this, becauſe forſooth (*b*) *the Nobles and people, by the Authority reſiding in them, may defend themſelves from Tyranny, and not onely chuſe themſelves a lawful Prince, but alſo, cauſe being given, may throw him from the Throne again.*

a Annotat. in *Machab.* l. 1. c. 2. v. 22.

b Ratio quidem videtur quia in proceribus, & populo reſidet publica authoritas, quæ & ſe à manifeſta Tyrannide vendicare & legitimum Principem eligere ſibi poſſunt, atq; etiam electum ſi cauſa ſubſit imperio privare. *Guil. Eſt.* Com. in 4. libros Sentent. lib. 2. pag. 444.

Though the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* were thought to be mortal enemies, yet where Religion links together, theſe can alſo agree, though in wickedneſs: For with the *Hollander* doth conſent no leſs man than *Toſtatus*, one ſo voluminous, that 'tis thought that he wrote a ſheet for every day he lived; which is thus teſtified by this part of his *Epitaph:*

Primæ natalis luci folia omnia adaptans,
Nondum ſic fuerit pagina trina ſatis.

Compare his days and leaves, you'll finde to's praiſe,
He wrote as many ſheets as he liv'd days.

That he was a great Scholar, is not denyed; but 'twas no part of his learning to aſſert that Kings may be (*c*) *depoſed, not onely by the Pope, but the people too*, being (*d*) *placed in that greatneſs for the good of the people, not his own; and if he do otherwiſe, he is not a King but a Tyrant, and ſo may be depoſed.*

c Reges noſtri in multis caſibus poſſunt deponi ſive per Papam, ſive ab ipſis Regnicolis. *Toſtat.* Com. in III. Reg. cap. 11. Queſt. 35.

d Poſitus eſt ad procurandas utilitates ſubditorum; & non ſuam — & ſi ſecus agat, non eſt Rex ſed Tyrannus, & deponi meretur, *&c. Toſtat.* Com. in III. Reg. cap. 12. Quæſt. 4. *And he agrees with this in other places, as,* in II. Paralip. cap. 10. Queſt. 9. in Jud. cap. 9. Quæſt. 46. pag. 146. col. 2. *G.*

To the judgement of *Abulenſis* doth another *Spaniard*, a famous *Dominican* agree, who though he giveth great glory to the Pope, in his authority over Kings and Potentates; yet as if all the world were brave fellows, and born to authority, except Kings, he alloweth the ſame power to the people, (*e*) *without having any liberty granted them for ſo doing from the Pope:* Nay, (*f*) *though the Pope be ſo far from endeavouring to puniſh this King, that though he do know and ſee his faults, and yet doth tolerate him, yet may the people deprive him.* And immediately before this, *Dominicus Bannes* gives the people ſole authority over their Kings, to (*g*) depoſe them.

e Abſq; Pontificis ſententia poteſt Reſpublica ſe defendere & privare Principem dominio in ſubditos. *Dom. Bannes*, in 2. 2. *D. Tho.* Queſt. 12. art. 2. col. 480.

f Licet Pontifex non puneat eum, Reſpublica tamen Chriſtiana puneat eum, imo etiam ſi Pontifex videns & ſciens toleraret illum Apoſtatam, ad huc Reſpub. Chriſtiana poſſit illum pellere à Regno, quoniam Pontifex ſine ratione permittit illum impunitum. *Bannes* ib. col. 481.

g Ib. Reſpublica poteſt Principem pellere è Regno & privare authoritate quam ab illa eſt ſortitus, quando ſua gubernatione & corruptis moribus deſtruit Reipub. commodum & leges quibus Reſpub. optime gubernatur. Qua propter cum Princeps iſte Apoſtata vel Hæreticus deſtruat leges quibus Reſpub. Chriſtiana gubernatur & conſervatur, Cives hujus Reipub. authoritate hac communi Principem a Regno pellere.

Nay, he ſaith, that ſometimes, as if the Pope ſhould declare the King to be an Heretick, (a) then the Subjects are obliged to quit themſelves from their obedience to him, and fight againſt him: but yet he would have them to be ſo cunning, as to conſider firſt, whether they had ſtrength and force enough to make themſelves Conquerours; and in this caſe our *Engliſh Roman* Catholicks are very much beholden to him, for putting in an excuſe for them, for their not yet Rebelling againſt their King, as if obedience were a reproach amongſt them.

a Id. Col. 478.

Something to this purpoſe is a Country-man of ours, under the name of *Andræas Philopater*; but who was the true Author under this Viſard, I cannot ſwear. 'Tis true, it was commonly ſuppoſed to be *Joſeph Creſwell*, an active *Jeſuite*, of the *Spaniſh* Faction, and an Enemy to his Queen and Country; and a Book of the ſame Title, (b) *Alegambe* aſcribes to this *Creſwell*: others ſay *Robert Parſons* was the Author; and in this (b) *Alegambe* agrees alſo, but yet he leaves us in the Suds; and how in this caſe to truſt to him, I know not, ſince he hath publickly in *France* been queſtioned for his writings: and ſome think they both club'd to the making of it; and indeed the brat is ſo like them, that you would eaſily judge it to have been ſpit out of their Mouths; for ſuch a wicked book muſt be made by ſuch wretches: well, let it be as't will; let's hear the Imp it ſelf ſpeak.

b Bibliotheca ſoc. *Jeſ.* pag. 285.
b Id. P. 415, 451.

— Hinc etiam infert Univerſa Theologorum & juriſconſultorum Eccleſiaſticorum (& eſt certum & de fide) quemcunq; Principem Chriſtianum, ſi à Religione Catholica manifeſte deflexerit, & aliosavocare voluerit, excidere ſtatim omni poteſtate ac dignitate ex ipſa vi juris, tum humani tum divini, hocq; ante omnem ſententiam ſupremi Paſtoris ac judicis contra ipſum prolatam, & ſubditos quoſcunq; liberos eſſe ab omni juramenti obligatione, quod ei de Obedientia tanquam Principi legitimo præſtitiſſent; poſteq; & debere (ſi vires habeant) iſtius modi hominem tanquam Apoſtatam, Hæreticum, ac Chriſti Domini deſertorem & Reipublicæ ſuæ inimicum hoſtemq; ex hominum Chriſtianorum dominatu ejicere. *Andræas Philopater*, Reſponſio ad Edictum Reginæ *Angliæ*, ☞ 157. pag. 106, 107.

'Tis certain, we muſt believe it, and it's the Opinion of all Divines and Lawyers, that if any Chriſtian Prince fall from the Catholick Faith, and would have others to follow him, he himſelf thereby, doth forthwith, both by Divine and Humane Law, though the Pope do no way cenſure him, fall from all his Authority and Dignity, and his Subjects are freed from all their Oaths of Allegiance, which they ſware to him as a lawful Prince; and ſo they may, nay and ought [if they have force enough to overcome] pull him down from the Throne, as an Apoſtate, Heretick, a forſaker of Chriſt, and an enemy to the Common-wealth.

This is excellent ſtuff, fit for *Rome* and *Spain*, who then had a Months minde to *England*, and had many Irons in the Fire for that purpoſe, which he did not queſtion but to bring about, having ſuch good Inſtruments to work withal, hoping in time to perſwade the *Engliſh* to be brave Rebels, and to believe this their Doctrine. And the better to bring them about to this lure, *Philopater* is at them again and again, ſeveral times earneſtly perſwading them, that this Propoſition about the ſubjects thus depoſing of Kings, is (c) *the certain determin'd, and undoubted opinion of all learned men, and plainly agreeable and conſonant to the Apoſtolical*

c Atq; hæc certa, definita & indubitata virorum doctiſſimorum ſententia, doctrinæ Apoſtolicæ conformis plane & conſona eſt. Ib. ☞ 158. Id. ☞ 160. Eſt igitur certiſſima & indubitata hæc communis Doctorum Catholicorum ſententia de ſubditorum obligatione ad Principes hæreticos repellendos.— Id. ☞ 221.— Certe opinar illa capita ſunt doctrinæ Catholicæ, quæ omni Theologorum ſchola tot retro ſæculis jam docuit, Chriſtianorum omnium unanimis conſenſu, &c.

eal Doctrine: Nay, that it is not onely lawful, but that they are *(a) obliged to do ſo upon their Conſcience, and pain of their ſouls.*

a Certe non tantum licet (ut jam dixi) ſed ſumma etiam juris divini neceſſitate ac præcepto, imo Conſcientiæ vinculo arctiſſimo & extremo animarum periculo ac diſcrimine Chriſtianis omnibus hoc ipſum incumbit, ſi præſtare rem poſſunt. Id. ☞ 162.

And as if with one ſtroke he would ſubdue two of the moſt potent Kingdoms of *Europe*, by neceſſitating of them to ſubmit to their then Enemie the *Spaniard* (for then he endeavoured to make himſelf Maſter over them both) he puts it down for a Rule, that he who is not of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and not yet obtain'd the Crown, must not by any means be permitted to be King, though his Title be good. In this caſe he expreſly nominates his deſign againſt *France*, by perſwading of them upon this reaſon never to admit of the King of *Navarre* for their Soveraign: So that if that Nation have had any benefit from that Noble Houſe of the *Bourbons* (as they cannot deny, but their obligations to be many) they are no way beholden to this *Engliſh* Counſellor under the *Spaniſh* Habit. And for our ſelves, we as little; for the ſame Engine aims alſo againſt our Family of the *Stuarts*, upon the ſame account of Religion: and this is alſo uſed as an Argument upon the ſame account, by his Friend and fellow-Rebel, Father *Parſons*, in his Book about the ſucceſſion of the Crown, under the counterfeit name of *R. Doleman.* Id. ☞ 161.

Petrus de Ledeſma, is willing in all things to harp upon the Authority of the *Pope*, and therefore he would have the people before they warr'd againſt their King, to have ſome recourſe to the Pope, or the Emperour; ſo that here Kings have got another Temporal Ruler over them: but if this be not ſo eaſie and convenient to be done, what then? *(b) They may then*, he ſaith, *call a Parliament and depoſe their King*; nay, and *kill him* too, ſaith this good *Spaniard.*

b Poterit conventum agere, & talem Regem Regno pellere, & ſi opus ſit vita ſpoliare. *Theol. Moral.* Tract. 8. cap. 18. pag. 512.

And *(c) Ludovicus Molina* another *Spaniard*, goeth much about the ſame way to conſult his depoſing. And now let us ſee what a *Portugal* ſaith to this point; and this ſhall be no leſs than *Emanuel Sa*, one of a great name amongſt the *Jeſuits*; he ſaith expreſly in one place, that if *(d) the King tyrannize, and do not execute his Office, and when there is any other juſt reaſon for ſo doing, then the people may dethrone him, and elect another:* and this he confirms again in *(e)* another place.

c De juſtitia, Tom. 1. Tract. 2. diſp. 29. col. 213, 214.

d Poteſt per rempublicam privari ob Tyrannidem, & ſi non faciat Officium ſuum, & cum eſt cauſa aliqua juſta, & eligi alius à majore parte populi. *Em. Sa.* Aphoriſm. v. *Princeps*, ☞ 2.

e Tyrannicem gubernans juſte acquiſitum dominium, non poteſt ſpoliari ſine publico judicio, lata vero ſententia, poteſt quiſq; fieri *Executor:* poteſt autem deponi à populo, etiam qui juravit ei Obedientiam perpetuam, ſi monitus non vult corrigi. Id. V. *Tyrannus.* ☞ 2.

And you may ſuppoſe that he was very careful to finde out the truth, and in this caſe, what was the real meaning of the *Roman* Church, from which you muſt think he would not ſwerve a jot: I ſay, you muſt take him here to be very exact, ſince he tells us that he was about forty years in compiling this little Book. Yet I durſt fancy, that his Mother would never have perſwaded him with that

earneſtneſs to be a Diſciple to the *Jeſuits*, had ſhe thought that the Enemy of her Country, *Portugal*, would make uſe of ſuch Principles as theſe to enlarge his own Territories, and ſo to have made the *Luſitanian* Dragon, a prey to the greedy-minded Lyon of *Caſtile*.

We had formerly *Leonardus Leſſius*, making the Pope ſwagger over Kings, under the falſe name of *Guilielmus Singletonus*; but here we ſhall ſee him without that Viſard, boldly ſhewing himſelf in his true colours, but upon as bad a deſign as the former: (a) *If* (ſaith he) *the Prince grow ſo much a Tyrant, that he ſeems intolerable, and no other remedy appearing, the People, or Parliament, or any other in authority may depoſe him, and declare him an Enemy; nay, and act againſt his very Perſon too, he then ceaſing to be a Prince.*

a Si tantum exceſcat Tyrannus [*he means one of true title & poſſeſſion*] ut non videatur amplius tolerabilis, nec ullum aliud Remedium ſuperſit, primum à Repub. vel commitiis Regni, vel alio habente authoritatem eſſe deponendum, & hoſtem declarandum; ut in ipſius perſonam quidquam attentare. Tum enim deſinit eſſe Princeps. *Leon. Leſſ.* de juſtitia & jure, lib. 2. cap. 9. diſp. 4. ℣ 12.

Franciſcus Fenardentius, one of the moſt furious of all the *Franciſcan* Orders, doth ſomewhat agree with the former, as you will eaſily judge when you hear him ſpeak: (b) *The Parliament compoſed of the Clergy, Nobility and Commons, repreſenting the Majeſty and power of the whole Kingdom (as a general Council of Biſhops doth the whole Church) may depoſe their King, being a Tyrant, and hurtful to Religion and the People, and then may chuſe another into his place.*

b Conventus legitimus Ordinum totius Regni, qui ex Eccleſiaſticis, Nobilibus, & populi ſelectis viris coaleſcit, cum univerſi Regni Majeſtatem poteſtatem & faciem referat, ſicut Concilium Generale Epiſcoporum univerſam repreſentat Eccleſiam, Regem Religioni & populo pernicioſum, Tyrannum & infeſtum, poteſt exauthorare, & alium ejus loco ſubſtituere. *Franc. Fenard.* Com. in *Eſther*, pag. 87.

To theſe Divines we may add an old noted Lawyer *Andræas de Iſernia*, who tells us, that to whom the Government of the Kingdom is given, to the ſame perſon is alſo committed all things that belong to the Government, whereby the people deprive themſelves of all Relations to ſuch authority, (c) *Unleſs the King do not govern well, for then, forſooth, they may expel him the Nation, as the* Romans *of old did* Tarquinius.

c—Non remanſit apud Populum, qui non poteſt revocare, niſi Rex male ſe gereret, tunc expelleret Regem Tyrannizantem, ſicut *Tarquinium Romani*. *Andr. de Iſern.* Comment. in uſus Feudorum. *Tit.* Quæ ſint Regalia. V. *Monet.*, pag. 743.

Adamus Tannerus, a *German* Jeſuit of great repute in his Country, both with the Emperour and other Princes; yet for all the many favours received from them, he muſt not contradict the Principles of his Order and Church; and therefore he poſitively maintains that Kings may lawfully ſometimes be depoſed: and becauſe he would not ſeem to do any thing without Reaſon, he thus tells you upon what goodly foundation this bad Principle ſtands, becauſe forſooth, (d) *as the people do deliver their power up to the King, ſo upon juſt account, they can take it from him again:* and alſo becauſe *every Common-wealth hath the Authority to ſee that they have a lawful head; and he, who from the Paſtor of the people turns to be a Wolf, is no lawful Governour.*

d Ratio eſt tum quia Reſpub. uti in Principem, ſuam poteſtatem contulit, ita ab eodem poteſt ex juſta cauſa auferre. Tum quia quæq; Reſpub. habet poteſtatem ſibi proſpiciendi de legitimo Capite, quale non eſt hic, qui ex Paſtore populi in Lupum degeneravit. *Ad. Tanner.* Theolog. Scholaſt. Tom. 3. diſp. 4. Queſt. 8. dub. 3. Num. 32, 33.

But

But now let us ſee the Opinion of a *Scotch-man*, and that held one of the learneſt of his time; his Divinity he got from *Sorbonne*, but where he got his Politicks, I know not, unleſs from the practice of his Church of *Rome*: however, take it as it is: (*a*) *The people are above their King, and in ſome caſes may depoſe him, as the* Romans *did* Tarquin: *yet this they cannot do lawfully but upon urgent occaſions.*

a Totus populus eſt ſupra Regem, & in aliquo eventu poteſt eum exauthorare, quemadmodum *Romani Tarquinium* ſuperbum imperio exuerunt, ſed non poteſt de jure ſine maxima & evidentiſſima cauſa. *Jo. Major.* in quartum ſententiarum. Diſt. 11. Quæſt. 10.

This was a fit man to be *Buchanan's* Maſter, who trod his ſteps to an hair in theſe Principles, as appears by his ungrateful (*b*) Dialogue preſented to King *James*: But the Scholar had not ſo good eſteem of his Maſters ſkill in Hiſtory, as appears by the Satyrical Epigram againſt him, though *Major* deſerved better.

b De jure Regni apud *Scotos.*

Cum ſcateat nugis ſolo cognomine Major,
Nec ſit in immenſo pagina ſana libro:
Non mirum titulis quod ſe veracibus ornat,
Nec ſemper Mendax fingere Creta *ſolet.*

G. Buchan. Epigram, lib. 1. pag. 337.

Since, as he ſaith, he's onely *Great* in name,
And with falſe trifles doth his ſtory frame:
No wonder that he calls himſelf ſo right,
Since greateſt lyars ſometimes truth may write.

A conference about the next ſucceſſion of the Crown of *England.* Imprinted at *N.* with Licenſe, 1594. Part. 1. cap. 2. pag. 32.

But that we might not at this time think our Neighbours worſe than our ſelves; let's hear an *Engliſh-man* ſpeak to this caſe, and this ſhall be the noted Jeſuit, *Robert Parſons*, under the Viſard of *R. Doleman*: —— *Tea not onely in this point* (ſaith he) *hath the Commonwealth authority to put back the next Inheritors upon lawful conſiderations; but alſo to diſpoſſeſs them that have been lawfully put in poſſeſſion, if they fulfill not the Laws and Conditions, by which, and for which their dignity was given them.* And again:

— *So yet retaineth ſtill the Common-wealth her Authority, not onely to reſtrain the ſame Prince, if he be exorbitant, but alſo to chaſten and remove him upon weighty conſiderations.* Id. Pag. 36.

In one place he ſeems to vapour with his Compact, though I would gladly know when, where, by whom, and how in *England*, (for that's his driſt) this Agreement was, and made conditional? and by what Laws the people are made Judges and Puniſhers? but let us hear the Jeſuit himſelf ſpeak. —

— *Tea, with ſuch plain Exceptions, Promiſes, and Oaths of both Parties (I mean between the King and Common-wealth at the day of his admiſſion or Coronation) as if the ſame be not kept, but wilfully broken on either part, then is the other not bound to obſerve his Promiſe neither, though never ſo ſolemnly made or ſworn; for that in all Bargains, Agreements and Contracts, where one Party is bound mutually and reciprocally to the other by Oath, Vow, or Condition, there, if one ſide go from his promiſe, the other ſtandeth not obliged to perform his.* Id. Cap. 4. P. 73.

In another place he turns the Condition into an Obligation, affirming, that the people not onely *may*, but that they *ought* depoſe their Kings, thus:

—*Then is the Common-wealth not onely free from all Oaths made by her* Id. Pag. 77, 78.

her of Obedience or Allegiance to ſuch unworthy Princes, but is bound *moreover for ſaving the whole body to reſiſt, chaſten and* remove *ſuch evil heads, if ſhe be able.*

And then again to weaken the ſucceſſion by blood, and to make an Heir-apparent but a trifle, and to make the outward Ceremonies too much eſſential to the Office, he thus in his fury gives you his Infallible Decree:—

Id. Cap. 5. pag. 120. — *I muſt needs affirm to be moſt abſurd, baſe and impious, that flattery before mentioned of* Belloy *and his Companions—where he holdeth, that onely ſucceſſion of blood is the thing without farther approbation, which maketh a King, and that the Peoples conſent to him, which is next by birth, is nothing at all needful, be he what he will; and that his admiſſion, inunction, or Coronation, is onely a matter of external Ceremony, without any effect at all for increaſe or Confirmation of his right. Theſe, I ſay, are unlearned, fond, and wicked aſſertions.*

And, as if all the world agreed with him upon his main deſign, he thus flatters himſelf and his Readers:—

Id. Part. 2. cap. 4. p. 61. — *That a King upon juſt cauſes may be depoſed, I think both Parties, though never ſo contrary between themſelves, will eaſily agree.*

But before I leave this wicked Book, I ſhall tell thee, that the Doctrine of it was ſo pleaſing to the Palates of our *Independents*, that about the beginning of 1648, they got it reprinted, though in another garbe; that of Father *Parſons* his putting out, being by way of Dialogue, but the latter was by way of Speeches or Orations, *Gilbert Mabbot* being *Imprimator*; and not long before the happy Reſtauration of his Majeſty, the Dialogue was publickly reprinted again, and to good purpoſe I warrant you.

Johannes Mariana the *Spaniſh* Jeſuit, ſufficiently known for his variety of Learning, and the ſmooth ſtroke of his Pen, and no leſs for his pernicious Principles ſpread over the world to encourage Treaſon and Murther, amongſt his other Impieties, he perſwades ſubjects to War againſt their Kings, telling them that in ſome caſes they may alſo *depoſe them*, nay, and *Murther them* too; of which in its due place.

Certe a Republ. unde ortum habet Regia poteſtas, rebus exigentibus Regem in jus vocari poſſe, & ſi ſanitatem reſpuat Principatu ſpoliari. Non ita in principem jure poteſtatis tranſtulit, ut non ſibi majorem reſervarit poteſtatem. *Jo. Mar.* de Regi & Regis Inſtitutione, lib. 1. cap. 6. pag. 57.

But they may ſay that the *Pariſians* received him with ſome Rigour, though yet, I do not think that they will poſitively affirm, that this was juſtly done, for the Poſition now in hand, unleſs they will alſo cenſure ſome of the main Pillars of their Church. And the *Germane* Jeſuit, (*a*) *Sebaſtianus Heiſſius*, in this caſe doth Apologize for him, declaring that in this point (*that Kings may be depoſed by their Subjects*) he writ not amiſs.

Nor is this Doctrine unpleaſant to all the *French*, as appears by one of the noted writers amongſt them (*b*) *Robertus Cenalis*, who ſhews himſelf a luſty Champion for this cauſe againſt Kings, whom, he ſaith, may be brought to a *tryal and depoſed.*

a Refutatio Aphoriſmorum, cap. 3. ad Aphor. 1. p. 158. & 94.

b Neq; enim poteſt qui verus eſt dominus hoſtiliter invadi: ſed via tantum juris à tota communicate moneri, & ſi incorrigibilis fuerit, aut detineri debet ad tempus, aut deponi. Quod non cadit adverſus Principem, niſi juxta allegata & probata, & quidem à tota Communitate. *Rob. Cenalis Arboricenſis*, de utriuſq; gladii facultate, Tom. 2. pag. 119.

To

To theſe I might add the *Italian* Jeſuit, (a) *Vincentius Fillucius*; the *Spaniſh* Fryar Mendicant, (b) *Michael Salon*; and the learned *Dominican* of the ſame Nation, (c) *Dominicus Soto*, with whom the *Benedictan* of our own Country agreeth, *viz.* (d) *Gregory Sayer*; but to be too particular, would be tedious: And ſo I ſhall paſs by (e) *Jacobus Kellerus*, the *German* Jeſuit; and Mr. (f) *Thomas White* an *Engliſh* Prieſt, well known amongſt us for his odd ſtile and opinions, with ſeveral others.

a Moral. Quæſt. Tom. 2. Tract. 29. c. 1. ſ. 12.

b In D. *Tho.* Tom. 1. col. 1157.

c De juſtitia, lib. 5 Quæſt. 1. art. 3.

d Deniq; & recte *Sotus*— cum hujuſmodi Tyrannus habeat jus & titulum juſtum in Regno, non eſt niſi perjudicem deponendus, aut ſuo jure ſpoliandus. *Greg. Sayr.* Clavis Regia, lib. 7. cap. 10. ſ. 3.

e Tyrannicidium ſeu Scitum Catholicorum de Tyranni internecione, Queſt. 2, 3.

f *Grounds of Obedience and Government*, pag. 122, 123, 124, 133, 135, 136, 151, 154, 157, &c.

Chap. IV.

That Kings may lawfully be kill'd by their own Subjects.

Solon that ancient Law-giver to the *Athenians*, though it was his deſign to put a curb to all Vice, and root out Iniquity; yet amongſt his many other good and wholeſome Sanctions, he made no law againſt a mans killing of his Father, not thinking that men could be ſo unnatural, as to deſtroy that which gave them a being, ſeeing the very Storks venture all, for the preſervation of their ancient Parents. And the more modern Inhabitants of *Vicaragua* in *America Mexicana*, though Infidels, had ſuch eſteem for their Governours, (the Fathers of the Country) that they made no Law againſt the murthering of Kings: Happy people! whoſe innocent ſimplicity, made them not capable to apprehend ſuch monſtrous Villany!

Tho. Gages ſurvey of the *Weſt-Indies*, Pag. 74, 75.

And muſt Chriſtians be out-ſtript by theſe honeſt Heathens in virtue? or is it *decreed* that Chriſtianity ſhould be a prop to wickedneſs? Muſt we (as they ſay of the *Gloſs* of *Orleance*) contradict the Text? when we are bid to obey, muſt we Rebel? when we are bid to ſuffer, muſt we kill and Murther? Or muſt we think that the nulling is the fulfilling of a Law? May we interpret all Commands, as the *Gloſſator* upon the *Canon-law*, with Oppoſitions, that to (g) *Decree*, ſignifieth to *abrogate* or *null*; or as another doth with the *Civil-Law*, that by (h) *ſo much the more*, muſt be meant *ſo much the leſs*? No: yet ſuch there are, or elſe we do not rightly underſtand the Text, or their Comment.

g *Statuimus*, id eſt, abrogamus, diſt. 4. ſ. Statuimus.

h *Quo magis*, id eſt, quo minus. Cod. lib. 3. de judiciis, Tit. 1. c. 3. ſ. *Quoties*.

The learned Lord (i) *Verulam* tells us, that conditional Speeches, with *Ifs* and *Ands* doth not qualifie Treaſon: *Burdet* the Merchant in *London* ſuffered as a Traytor under *Edward* the Fourth, onely for ſaying, that he would make his Son Inheritor of the Crown, meaning his own Houſe: and *Collingburn* under *Richard* the Third, for making this Paſquil upon his favourites *Lovel*, *Ratcliff*, and *Catsby*, with an alluſion to himſelf by a Bore, his Cognizance or Badge in Arms:

i Hiſt. *Hen.* VII. p. 134.

The

The Rat, *the* Cat, *and* Lovel *the Dog*,
Rule all England *under the* Hog.

Since the Crowns of Princes are ſo nice, people ſhould be more circumſpect how they treat of them, eſpecially when it concerns a miſchief, and the people may think that they are ſomewhat related to it; and though the Rule be but obſcure, they are apt to take the ſtaff by the wrong end, and apply it to their own pleaſures and deſires of Novelty. Though the Letter

Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum eſt.

To kill *Edward*, do not fear, is a good thing.

was dubious, and might have a double interpretation; yet *Gurney* and *Maltravers* had will and malice enough, to underſtand it for the murther of the King. When *Parry* read in Cardinal *Allans* Book, that Queen *Elizabeth* had no right to the Crown, being an Heretick, it incouraged him to endeavour her Murther: And the two *Henry's* the Third and Fourth of *France*, upon the ſame zealous account got their deaths, by the aſſaſſinating hands of *Clement* and *Ravallaic*.

Confutat. Anticot. cap. 1. pag. 12.

'Tis but a poor plea that *Andræas Eudæmon-joannes* makes in behalf of the Jeſuits, when to quit them from *Anticotons* accuſation, *viz. that they allow that Kings may be killed*; replyeth, that Jeſuits never writ that a *private man* might murther a King: ſince thoſe who onely except againſt the actions of *private men*, do thereby allow the ſame wickedneſs to be done by the Magiſtrates or thoſe in Authority. And he's as much a Villain, and as far from Chriſtianity, who allows that a *Rump* or Parliament may judge and kill their Soveraign, as he that commends the ſame fact in a private perſon, be it a *Jacobin* or any other.

Many we have [and ſome, I dare ſay, who ſpeak cordially and with grief] who rant bravely againſt the wickedneſs of the late Murder of King *Charles* the Firſt, and do lay it as a guilt too upon our Church; and yet a Jury might be call'd of ſome of the chief Doctors of *Rome*, who would have eas'd the *Rump* of their labour and iniquity, and would themſelves have brought in the innocent King guilty.

What ſhall we think of *Leonardus Leſſius*, a *Belgick* Jeſuit, of as great repute, as moſt of that Order? However, take his judgement in ſhort: if a King do not Rule, but for the harm of his People, what muſt be done with him? He tells you, That (*a*) *ſuch a King cannot be ſlain by private men, as long as he remains a Prince.* Yet let us ſee this a little explained by the ſame Pen. (*b*) *But if* (ſaith he) *his Tyranny grow to ſuch an height, that he ſeems intolerable, and no other remedy remaining, then the People, Parliament, or any other having Authority may depoſe him, and declare him an Enemy; whereby ANY THING MAY BE ATTEMPTED AGAINST HIS PERSON, becauſe HE THEN ceaſeth to be a KING.*

a Secundo poteſt quis eſſe Tyrannus, ratione duntaxat adminiſtrationis, ut ſi is qui eſt verus Princeps, Regni adminiſtrationem flectat non ad bonum publicum, ſed ad ſua privata compendia, onerando illud injuſtis exactionibus, vendendo Officio judicum, condendo leges ſibi commodas, publico parum utiles. Talis non poteſt à *Privatis* interimis, *quamdiu manet Princeps. Leon. Leſſ.* de juſtitia, lib. 2. cap. 9. dub 4. ☞ 10.

b Ib. ☞ 12. Adde, ſi tantum excreſcat Tyrannis, ut non videatur amplius tolerabilis, nec ullum aliud remedium ſuperſit, primum à Repub. vel Comitiis Regni, vel alio habente authoritatem eſſe deponendum, & hoſtem declarandum; ut in *IPSIUS PERSONAM* LICEAT QUICQUID ATTENTARE, TUM ENIM DESINIT ESSE PRINCEPS.

Here

Here we have enough to eaſe *Leſſius* of ſome Loyalty and honeſty, *viz.* that Kings may be depoſed, and then are not Kings, ſo that they may be kill'd as private perſons. But had he weigh'd his Doctrine as he did his meat, in this he would either have been ſilent, or appear'd in another Opinion; or had he been as temperate in one as the other, his Politicks would not have thus much out-ſwell'd his meager Carkas. As he had no Tutor for his Greek, it had been well, if he had had no Church, or Example to have inſtructed him in ſuch pernicious Principles. If in his other writings, he affordeth no honeſter Doctrines than ſuch as theſe; for ought that I know, he might have been more advantagious to Chriſtendom, had he followed the firſt advice of his Parents, and imploy'd himſelf in a Trade. And he, who publickly repented, for the breaking of a fooliſh glaſs, might in true reaſon be more troubled for his divulging ſuch wicked Principles: but this it may be, he thought would have made him an Heretick, though 'twould have proved him more honeſt and a better ſubject.

Another Jeſuit, *Gregorius de Valentia*, ſpeaks ſomewhat to the former purpoſe, though a little mincingly, yet plain enough to underſtand his meaning: For though he ſaith, that a *private* Perſon may not kill a King; yet obſerve his Reaſon, *Becauſe*, ſaith he, *that belongs to the Common-wealth, which may oppoſe him, and call the people in to their aſſiſtance.*

Nulli particulari licet eum occidere, Nam id pertinet ad Rempub.

quæ poſſet jure oppugnare illum, & vocare in ſubſidium cives. *Valent.* Tom. 3. diſp. 5. q. 8. punct. 3.

But *Ludovicus Molina*, another *Spaniſh* Jeſuite, and of as great repute as any, ſpeaks a little more plainly; firſt, he ſaith, that *any body may kill a King in his own defence*: Upon which account a man may frame what ſilly pretences he will: 'tis true, he affirms, that otherwiſe it is not lawful for a *private man* to kill him; but then let us obſerve what comes after: *The people*, ſaith he, *may depoſe their King, and puniſh him when he is depoſed.* But becauſe he names not exactly the way of his Puniſhment, let us take it by a conſequence, in theſe words: *'Tis not lawful for private men to kill the King, before he be declared depoſed*: which plainly intimates that after his depoſition it may be done.

Poſſet ita Reſpub. ipſa quo ad Capita convenire, etq; reſiſtere, lataq; ſententia

deponere illum ab adminiſtratione — atq; illum depoſitum PUNIRE. Ante latam tamen ſententiam nefas *privatis* eſſet eum interficere. *Molina* de juſtitia, Tom. 4. Tract. 3. diſp. 6. & 2.

And a little plainer than him doth another *Spaniſh* Jeſuit ſpeak, *viz. Franciſcus Toletus*, a Cardinal, and the firſt that was of his Order, and held to be the moſt famous of his time for Piety and Judgement: But let them be never ſo wiſe or vertuous, ſomething or other is in the wind, that over-perſwades them to maintain ſuch abominable Principles as theſe. *Tolets* Rule is this, that a wicked King (*a*) *cannot be ſlain without publick Authority*: For which good Doctrine, the *Rump* may rejoyce to ſee their actions vindicated (if they ſuppoſed Virtue to be Vice, and themſelves a Parliament) by a man of ſuch declared prudence and honeſty, one of great repute with ſeveral Popes, and *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, who taſted to the purpoſe of the miſchief of theſe Doctrines; and one ſo hugely valued for his learning and diſcretion, that *Gregory* the Thirteenth thought it not fit that his writings ſhould lye under the cenſure of any man,

(*a*) Tyrannum adminiſtratione, qui habet verum titulum, ſed Tyrannice tractat ſubditos — hunc non licet *abſq; publica auctoritate* occidere. *Tolet.* Inſtruct. Sacerdot. lib. 5. c. 6. & 10.

but might be Printed without licenſe. But here, I dare ſay, the Cardinal hath been wide from Truth; yet hath this Opinion of *Tolet* been ſeveral times printed in ſeveral Nations.

And if you think that theſe *Spaniards* ſpeak not plain enough yet, we ſhall ſhew you another Jeſuit, but of another Country, *viz. Brabant*, yet under the ſubjection of *Spain*. And this is *Martinus Becanus*, of great eſteem amongſt the learned; honoured by the Emperour *Matthias*, and Confeſſor to *Ferdinand* the Second: but let us hear him ſpeak, and then we ſhall ſcarce think him fit to be imploy'd ſo neer the Conſcience of ſo great a Monarch as *Cæſar*, ſince he attributes too much power to one, who thinks himſelf a better man in Temporals one way or another than the Emperour: — *Sometimes* (ſaith he) *it ſo falls out that Kings become wicked or Hereticks, then the Pope may command that they be removed; which if they diſobey, they may be kill'd; and then this, nothing is MORE CERTAIN.* And again: — *The Pope may deprive Kings of their Kingdoms upon a double account; for if they be* CONTUMACIOUS, *he may have them* Kill'd, *and ſo they are alſo deprived of their Kingdom; and that this may be done, no man doth doubt.*

Aliquando factum eſt, ut etiam Reges eſſent leproſi, ergo — poterat pontifex mandare ut ſeorſim habitarent, & ſi nollent obedire, ut *VITA PRIVARENTUR, NIHIL CERTIUS.* — Hinc colligimus, Pontificem duplici titulo potuiſſe Reges privare ſuo Regno, primo quia poterat eos ſi *CONTUMACES* eſſent *PRIVARE VITA*, Ergo & Regno, de hoc *nemo DUBITAT*. *Becan.* Controverſ. Angl. pag. 115.

But yet if you think that this is not plain enough, we will afford you another Jeſuit and a Spaniard, *viz. Franciſcus Suarez*, a man that ſeemed to excel *Abulenſis* by the multitude of his writings, and one of the greateſt eſteem of all his Order, Pope *Paul* the Fifth himſelf having honoured him with ſeveral Letters. That Kings may be kill'd, *Suarez* affirms no leſs than three times in one (*a*) Paragraph; but a little before this he ſpeaks more plain, by endeavouring to prove it by reaſon, after this manner:

(*b*) *When a King is depoſed, then he is neither lawful King nor Prince. — And if therefore he endeavour to keep the Kingdom under him by ſtrength, then he is an Uſurper, becauſe he is no lawful King, having no true title to the Crown. — For that after the Decree of depoſition gone out againſt him, he is altogether* deprived *of his Kingdom, ſo that he cannot with a juſt title poſſeſs it, and ſo he may be uſed as a Tyrant or Uſurper, and by conſequence, MAY BE SLAIN BY ANY PRIVATE MAN:* And this he ſaith, if he be an *Heretick*.

a Defenſ. fid. lib. 6. cap. 4. § 18.

b Id. Lib. 6. c. 4. § 14. Poſtquam Rex legitime depoſitus eſt, jam non eſt Rex neq; Princeps legitimus, & conſequenter non poteſt in illo ſubſiſtere aſſertio, quæ de legitimo Rege loquitur. Imo ſi Rex talis poſt depoſitionem legitimam in ſua pertinacia perſeverans, Regnum per vim retineat, incipit eſſe Tyrannus in Titulo, quia non eſt legitimus Rex, nec juſto titulo Regnum poſſidet declaratur hoc amplius in Rege Hæretico, nam ſtatim per hæreſim ipſo facto privatur aliquo modo dominio, & proprietate ſui Regni — Poſt ſententiam latam omnino privatur Regno, ita ut non poſſit juſto titulo illud poſſidere. Ergo ex tunc poterit tanquam omnino Tyrannus tractari, & Conſequenter a QUOCUNQUE PRIVATO POTERIT INTERFICI.

And is not this as clear as the noon-day, and as plain as a Pike-ſtaff? is not this down-right to call a ſpade a ſpade, and to ſay that Kings may be deprived, and then kill'd by any body? Nor was this Principle ſet down without great conſideration, and firmly believed to be true, not onely by *Suarez*, but the chief of *Portugal* and others. As for himſelf, ſo far was he ever from recanting or thinking this Doctrine to be amiſs, but agreeable to the Church of *Rome*, that the Jeſuits tell us, that when he was told how his book had been burnt

in

in *England*, he declared his conſent ſo freely to his Principles contain'd therein, that he ſaid, that *nothing would be more pleaſant and deſirable to him than to have been burnt in the ſame flames with his book.* And he was ſo aſſured that his principles were agreeable to all of his Church, that he had the confidence to dedicate ſuch ſtuff to all Kings and Princes, who were *Roman* Catholicks. *Phil. Alegambe*, p. 138.

That it was held in great veneration with others, cannot be denyed: for we ſhall ſcarce ſee a book honour'd with ſuch cenſures of approbation. *Alphonſo à Caſtello Branco*, Biſhop of *Coimbria*, and Privy Councellor to the King of *Spain*, *Philip* the Third, declares that *he hath read it exactly over, and findes all things in it to agree to the holy Scriptures, Apoſtolical Traditions, General Councils, and Papal Decrees. Fernando Martiner Maſcaregnus*, Biſhop of *Sylvis* ſaith, that he hath alſo read it over, and findes nothing in it but what is Orthodox. And *Martiner Alonſo à Mello*, another Privy Councellor and Biſhop of *Lamego* ſaith alſo that he hath read it over, and thinks it worthy to be publiſht, for the publick good of Chriſtendom. And the Provincial Jeſuits of *Portugal* and *Germany* allow it the ſame priviledges, and ſo doth the *Inquiſition*. Nor is this all, but the Univerſity of *Alcala de Henarez*, after a ſerious view and conſideration of it, declare that *there is nothing in it contrary to the* Roman *Catholick faith, nor any thing in it, but what ought to be approved of and commended, every thing being according to their own opinions and judgements.*

All this put together, is enough to blot out the bad reception it received by the Senators of *Paris*, the Kings Murther then freſh in their memories, and their hatred to the Jeſuits being ſtrong motives. As for the *Sorbone* (an Aſſociation really to be honour'd in many things) its Doctors, as moſt of other Convocations, are oft ſo carryed on with intereſt and faction, that many times in the moſt conſiderable things, we ſhall finde their Decrees to claſh one with another.

'Tis true, this ancient Colledge of *Sorbone* [built about 1250, by *Robert de Sorbone*] hath for ſeveral ages kept up a great reputation and ſplendour; but they have ſomewhat been troubled by the ſpringing up of the Jeſuits, with whom, I may ſay, they and the Univerſity have had a continual bickering for this hundred years, and of late have ſomething loſt ground, eſpecially at *Rome*, where the Fathers carry the bell away clearly from the Doctors, both in repute, authority and preferments, which are ſuch conſiderable Arguments, that of late times, *viz.* ſince 1650, the intereſt of the Jeſuits hath got in a manner the upper hand in the very Colledge of *Sorbone* and *Paris*; the latter of which hath onely a company of *Curates*, too weak to oppoſe againſt the ſubtile *Loyoliſts*; and if the ſecular Authority do not intervene, they will all in time ſubmit to the Principles and ſway of the wily Fathers of *Clermont*. And 'tis very probable, that the *Jeſuits* muſt either fall in the hight of their pride, like the *Knight-templers*, or elſe they will quite ruine the glory, if not the being of other Religious Orders: more of envy than emulation ſtill breeding between them.

But it is not the Jeſuits onely who are guilty in ſpreading theſe wicked Doctrines, but others too; for *Petrus de Ledeſma*, a noted *Dominican* in *Spain*, having propoſed this Queſtion, *What may the people do, when a lawful King tyrannizeth over them?* and the

a Poterit conventum agere, & talem Regem Regno pellere, & si opus sit *vita spoliare. Pet. de Ledesm.* Theol. Moral. de virtut. Theol. Tract. 8. cap. 18. pag. 512.

result of his answer is, (*a*) *that they may call a meeting, and depose him, and if need be KILL HIM.*

This Principle, as pernitious as it is, was by *Ledesma* first publish'd in *Spanish*, and after by *Raymundus de Ledesou* translated into *Latine*; and besides other approbations, had the priviledge of the King of *Spain*. 'Tis strange, if this be not believed as Orthodox, that Kings should thus be perswaded to sign an Order for their own execution, as if their *Bigot*-ministers took a pleasure in gulling of them to set the weapon to their own throats, as the cunning fellow did the Ape in the Barbers Shop.

The *Guisian* Faction in *France*, making a firm League or *Covenant*, pretending to maintain the *Roman* Religion, but at last bandy'd against their King *Henry* the Third, fill'd the Nation full of wickedness and rebellion: And every man fought (as 'tis the fashion in all such troubles) according as he was qualified, so that there was not onely slashing, scolding and cursing, but scribling too. At last the *Roman-Covenanters* grew so stubborn, that they were resolved not to acknowledge *Henry* for their King: and in vindication of this consultation, one of their chief *Boutefeu's* sets himself to write; but before his Press had done working, the King was murdred by one of their Gang, *viz. Jaques Clement* a *Jacobin*.

b De justa *Hen.* III. abdicatione. *e* Populo in Regem potestas est vitæ & necis. Ib. Pag. 33. *d*— De medio sustulerit, tam abest perduellionis nomen, quam vere hoc justitiæ ac zeli opus, antesignanis in eo sanctis, probante natura, lege, Scriptura debet judicari. Ib. Pag. 64, 65.

However, out cometh the (*b*) Vindication, stuft with lyes and Villany: In one place he observes by the by, that (*c*) *the people have power over their Kings both of life and death.* In another place, that to *kill* a King who tyrannizeth, (*d*) *is so far from being treason, that it should rather be esteem'd an act of justice and Zeal, being agreeable to Nature, Law, Scripture, and the practice and precepts of holy men:* And (*e*) *he that doubts of it must want common-sence*; nay, it may be done by any (*f*) *private man*, especially *amongst* (*g*) *Christians.*

e Ib. Pag. 269. De eo qui dubitet, hunc communi sensu carere oporteat, ignorumq; prorsus esse rerum humanarum.

f Ib. Pag. 270. — *g* Ib. Quod inter Christianos tanto magis licere debet, quanto magis est quod iis à Tyrannis non reipub. tantum, sed & Religionis periculum creatur.

This is plain enough to shew his judgement: but when he heard that the King was murdered, then he rejoyced to the purpose, saying that it was done to the (*h*) *triumph and joy of all good men*; and a little after abuseth (*i*) several places of holy Scripture to make the abominable fact more glorious.

h Id. P. 450. *i* Pag. 453, 454, 455.

But probably 'twill be retorted that 'tis but a Pamphlet, the Author not putting his name to it, and so not to be regarded. 'Tis true, no name is to it, it being not safe so to do when it came out, for then *Henry* the Fourth was King, and went on prosperously against the *Leaguers*, and the Author then amongst them, his name was *Jehan Boucher*, born in *Paris* of a good Family, and was Preacher at St. *Benits*, the ancienteſt Church, I think, in that City; but an implacable fire-band amongst the *Covenanters:* and as he had thus shew'd himself an enemy against his Soveraign *Henry* of *Valois*, so did he carry

carry on the ſame ſpirit in oppoſing *Henry* the Fourth of *Bourbon*, againſt whom he alſo printed above once, nine of his zealous preachments, making the Cardinal of *Placentia* their Patron. And for this good ſervice againſt his own King and Country, being forced to ſkulk into *Flanders*, he was there, for his zealous deeds in behalf of *Spain*, made *Canon* of *Tournay*, and he was Doctor of Divinity before this at *Paris*.

An obſcure piece of Policy for Rebels thus to be protected and preſer'd, ſince 'tis one of the main encouragements to Treaſon, (and this may be every Monarchs caſe) for the Villain to know, that, let fortune be never ſo much his enemy in his undertakings, yet he may be ſecure in anothers Dominions, where he may take breath, and it may be, be encouraged to another enterpriſe: But theſe things are above me, and not to my purpoſe.

But for the better clearing of this Doctrine, you ſhall ſee it vindicated by as great a fire-brand as the former, and both upon the King of *Spains* account, though the firſt againſt his King and Country *France*, and the latter againſt his Queen and Country *England*; and this is *Robert Parſons*, with whom formerly Mr. *Morton* [after, the Learned Biſhop of *Durham*] having ſome conteſt, he brings in this Dr. *Boucher*, ſaying, that *when the Common-wealth hath condemn'd and declared any Tyrant for a publick enemy, he may be ſlain by a private man.* To which *Parſons* our *Engliſh* Jeſuit thus replyeth:

Whereto I anſwer, that then he is no private man, for that he doth it by a publick Authority of the Common-wealth, as doth the executioner that cutteth off a Noble-mans head, by Order and Authority of the publick Magiſtrate: ſo as in this, Mr. Mortons *diſtinction ſerveth him to no purpoſe, for that neither for private or publick injuries can a private man, AS A PRIVATE MAN, that is to ſay, by private authority kill any Prince, though he were a Tyrant, for any cauſe either private or publick whatſoever.* *P. R.* Quiet and ſober reckoning, chap. 5. & 44. pag. 321.

And to afford you another hint of his judgement in this caſe, know, that in another of his (*a*) books, he doth queſtion whether *Edward Squire* committed treaſon or no, though his crime was endeavouring to make away his Queen *Elizabeth* by Poyſon, at the inſtigation as it is ſuppoſed of Father *Walpoole* an *Engliſh* Jeſuit then practiſing in *Spain* againſt his Queen and Country.

a Anſwer to the fifth part of Sir *Edward Cooks* Reports, Epiſt. Dedicat.

As for Father *Parſons*, what by his treaſons againſt his Soveraign, and furious Zeal for *Rome*, he got ſo much repute amongſt the people of his Order, that ſome of them had thoughts and hopes to get him a Cardinals Cap; in the mean time, he was ſeveral years Rector of the *Engliſh* Colledge at *Rome*, where he dyed 1610, and in its Chappel he is honour'd with a fair Marble Monument, with a long commendatory Epitaph.

We have another *French-man*, who vindicates the murther of the aforeſaid (*b*) King *Henry* the Third as lawful; but this he onely doth by the by, yet plain enough to ſhew his treaſonable malice: and this is one, who calls himſelf *Franzois Verone*. But his deſigne is upon another perſon, though much of the ſame account. For, *anno* 1594, one *John Chaſtel*, a Scholar to the Jeſuits, with a knife wounded King *Henry* the Fourth in the mouth, and ſtruck out one of his teeth, intending to have murdered him: upon which *Chaſtel* was condemn'd to ſuffer as a Traytor.

b *Fran. Verone*, Apol. pour *Jehan Chaſtel*, p. 29.

Franzois

Franzois Verone undertakes the vindication of the Villain, declaring that it was (a) *a generous, vertuous, and an heroick act, and comparable to the moſt renowned and great deeds of the ancients, either in ſacred or prophane Hiſtory*; and that *Chaſtel* (b) *was a true Martyr.* And he goeth over again, that it was (c) *an action purely juſt, vertuous and heroick*: Nay, that it was (d) *moſt holy, moſt humane, moſt worthy, moſt to be praiſed and recommended*, and (e) *juſtified by both the Civil and Canon-Law*; and that it is *natural, agreeable to God, and all Laws, and Decrees, and the Church.* And as for *Chaſtel* himſelf, he calls him (f) *Happy ſoul!* and runs on in a rambling commendation of him. And laſtly, as for thoſe who condemn'd *Chaſtel*, he ſaith, that (g) *they have judged againſt God, againſt the holy Scriptures, againſt the Church and her Decrees, and againſt the States and Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom.*

a Apol. part 1. c. 7. p. 21. — eſt un acte genereux, vertueux, & heroique, comparables aux plus grande & plus recommandables, qui ſe ſoient veuz en l'antiquite, de l'hiſtorie tant ſacrée que prophane.

b Pag. 23.

c Part. 2. pag. 25. Son acte eſt purement juſte, vertueux & herioque.

d Id. Part. 4. cap. 1. pag. 147. — c'eſt un acte tres-ſainct, tres humain, tres digne, tres louable & tres recommendable.

e Id. Cap. 3. pag. 155, 156. — Ce que Nature meſme enſeigne, & qui eſt juſtifié par le droict, tant civil que Canonique. — Celle que la Nature enſeigne, & conformement à Dieu, aux loix, au Decrets & à l'Egliſe.

f Part. 3. cap. 10. *Ame heureuſe!* &c.

g Part. 4. cap. 2. pag. 152. — Ilz ont jugé contre Dieu & ſa Parolle, contre l'Egliſe, & les decrets, contre les Eſtats & loix fondamentales du Royaume.

What this *Franzois Verone* was, I cannot certainly tell; onely this we know, that ſomewhat about the ſame time there was a *French* Jeſuit of the ſame name, who a little after writ ſome books againſt the Proteſtants. But whether they were both one and the ſame perſon, I cannot determine; yet Mr. (h) *William Sanderſon* ſaith poſitively that he was a *Jeſuit.*

h Hiſtory of King *James* the Sixth of *Scotland*, p. 156.

(i) Another there is, who keeps a great deal of triumphing and rejoycing at the murther of *Henry* the Third, as an action moſt commendable; but becauſe he's unwilling to be known, I ſhall trouble my ſelf no farther with him: ſince we need not make uſe of ſuch obſcure perſons, ſeeing Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth himſelf in a full Conſiſtory of Cardinals, took the pains and pleaſure to ſpeak a long Oration in commendation of that wicked act.

i See, Jeſuita ſicarius, p. 271, 272.

Septemb. 11. 1589.

Theſe have hit the nail on the head, ſpeak to the purpoſe, without any mincing or dwindling their cut-throat principles, plainly deſcribing Laws and Methods to murther in ſpight of either ſacred or civil honeſty. Nor are thoſe without ſhame and guilt, who allow villany by a conſequence, by making but one trifling exception or ſo, open away for other means to the ſame end: the queſtion not being whether one may be kill'd this way or that way, but whether any way at all; and it is but ſmall comfort to a man, to tell him that he ſhall be murther'd, but not after ſuch a faſhion; 'tis all one to *Titius* or *Sempronius*, whether they ſuffer by a private or publick way, it being not the breath of this or that Authority, but the Inſtrument of execution, that doth the feat, and renders the body fit for the worms; and whoſoever commands it, 'tis probable that it is but one, and a private man too, that renders the other a real ſufferer.

Quid intereſt an ferro an veneno perimas. *Jo. Marian.* de Reg. Inſtitut. lib. 1. cap. 7.

And amongſt theſe mutterers of King-murthering, we may eſteem

a

a *Spaniſh* Fryar Mendicant, *viz. Michael Bartholomeus Salon*, who ſaith, that (a) *a King may not be kill'd by a* private *man, becauſe he having a juſt title, is not to be depoſed nor puniſhed, till he be firſt heard and accordingly judged, either by ſome having authority to do ſo* [I know not what he means, unleſs he grant ſome ſuch Authority] *or by the Common-wealth.*

a Nulli privato liceat occidere, quia cum ille habeat juſtum titulum non eſt deponendus nec puniendus quin prius audietur & judicetur, vel à ſuperiore habente authoritate ad id, vel ab ipſa Republica quando deeſt ſuperiorem. *Mich. Salon.* in D. *Tho.* Tom. 1 col. 1157.

Nor ſhould we abuſe (b) *Adamus Tannerus*, a *German* Jeſuite, if we place him amongſt thoſe, who by excepting againſt a private perſon, doth hint a ſtrange authority to be in the people or Common-wealth, whereby the ſafety of Princes may be hazarded.

b Theol. ſcholaſt. Tom. 3. diſp. 4. Q. 8. dub. 3. numb. 32.

And *Dominicus Soto*, one of the moſt famous *Dominicans* of *Spain*, and one of the chiefeſt Divines of the *Tridentine Council*, as alſo Confeſſor to the *Emperour*, tells us that (c) *it is the common opinion, that it is not lawful to kill a King upon a private account:* and his reaſon is with the former, *that ſeeing he hath a right to the Crown, he is not to be deprived of it, but by a publick judgement, where he muſt be heard: but if once a Decree be gone out againſt him, that then any one may be the Executioner.* And he alſo layeth down for a poſitive rule, that any one may kill a King in his own defence.

c — Communis conſenſus eſt, nemini licere ipſum *privatim* interimere. Et ratio eſt quod cum jus habeat ad Regnum, non eſt illo, niſi per publicum judicium expoliandus, ut ſcilicet audiatur. lata vero in eum ſententia, quiſq; poteſt inſtitui executionis miniſter. *Soto*, de juſtitia, lib. 5. Quæſt. 1. Art. 3.

As for (d) *Vincentius Filliucius* the *Italian*, and (e) *Antonius Delrio* of *Antwerp*, both famous Jeſuits, they both twang upon the ſame ſtring of *a private perſon*, by which means they leave an open gap for the Superiour Magiſtrates to bring their Soveraign to the block. And the *High German* Jeſuit, *Sebaſtianus Heiſſius*, treads much in the ſame way, though he leaves a ſent ſomewhat more rank behinde him; for he expreſly allows the Magiſtrates ſome Authority in this caſe, affirming, that (f) *a King ought not to be kill'd by a private man, before judgement be pronounced againſt him, as an enemy and a Tyrant:* And this he ſaith is the *common opinion of all Jeſuits.*

d Moral. Quæſt. Tom. 2. Tract. 29. cap. 1. ℣ 12.

e Not in *An. Senica* Tragœd. part 2. ℣ 920.

f — Teneo neminem privatum, extra neceſſitatem ſe ſuoſve defendendi manus inferre poſſe legitimo principi, ante publicum judicialiter latam ſententiam, qua Tyrannus hoſtiq; Reipub. declaretur, adeoq; poteſtate qua poteabatur, ab his quibus fas eſt exciatur. — Habes communem Jeſuitarum ſententiam, ac proinde nihil principibus periculi imminet, quando totius populi ſenſu pro Tyrannis habentur, ſi populus ſequatur Doctorum ac gravium virorum (quod *Mariana* exigit) conſilium; iiq; Jeſuitæ ſint ut jam audiviſti. *Sebaſt. Heiſſ.* Refutatio Aphoriſmorum, cap. 3. ad Aphor. 1. pag. 158. ℣ 94.

Here the Jeſuit *Heiſſius* gives us an hint of one of his Order, *Johannes Mariana*, who is as particular as any in the way of King-killing, laying down the ſeveral Methods and means of that wicked art: but becauſe part of his (g) Book is large upon this ſubject, and is ſo plain, that ſome of their moderate writers wiſh he had not been ſo open; I ſhall not ſpeak more of it, it being common to be had, and as commonly known, though (h) *Andreas Schottus*, (i) *Carolus Scribanius*, and ſome other Jeſuits do rather commend than diſprove it. And whether the propagation of theſe opinions be not dangerous

g De Rege & Regis inſtitutione, lib. 1. c. 6, &c.

h *Hiſpan.* Bibl. Tom. 2. p. 285.

i Amphitheat. Honoris.

rous to Princes, reaſon and example will over-ſay the meer negative of *Heiſſius*, unleſs his authority were better grounded than upon his bare word.

But what need I trouble the Reader and my ſelf with particulars, when the whole Club of the *French* Jeſuits (if we may credit their own title) when it was their deſign to clear themſelves from any bad Principles of Government, at the ſame time confeſs, that Kings may lawfully ſometimes be depoſed and cut off? And whether I ſlander the Jeſuits or no, let the Reader judge by their own words, Thus:

Addit Prædicans [*viz.* Phil. Heilbrunner, *who wrote againſt the Jeſuits*] Jeſuitas in hac Queſtione [viz. *whether Tyrants may be kill'd*] potius ad partem affirmantem, quam ad negantem inclinare ſatis indicant illorum Scripta. --- *Non modo inclinamus ad illam partem, ſed illam partem libentiſſimè amplectimur, quam amplectitur S.* Thomas, Cajetanus, Sotus, Covaruvias, Salon, *& alii, qui ad hanc Quæſtionem reſponderunt cum diſtinctione. Ex quorum doctrina, hunc in modum ſcribit Quidem Magni nominis, & vobis Prædicantibus non ignotus Jeſuita* [Greg. de Valent. *Tom.*3. *diſput.*5. *q.*8. *p.*3.] Vel eſt Tyrannus non per Arrogatam ſibi injuſte poteſtatem, ſed ſolum per pravum legitimæ alioquin authoritatis uſum, in gubernando: vel eſt Tyrannus, per Arrogatam poteſtatem, quam vi obtineat. Si eſt Tyrannus primo modo, nulli particulari licet eum occidere, nam id pertinet ad Rempub. quæ poſſet jure oppugnare illum, & vocare in ſubſidium Cives. Si autem eſt Tyrannus ſecundo modo, quilibet poſſet eum occidere. Nam tota Reſpub. cenſetur gerere juſtum bellum contra ipſum, & ita Civis quilibet, ut miles quidem Reipub. poſſet eum occidere, *&c.* Unde quando in Concilio *Conſtant.* prohibentur particulares occidere Tyrannum: intelligendum eſt de Tyranno primo modo, de hoc enim eadem eſt ratio, atq; de aliis malefactoribus, qui ſolum per publicam poteſtatem puniri poſſunt. *Hæc ille*, viz. Greg. de Valent.

Ex cujus etiam verbis habes quidnam Concilium Conſtant. *damnaverit. Cujus Concilii decretum eodem modo explicat* Cajetanus, Sotus, *&* Alphonſus a Caſtro, *& ſatis liquet ex ipſis Concilii verbis*, &c.

Ais, Quæſtionem & doctrinam hanc adverſari illi D. *Petri* præcepto, *DEUM TIMETE, REGEM HONORIFICATE. Ubiq; tui ſimilis es, hoc eſt, ineptus Predicans, & quidvis per quodvis & quovis modo probare ſolitus. S.* Petrus *non ait*, Tyrannum honorificate, *ſed* Regem, *Rex non eſt Tyrannus, maxime ſi Tyranni vocabulum, ſecunda notione uſurpemus, nec Tyrannus eſt Rex. Quod ſi Regum quiſpiam, qui verè Rex eſt declinet ad Tyrannidem, atq; adeò Tyrannus prima notione hujus nominis fiat; tum jam ex ſententia S.* Thomæ *& aliorum audiviſti, privato nihil in eum poteſtatis eſſe: eſſe autem toti Reipublicæ; vel privato eatenus, quatenus, ei à Repub. conceditur, ſicuti Privato in quemlibet alium malefactorem jus eſſe poteſt, ſi id concedatur à Republica.* Apologia Societatis *Jeſu* in *Gallia*, ad Chriſtianiſſimum *Gall.* & *Navar.* Regem *Henricum* IV. Scripta a Religioſis ejuſdem ſocietatis *Jeſu* in *Gallia*, 1599. *in Append. pag.* 115, 116, 117.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

That it is the Opinion of their Popes and Councils, that Kings may be depoſed.

HAving hitherto ſeen the Opinions of private perſons, yet thoſe of the greateſt repute amongſt them; we ſhall now aſcend a little higher, and with them to their moſt authentick Authority upon earth: but whether this Supremacie remain in the *Pope*, or a *General Council*; I muſt yet leave to the determination of their *French* and *Italian* Doctors: and yet 'tis ſtrange that hitherto they will not agree to ſettle infallibility; that that which they make the judge of other Articles, muſt thus it ſelf want a certain foundation by Univerſal conſent.

As for their *Councils*, if practice may interpret, (and I am ſure in this caſe they make it none of their leaſt Arguments) we ſhall finde that Princes may be lawfully depoſed, and that confirm'd by the grandeur of ſuch meetings. Thus their great Hiſtorian Cardinal *Baronius*, aſſures us that the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth was exauthorated by two *Synods* at (*a*) *Rome*, one at (*b*) *Colen*, and another at (*c*) *Fritiſlar*. And becauſe that, ſome may object that theſe ſmaller Conventions are not of ſufficient Authority, we ſhall aſcend a ſtep higher, and tell you that the ſame was done by two *General Councils* [for ſo *Baronius* calls them] at (*d*) *Rome*, though the latter more particulariz'd by the name of (*e*) *Lateran*, and alſo by another *Council* at (*f*) *Rhemes*, under Pope *Calliſtus*. And after this manner was the Emperour *Frederick* the Second declared deprived, and his Subjects quit from their Oaths of Allegiance, by Pope *Innocent* the Fourth, in the Council of *Lyons*; the form it ſelf being large, I ſhall refer you to (*g*) *Bzovius*, and the (*h*) Council it ſelf, and the (*i*) Decretals.

But let us ſtep from practice, to ſome of their Decrees they confirm'd in their General Councils, to ſhackle Princes in future times. In the *Laterane* Council, under *Innocent* the Third, amongſt other things 'twas thus order'd by them.

If a Temporal Lord neglect to purge his land from Hereſie, being deſired and admoniſhed by the Church, let him be by the Metropolitan and the other Biſhops Excommunicated: and if within a year he refuſe to ſatisfie, let the Pope be informed of it, that he may declare his Vaſſals free from that obedience they formerly ought him: and that Roman Catholicks may ſeize upon his Lands, which the Hereticks being thruſt out, they may poſſeſs without any contradiction, and keep it in the true Faith: Yet let not this be prejudicial to the Principal Lord, ſo that *he do no way hinder this proceeding: NEVERTHELESS LET THE SAME LAW BE OBSERVED AGAINST THOSE WHO HAVE NOT PRINCIPAL LORDS.*

If any do diſpute concerning this *Council*, or the meaning of any word in this *Canon*, I ſhall not finde my ſelf concerned in it, having our Country-man (*a*) Dr. *Thomas Vane*, (*b*) *Martinus Becanus*, *Leonardus Leſſius*, under the name of *Single-*

a Baron. anno 1076. ſ. 16, 17, 18. Id. Anno 1080. ſ. 7, 8, 16. *b* Id. Anno 1118. ſ. 20. *c* Ib. *d* Id. 1102. ſ. 1, 2, 3. *e* Id. Anno 1116. ſ. 5. *f* Id. Anno 1119. ſ. 11. *g* Anno 1245. ſ. 4. *h* Tom. 28. pag. 431. *i Sext.* de ſentent. & re jud. C. *ad Apoſtolicæ.*

Abr. Bzovius, anno 1215. ſ. 3. *Binnius*, c. 3. *Crabbe.* Ib. *Greg.* de Hæret. C. *Excommunicamus.*

a Vindic. Concil. *Lateran.* *b* Controverſ. Angl. p. 139, 140.

(a) *Singleton*, Cardinal (b) *Bellarmine*, and many others, great vindicators of this great Council as they call it, whom I shall leave to the conſideration of the *Romaniſts*: Yet I could whiſper (c) Dr. *Vane* in the ear, that he is not honeſt enough in his anſwer, by taking no notice of the laſt clauſe in the Canon, which doth not a little enlighten the whole deſign.

a Diſcuſſ. decreti Magni Concil. *Lat.*

b Adverſus *Guil. Barclaium* in Præfat.

c Vindic. Concil p. 69.

And as I do not trouble my ſelf to interpret any thing in the *Lateran* Canon, ſeeing the chief of the *Roman* Champions, *Leſſius*, *Becanus*, *Bellarmine* and others, declare expreſly that it is meant of the Popes Authority over Kings, and for their depoſing; ſo ſhall I not wrangle with any concerning that of *Trent*, a Council of ſuch Authority, that they make it the ſtandard of their Faith.

Seſſ. 25. c. 19.

In the laſt *Seſſion* of this *Trent* political Convention, *Duels* were cenſured as unlawful [and indeed, no honeſt, true and faithful ſubject can fight one, he taking to himſelf power of his own life, and that of his fellow-ſubjects, againſt Law, Religion and Prerogative] and declares thoſe Princes *to be held as deprived* of thoſe places, where they permit them. What was the meaning of the words of this Decree, I ſhall ſay nothing my ſelf, but tell you, that the *French* Church took it to deprive Kings, for which they bogled at it; and they had more reaſon to underſtand the meaning of it, than any now: yet if theſe grave Divines miſtook the ſence of that Chapter, 'tis no fault of mine, let the *Romaniſts* bandy it out amongſt themſelves, and either tell us the reaſon, why that Council is not exactly received in *France*, and ſo whether they be Hereticks or no, in not complying with a General Council as they call it, or that every part of it is in force there, and how it came to be ſo.

Theſe at this time may ſatisfie, to ſhew in what a tottering condition their Councils makes Kings to ſtand in. And if the *Roman* Catholicks deſire any more inſtances, I ſhall refer them to their famous (d) *Leſſius*, whom in this caſe let them either agree to, or confute; fight Dog, fight Bear: and ſo I quit my ſelf, neither troubling my ſelf whether they or Dr. (e) *Caron* is in the right.

d Diſcuſſ. Decreti Mag. Concil. *Lat.* pag. 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, *&c.*

e Remonſtr. *Hibernorum*, part. 5. cap. 10.

As for the Opinions of Popes themſelves, I ſhall jumble them with their *Canon-law*, the latter being in a manner the reſult of the others brain and authority: and Pope *Agatho* order'd that the Popes Sanctions, *ſhould be received with the ſame authority, as if they had been commanded by St.* Peter *himſelf*. Nor according to Pope (f) *Nicolas*, muſt any contradict or queſtion the Orders of that See; for according to (g) *Lancelottus*, the Popes Decrees are of equal authority with the Canons of Councils; and thoſe of (h) *Trent* determine that ſome *Traditions* are to be of equal force with the holy Scriptures.

Omnes Apoſtolicæ ſedes ſanctiones accipiendæ ſunt tanquam ipſius Divini *Petri* voce firmatæ ſint. Diſt. 19. c. 2.

f Q. 17. c. 4. *Nemini eſt.*

g Poſſit jur. Can. lib. 1. Tit. 3. *Decreta.*

h Seſſ. 4. Decret. 1.

I ſhall not here ſpend time in diſcourſing about the Priviledges ſaid to be given to ſome Monaſteries by ſeveral Popes, with a tye by the way of the Kings good behaviour; though ſome make uſe of ſuch Records for Arguments; it being plain by the practice of the Popes and their Laws,

Franc. Bozzius de Temporal. Eccleſ. Monarch. lib. 1. cap. 21. pag. 225.

(a) Laws, that they declare they have such Authority to depose Kings, and quit their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance; of which several Popes are so plain in their (b) Canon-law, that nothing can be more evident: whither I refer you for more satisfaction.

a Greg. de Elect. C. *Venerabilem*: de Hæret. C. *Excommunicamus*. Sext. de re jud. c. *ad Apostol.*

b Q. 15. C. 6. *auctoritatem*, C. *alias*. C. *nos sanctorum*. Greg. de Hæret. C. *Excommunicamus* & C. *Absolutos*.

And that Popes declare that Kings may be deposed, appears by their many thundrings of Deprivation against former Princes, and of later times against the King of *Navarre*, our King *Henry* the Eighth, and Queen *Elizabeth*. Read in (c) *Aventin* what *Hadrian* the Fourth saith, concerning this case in his furious Letter; and in (d) *Matthew Paris*, how Pope *Innocent* the Fourth thus ranted concerning our *Henry* the Third: — *Is not the King of* England *our Vassal, nay more, our Slave, whom with a nod I can imprison, and commit to a slavish reproach?* And Father *Parsons* assured our Country-men, that Pope *Pius* the Fifth affirm'd to him, (e) *that he would rather loose his head, than* not acknowledge this Authority to lye in the *Roman* Chair. And Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth could make a (f) Speech in a full Consistory of Cardinals in commendation of the horrid murther of *Henry* the Third King of *France*.

c Annal. *Boiar.* lib. 6. pag. 506.

d Pag. 872. Nonne Rex *Anglorum* noster est vassallus, & ut plus dicam, mancipium, qui potest eum nutu nostro incarcerare, & Ignominiæ mancipare?

e *Reg. Widdrinton's* Theolog. Disput. cap. 10. §. 56.

f See *Will. Warmingtons* moderate defence of the Oath of Allegiance, pag. 127, 128, &c.

Chap. VI.

For how many causes according to the Romanists, *a King may be deposed.*

They say 'tis good to have many strings for a bow, if one fail another may hold; and others think they can do any thing by a distinction, though it signifie nothing: he that divided himself between the Arch-bishop of *Colen* and the Prince Elector, was well retorted upon by the Boor, *If the Prince go to the Devil, what will become of the Bishop?* And the *Scotch* Presbyterian (g) *John Knox*, used this art, when he would not have the King but the Offender suffer. Our *English* Covenanters thought they clear'd themselves of Rebellion, by declaring that they fought not against the King but his evil Council, and that (h) *Treason is not against the Kings person, as he is a man, but in relation to his Office.* And the *Independant* [when the *Presbyterian* had (i) declared that they could *not repose any more trust* in the King, and made it *Treason* for any to address to him, and so had laid him by as useless,] supposed they vindicated themselves sufficiently, by affirming that they onely beheaded a private man, the *Presbyterians* having formerly kill'd the King.

g Hist. Reformat. of *Scotland*, p. 392, 393.

h Ex. coll. p. 727.

i Declar. for Non-address, 1647.

And these quirks to further Rebellion, and to make the murthering

of Kings more plausible, are used by (a) *Lessius*, (b) *Valentia*, (c) *Tolet*, (d) *Suarez*, (e) *Boucher*, Father (f) *Parsons*, (g) *Soto*, (h) *Heissius*, (i) *Molina*, (k) *Becanus*, and several others of the chief writers amongst the *Romanists*; so that these and our *Covenanters* need not be so earnest in upbraiding one another with Treason.

a De justitia, lib. 2. c. 9. dub. 4. ☞ 10, 12.
b Tom. 3. disp. 5. Q. 8. punct. 3.
c Institut. Sacerdot. lib. 5. cap. 6. ☞ 10.
d Defens. fid. Cathol. lib. 6. cap. 4. ☞ 14, 18.
e De justa abdicat. *Hen.* III.
f *Quiet and sober reckoning*, pag. 321.
g —— De justitia, lib. 5. Q. 1. Art. 3.
h —— Refutat. Aphorism. pag. 158. ☞ 94.
i —— De justitia, Tom. 4. Tract. 3. disp. 6. ☞ 2.
k Controvers. Anglic. pag. 115.

When people are resolved for mischief, 'tis not difficult to pretend reasons, and finde out means to carry on the design, plausible enough to blinde the giddy multitude. To ruine the innocent, many and strange Articles and accusations shall be framed against him; and though not one of them can make him an Offender, rather than their malice should fail of its purpose, they will jumble them all together to make him a Traytor; as the *wicked-long-Parliament* did with the Earl of *Strafford*, and (l) *Maynard* used the same plea and means to hasten the murther of Arch-bishop *Laud*.

l *Prynn's Canterbury's* doom, pag. 51.

O the strength of a Covenanting Reason! as if though one Elders Maid alone could not make a Dog, an hundred of them could make a Mastiff: could number thus alter its being, *Proteus* would be outvapour'd by this Argument, and irrational and poysonous Creatures might once again ascend to be Classical Assembly-men: for thus forty or fifty Asses together would be a *Presbyterian*, though one by it self could not be a man. But it may be, they will thus prove their Assertion, though one *Assembly-mans* (m) notes will not make a *Diodate*, or a *Dutch* Comment, all the Assembly together will, because it may be they will say that they stole all their Annotations out of them: if this be their Argument, I shall neither trouble my self to see whether they confess truth or no, nor give them any reply to it.

m Especially the first Edition.

What various Arts and devices, with impertinent and poor pretences, have been used by some Popes and their Part-takers, not onely to lessen the authority, but ruine the being of some Kings, History can best inform us. And some of their several causes and reasons they bring to prove the legality of proceeding against Kings, shall be briefly hinted at in this place.

I.

(n) *Eduardentius* the *Franciscan*, affirms that a King may be deposed, if he be too prodigal in lavishing away the publick Revenues, either by scattering them amongst his cringing Courtiers, or some other spend-thrift-way.

n Com. in *Esther*, pag. 95.

That this is a fault no man can deny; but how either to judge of it, or hinder it, belongs not to us, and 'tis too obscure either for our eyes or brains. But we might retort upon the Chair of *Rome*, the excessive extortion that some of them make to enrich their Kindred. And the extravagancy of *Sixtus* the Fourth cannot be excused, bestowing such exceffive sums amongst his Whores.

II.

II.

Others ſay that a King may be depoſed, if he be a breaker of his promiſe to his Subjects, or a violator of his publick Faith. And if ſo, why may not Popes run the ſame *Exit?* who think it not lawful to keep Faith with Hereticks, and are as apt as any to break them upon every advantage. *Mart. Becanus*, Controv. *Angl.* pag. 135. *R. Parſons* conference about ſucceſſion, pag. 32, 36, 73, 77. *Feuardent.* com. in *Eſther*, pag. 94.

III.

Another way to have a King depoſed is this, if he either ſtudy, make uſe, or approve of the Art of Magick, or acquaint himſelf with thoſe who do ſo. *Feuard.* pag. 91.

This accuſation would ſerve the Vulgar, and the better becauſe they are not competent Judges. In former time 'twas almoſt dangerous to have above a common ſtile in the Mathematicks, ſo that our *Roger Bacon*, *Albertus Magnus*, and other famous Scholars, can at this day ſcarce quit themſelves from being thought Conjurers by the multitude; and ſome have been too bold in throwing ſuch wicked opinions upon *Joſeph*, *Solomon*, and ſome others: for whom Monſieur *Naudé* hath compoſed an Apology. As for the Popes, their own *Platina* affirms *Sylveſter* the Second to have dealt with the Devil; and ſome others think that *Benedict* the Ninth, and *Gregory* the Seventh were too familiar that way, though the former (*a*) French-man endeavours to clear them of that crime: and ſo I leave every man to his own judgement. Card. *Benno.* *a Naudé* Apol. cap. 19.

IV.

If a King be guilty of (*b*) *Perjury*, ſome of them ſay he may be depoſed for that fault. *b Jo. Azorius*, Inſtit. Tom. 2. lib. 10. cap. 8.

If they think *Perjury* to be ſuch an horrid ſin (as who can deny its heinouſneſs?) they ſhould not encourage Subjects to run ſo eaſily into this crime, by making them break their Oaths of Allegiance to their reſpective Princes; by which wicked means their Popes make themſelves alſo guilty: and other ways they have been ſufficiently infamous for this. *Gregory* the Twelfth is in this caſe noted in ſtory, for having taken a ſolemn Oath, that if he were choſen Pope, he would lay down the Title and Authority again, if *Pedro de Luna* an Anti-pope would do ſo too, the better to quell the Schiſm; but having thus obtained the Papacy, I ſhall refer you to (*c*) *Theodore à Niem*, to ſee how he cheated and jugled againſt his former Oath, not onely in this, but alſo in creating Cardinals: and the Perjury of *Paſchal* the Second, againſt the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth, is as notorious. *Jo. Bapt. Boiardus*, Addit. ad *Julii Clari* practic. criminalem. Qu. 35. & 6. *Feuard.* 91. *c* De ſchiſmate, lib. 3. *Morney*, pag. 287.

V.

Feuardentius ſaith, that if a King be guilty of Murther, he may juſtly be depoſed, though he do nothing with his own hands, but conſent to other Inſtruments. Com in *Eſt.* pag. 92.

Though the crime be great, yet Intereſt will oft judge amiſs: *Boucher* and *Verone*, look upon thoſe as Murtherers, who caus'd the deaths of *Clement* and *Chaſtel*, though the firſt ſtab'd *Henry* the Third, and the other indeavoured to kill *Henry* the Fourth of *France*. And the Jeſuite *Garnet*, hath been ſeveral times publiſh'd a Martyr, though he worthily ſuffer'd for high Treaſon, in not diſcovering the *Powder-treaſon*, though he knew of the deſign. But if theſe may

may go for Martyrs, I know no reason but Pope *Paul* the Third may pass for a Saint, for poysoning his Mother and Nephew, that the whole inheritance of the *Ferneſe* (of which Family he was) might come to him; and for destroying by the same means his own Sister, because she was as kinde to others imbraces as his own. And upon the same account might *Alexander* the Sixth be canoniz'd for poysoning (a) *Gemes*, brother to the great Turk, for filthy Avarice, as he also did several (b) Cardinals upon the same account.

Baleus, lib. 5.

a *Guicciardin.* lib. 2.

b Id. Lib. 6.

VI.

Com. in *Esth.* pag. 96.

The same *Franciscan* assures the world, that if a King be guilty of *Simony*, by selling Ecclesiastical Benefits, he may be deposed.

This fault I suppose to be below Monarchs, who have several lawful means to fill their Coffers; but I wish it were not practised so much as it is, by those who are but fellow-subjects with the buyers. And the worldly gallant, who useth it, may probably have his purchasing Parson, a roaring Chaplain to his wicked Patronship in a world fitted for the covetous; but we shall not at this time follow Truth too neer the heels. But were not this Vice beneficial, Pope *Paul* the Second would not have been so given to it, who basely sold all the Benefits both Civil and Ecclesiastical. And *Alexander* the Sixth got the Popedom more by Simony than any desert in himself.

Platina.

Guicciardin. lib. 1.

VII.

c *Bannes* in 2.2.q.12.art. 3. col. 478. *Valent.* Tom. 3. disp. 1. quæst. 12. punct. 2. *Petr. de Aragon.* in 2.2. D. Tho. pag. 229. *Hieron. de Medici* in 2.2.q.12.art. 2. conclus. 2. *Baleus*, Act. Pont. *Estienne* Apol. pour *Herodot.* pag. 292.

(c) Others of them say that a King may be deposed for *Apostacie*: And I warrant you, they will make the interpretation of the word submit to their pleasures: Yet in the mean time we are told, how true I know not, that Pope *Leo* the Tenth should call the History of Christ a fable; and that *Paul* the Third in anger once said, that he would renounce Christ, if the Procession went not faster on.

VIII.

d *Jo. Bapt. Plotus* Consilium, & 64. *Jo. Bapt. Bocard.* addit. ad Julii Clari pract. Crim. q. 35. & 6. *Penard.* pag. 93.

If a King be guilty of (d) Sacriledge, they say he may justly be deprived; and yet who hath been more criminal in this than some of their Popes? *Alexander* the Sixth was so noted for it, that this Distick was made of him:

Vendit Alexander *Cruces*, *Altaria*, *Christum*;
Emerit ipse prius, *vendere jure potest.*

Alexander sold his Altars, Christ and Crosses;
He bought so sold them, men live not by losses.

And upon *Leo* the Tenth, *Sannazarius* the famous *Neapolitan* Poet, made this smart Sarcasm:

Sacra sub extrema, *si forte requirite*, *hora*,
Cur Leo *non potuit sumere*; *vendiderat.*

Leo could have the Sacrament no more,
Though dying, 'cause he'd sold it long before.

e Ann. 1229. pag. 362.

And (e) *Matthew Paris* assures us that Pope *Gregory* the Ninth

was

was ſuch a gaper after Church-moneys, that the Biſhops in *England* were forced to ſell and pawn all their Plate and Furniture belonging to the Altar, to ſatisfie him. And whether Authority doth commit Sacriledge in commanding Images to be taken out of Churches, let the buſie *Bigots* determine: yet Hiſtory will tell us, that Pope *Gregory* the Third proceeded againſt the Emperour *Leo* for the ſame account.

IX.

If a King be a (a) *Schiſmatick*, or a favourer of Schiſmaticks, they ſay he may then be depoſed: And yet no Church hath been ſo much rent with Schiſms as that of *Rome*, having ſometimes at the ſame time ſeveral men declaring themſelves to be the true Popes, and juſtly elected; and every one of them having ſome Prince or other to ſtand by them; and at laſt 'twas ſometimes carried by ſtrong hand. And that which began in Pope *Urban* the Sixth's time, was ſo long and violent, that it laſted fifty years.

a *Azorius*, Inſtitut. lib. 10. cap. 8. lib. 11. cap. 6. *Suarez.* defenſ. fid. lib. 6. c. 4. & 22. *Fevard.* p. 91. *Jo. Mar. Bellettus*, diſquiſit. Clericalis, pag. 282. & 209, 210. *Alph. Alvarez*, Speculum, cap. 16. & 8. *Petr. de Palude*, Art. 4. *Lud. a Paramo* de origine S. Inquiſit. lib. 1. cap. 1. *Greg. Nunnius Coronel.* de optimo Reipub. ſtatu, pag. 545. *Jo. Anton. Delphinus* de poteſtate Eccleſ. pag. 154.

X.

We are told that for violence done to *Cardinals*, the King guilty of that crime may be depoſed. A people at firſt but of common repute, being but Prieſts or Deacons belonging to this or that Church, and ſo far inferiour to Biſhops; though ſince that, the Popes have rais'd them to be next to themſelves, and equal to Kings and Princes; and now carry ſuch a ſway in that all-ruling Court at *Rome*, that happy is that Monarch that can get a friend by much begging and greazing to be honour'd with that title: and ſometimes a red Hat covers both youth and ignorance.

Fevardent. pag. 94.

Many of theſe have imploy'd themſelves in ſecular affairs; and if either in this or the other they become faulty, there is no reaſon but that they are lyable to puniſhment as well as their Neighbours: if Queen *Elizabeth* had got Cardinal *Allen* into her cuſtody, ſhe might with more reaſon have puniſh'd him for his many Treaſons againſt her and his Country, by declaring her to be no true Queen, and in aſſiſting the *Spaniards* againſt her in Eighty eight, than Pope (b) *Alexander* did ſeveral Cardinals by poyſoning them to ſatisfie his Malice and Avarice.

L'Homme d'eſtat. pag. 257, &c.

b *Guicciard.* lib. 6.

XI.

What ſmall authority hath been allowed to Kings concerning the Church in their own Kingdoms, may partly appear by Pope (c) *John* the Eleventh, who interdicted *England*, and declared King *John* deprived, and ſo perſwaded the *French* to take the Kingdom from him: and why all this? onely becauſe the King would not admit of *Stephen Langton* to be Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, whom the Pope would thruſt into that *See* againſt the Kings pleaſure; King *John* not thinking it fitting, that one who was ſo great with the *French*, ſhould be of ſuch great truſt in his Dominions. And yet the Emperours and Kings formerly had always a (d) power in the Election, not onely of Biſhops but Popes alſo, and calling of Councils. And ſeveral inſtances might be given of the Emperours depoſing of Popes; but the Imperial Power appears plain enough in the deprivation of *John*

c *Nic. Harpsfeld.* Hiſt. Eccleſ. pag. 431.

d Diſt. 63. C. *Agatho.* C. *Hadrianus.* C. *In Synodo.* C. *cum longe.* Gloſſ.

John the Thirteenth by *Otho* the Great, the *Italian* and other Biſhops then aſſiſting and commending him, who alſo depoſed *Benedict* the Fifth. And if we conſult the practice of the Popes, we ſhall finde that it was not ſo much the peace of Chriſtendom, or the good of Religion, that obliged them to proceed againſt Temporal Princes, as to maintain their own pride and greatneſs, and to pleaſure a friend or Relation with another mans Dominions.

XII.

Fran. Suarez. def. fid. l. 3. c. 3. ☞ 3. & lib. 6. c. 4. ☞ 15. *Jo. Andr. Coppenſtein* Epit. Controverſ. part. 2. Qu. 2. p. 180.

They alſo affirm, that if a King be lawful both by Title and Poſſeſſion, yet if after he turn a *Tyrant*, and oppreſs the innocent and good people, he may then lawfully be depoſed: and ſome of them go a ſtep farther, and ſay he may juſtly be kill'd: And yet their own Hiſtories will aſſure us, that there have been as wicked and cruel Popes as ever there was Temporal Prince in the world.

Feuardent. pag. 95. *Dionyſ. Carthuſ.* de Regem. Polit. art. 19. *Guil. Eſtius* Com. in ſent. lib. 2. pag. 444. *Abulenſ.* in III Reg. cap. 12. Qu. 4. *Eman. Sa* Aphoriſm. V. *Princeps.* ☞ 2. & V. *Tyrannus.* ☞ 2. *Leſſius* de juſtitia, lib. 2. cap. 9. diſp. 4. ☞ 12. *Pet. de Ledeſma*, Theol. Moral. Tract. 8. cap. 18. pag. 512. *Ad. Tanner.* Theol. ſcholaſt. Tom. 3. diſp. 4. Qu. 8. dub. 3. num. 32, 33. *Sebaſt. Heiſſius* Refut. Aphoriſm. pag. 158. ☞ 94. pag. 162. ☞ 97. *Andr. de Iſern.* Com. in uſus Feudorum, Tit. *Qua ſint Regalia*, V. *Monetæ*, pag. 743. *Greg. Servantio* defeſa della poteſta Eccleſ. p. 76. *Dom. Soto* de juſtitia, lib. 5. Qu. 1. art. 3. *Greg. Sayer* clavis Regia lib. 7. cap. 10. ☞ 3. *Gr. de Valent.* Tom. 3. diſp. 5. Qu. 8. punct. 3. *Bellarmin.* de Concil. lib. 2. cap. 19. *Mich. Salon* in D. *Tho.* Tom. 1. col. 1157. *Rob. Cenalis* de utriuſq; gladii facultate, Tom. 2. pag. 291. *Hieron. de Medicis*, in 2. 2. D. *Tho.* Qu. 12. art. 2. concluſ. 2. *Azor.* Inſtit. lib. 10. cap. 8.

XIII.

If a King be an *Heretick*, or a favourer of Hereticks, or if he be negligent in driving Hereſie out of his Dominions, then may he juſtly, as they ſay, be depoſed.

Fr. Feuardent. in *Eſt.* pag. 90. *Jo. Azor.* Inſtitut. Tom. 2. lib. 10. cap. 8. Id. Lib. 11. cap. 5. *Mart. Becanus* Controverſ. Angl. pag. 131, 132. *Læl. Zacchius* Tract. Theolog. pag. 82. *Gabr. Vaſquez* in 1. 2. D. *Tho.* Tom. 2. diſp. 169. ☞ 42, 43. *Joſ. Stephanus* de poteſtate coactiva Rom. Pont. cap. 12. ☞ 17. *Dom. Bannes* in 2. 2. Qu. 12. art. 2. col. 478. *Ant. Santarill.* de Hæreſi, cap. 30. pag. 292, 293. *Tho. Stapleton*, Tom. 1. Controv. 3. Qu. 5. art. 2. ☞ 4. *Fr. Suarez* defenſ. fid. lib. 6. cap. 4. ☞ 22. *Petr. Hurtad. de Mendoza*, ſcholaſt. diſp. 21. ☞ 304. *St. Raymond.* Summa, lib. 1. Tit. de *Hæret.* ☞ 7. pag. 41. *Leon. Coquæus* Examen Præfat. pag. 102, 103. *Rutil. Benzon.* Com. in Cant. *Magnificat.* lib. 3. c. 27. dub. 6. p. 134. *Jo. Mar. Bellettus* diſquiſit. Clerical. Part. 1. pag. 282. ☞ 109, 110. *Hoſtienſ.* ſumma, lib. 5. Tit. de *Hæret.* ☞ *qua pœna feriatur*, ☞ 11. *Ant. Corſet.* de poteſt. Regia, Qu. 76. *Arnold. Albertin.* Repet. in C. Quoniam de Hæret. Qu. 15. ☞ 36. *Lud. a Paramo* de Origine S. Inquiſit. lib. 1. Qu. 1. Opin. 4. ☞ 55, 94, 145. *Alph. a Caſtro* de juſta Hæret. punit. lib. 2. cap. 7. *Pet. Cunerus* de Officio Princip. cap. 8. pag. 76, 77. *Jo. Bapt. Boiard.* addit. ad *Julii Clari* practic. Criminalem, Qu. 35. ☞ 6. *Pet. de Palude*, art. 4. *Jo. Driedo* de libertat. Chriſtian. lib. 1. cap. 14. *Lupold. de Berbenburg.* de jurib. Regni, cap. 12. *Tiber. Decianus* Tractat. Criminal. lib. 5. c. 52. ☞ 8. *Roſella* Caſuum V. *Hæreticus*, ☞ 11. *Rob. Bellarmin*, de Pont. Rom. lib. 5. cap. 7. Id. De tranſlat. Imp. lib. 1. cap. 12. *Alph. Salmeron* Tom. 13. in Epiſt. D. *Pauli*, lib. 1. part. 3. diſp. 12. *Jac. Menochius* Concil. 808. ☞ 76. *Adolph. Schulckenius* Apolog. pag. 546. *Gr. Nummius Coronel.* de Optimo Reipub. ſtatu, pag. 511, 545. *Card.* Allen's *letter touching the render of* Daventer, pag. 27, 28. Id. *Defence of Engliſh Catholicks againſt the book call'd* The Execution of Juſtice, pag. 115. *Julius Ferrettus*, de re militari pag. 354. ☞ 26. *Jac. Simanca* de Cathol. Inſtitut. Tit. 9. ☞ 259. Tit. 23. ☞ 11. Tit. 46. ☞ 74, 75. *Lud. Molina* de juſtitia, Tom. 1. Tract. 2. diſp. 29. col. 221. *Jo. Ant. Delphinus* de poteſt. Eccleſ. pag. 154. *Greg. Servantio* defeſa della poteſta Eccleſ. pag. 68, 76. *Petr. de Ledeſm.* Theolog. Moral. Tract. 1. cap. 7. Concluſ. 5, 6, 7.

For this ſuppoſed crime of Hereſie did the Popes endeavour by their *Bulls* to take the Kingdom from our *Henry* the Eighth and Queen *Elizabeth*, and from *Henry* King of *Navarre*. And upon this pretty pretended account, was *Raymund* Earl of *Tholouſe* deprived of his Territories by *Innocent* the Third.

Hereſie

Hereſie is a common word, yet all cannot agree in its application; ſome ſay Pope * *Liberius* was an *Arrian*, and *Anaſtatius* II was held little better; *John* the laſt of that name, amongſt other crimes, was accuſed of Hereſie, by the Council of *Conſtance*: and that Popes may be Heretical, needs no diſpute, becauſe that their own Writers confeſs that they may alſo be depoſed for that Crime.

a See Dr. *Caſaubon's* neceſſity of Reformation, pag. 37, 38. *Vid. Caron.* Remonſtr. *Hybernorum*, part 5. cap. 18. p. 18, 88, 89, *&c.* 98, 100, 101.

XIV.

If a King be either *Negligent*, or *Inſufficient*, *or Effeminate*, or by his indiſcretion not fit for Rule, they ſay, he may then be depoſed.

Jo. Ant Delphinus de poteſt. Eccleſ. p. 158. *Camil. Gallinius* de verborum ſignif. l. 10. c. 17. ☞ 24, 25. *Greg. Servantio* defeſa della poteſta Eccleſ. pag 68, 76. *Paris de Puter* de ſyndicatu Summar. 4. ☞ 56, 57, 58, 59. Jul. Ferrettus de re milit. p. 156. ☞ 113. & p. 354. ☞ 26. *Giov. Filoteo* Nuova Reſpoſta contra *Venetia*, p. 16, 59. *Celſus. Mancinus* de juribus Principat. l. 3. c. 3. p. 76. *Dionyſ. Carthuſ.* de authoritate Papæ, lib. 1. art. 6. *Jo. Mar. Bellettus* diſquiſit. Clerical. part 1. p. 282. ☞ 110. *Hoſtiens* Summa, lib. 5. Tit. de *Hæret.* ☞ qua pœna ferratur. ☞ 11. *Greg. Nunnius Coronel* de optimo Reipub. Statu. p. 545, 547. *Jo. Turrecremata* Summa de Eccleſ. c. 14. propoſ. 4. *Dom. Soto* in ſentent. diſp. 25. qu. 2. art. 1. ☞ *Tertio. Petr. de Palude* de cauſa Immediate Eccleſ. poteſt. art. 4. *Jo. de Seloa* de Beneficio, part 4. qu. 8. ☞ 25. *Jo. à S. Geminiano* Summa de Exemplis, lib. 8. cap. 60. *Gabr. Berart.* ſpectacul. viſitat. c. 22. ☞ 46. *Paul. Carraria* de literali ac Myſtico Regularum juris interpretatione, qu. 2. art. 4. punct. 2. ☞ 25, 26, 27.

Thus they ſay, *Childerick* was deprived from being King of *France*, becauſe he was a little eaſie natured, not given to action, nor ſo wiſe as his Neighbours, whereby he was unfit for Rule. This may make the being of Government moſt unſtable; the giddy multitude, and the factious, being apt to interpret this Rule at any time to their pleaſures, when before theſe late Wars, Sir *Henry Ludlow* [Father to the notorious *Edmund Ludlow*] had the boldneſs publickly before the Parliament to affirm that King *Charles* I. *was not worthy to be King of England*, and no way puniſh'd for ſuch abominable ſpeeches; whereby it appear'd how pleaſing they were to the reſt of the Commons: what might be expected when they were more heightned in wickedneſs, by their entring and continuing in open Rebellion? If this one ſo vertuous, religious, learned and knowing a King be cenſured as unworthy, what may other Princes think of themſelves and their condition?

Ex. Coll. p. 552.

And yet 'tis better to be thus ſoft-natured, than ſo abominable wicked and cruel, as *Sixtus* IV, *Alexander* VI, and ſome other Popes were; amongſt whom, we may juſtly place *John* XIII (or XII) who I warrant you (at this time waving his wickedneſs) was every inch of him fit to be Pope, being but (*a*) XVIII years old, if ſo much, when he rul'd the Church as a Succeſſor of St. *Peter*. And if you think that this Youth was not young enough to be Chriſts *Vicar*, what will you object againſt [*b*] *Benedict* IX, a boy of XII years old, and yet at that age was his litttle Holineſs Pope of *Rome*, and as infallible too as the beſt of them?

a Baronius, anno 955. ☞ 3, 4. *b Baron.* an. 1033. ☞ 6. *Papyr. Maſſonius* de Epiſcopis Urbis, lib. 4. fol. 174.

It hath formerly been a cuſtom in [*c*] *Franconia*, at our [*d*] *Salſbury*, at *Cambray* in *Hanault*, and many other Cities, for the young Boys upon St. *Nicholas* his day to chuſe amongſt themſelves a Biſhop, who with his Myter, and other little Epiſcopal Ornaments uſed to govern them till *Innocents* day; but it may be the Council of [*e*] *Baſil* made a Decree againſt the Cuſtom. The former *John*

c P. Meſſia Selva Rinovata, part 4. c. 67. *d Jo. Gregory's* Poſthuma, p. 95, 133, *&c.* *e* Seſſ. 21.

and *Benedict* would have been pretty Popes for theſe Biſhops: and if we add [a] *Hugo à Veromandia*, who was made Arch-biſhop of *Rheims* at V years old, and approved of by Pope *John* X or XI, they would make up a dapper Council to govern the Univerſal Church, and *ſufficient*, and *vigilant*, and *careful* enough.

a Baron. anno 925.

XV.

For what other reaſons they may depoſe Kings, I cannot juſtly determine, becauſe many of their Writers will not particularize; but by ſhooting at random, and excepting none, may give occaſion for more than here ſet down; and for ought that I know, may tacitely allow of any: for when they ſay, That a King may juſtly be depoſed, cauſe being given, without naming any, they leave the people to judge them themſelves.

Dom. Paul. Lopiz. flaſc. Clericorum, part 2. ☞ 77. *Guil. de Monſerrat.* de ſucceſſione Regum, dub. 1. ☞ 30. *Sylv. de Prierio* Summa v. *Papa* ☞ 10,11. *Alex. Carerius* de poteſt. Rom. Pont. l. 2. c. 3. ☞ 18. *Celſ. Mancinus* de jurib. Principat. l. 3. c. 3. p. 76. *Tho. Stapleton* Tom. 1. Controv. 3. Qu. 5. Art. 2. p. 710. *Fran. Bozzius* de Temporali Eccleſ. Monarch. l. 2. c. 16. p. 553. *Arnald. Albertin.* Repet. in C. quoniam de Hæret. Qu. 15. ☞ 34. S. *Bonaventur.* de Eccleſ. Hierarch. part 2. cap. 1. *Anaſt. Germinus* de ſacrorum Immunitat. lib. 3. Proem. ☞ 9,10. *Jo. à Capiſtrino* de Papæ Authorit. fol. 65. à *Jul. Caſ. Madius* de ſacris Ordinib. 9. cap. 9. ☞ 17.

And that they pretend more cauſes for depoſing of Kings, than we here charge them with, is ſomewhat plain from [b] *Petrus de Aragon*, who ſaith, That a King *may be depoſed for any fault, to which Excommunication is joyned*: And if we look upon [c] *Bartholomæus Fumus*, and ſome others, we ſhall finde God knows how many cauſes laid down by them, for Excommunication.

b In 2. 2. p. 224.

c Summa aurea Armilla, v. Excommunicat.

XVI.

But why need we ſearch for Vices, or make ſuch a clutter to prove a King to be criminal? As if iniquity, wickedneſs, ſtupidity, or ſuchlike failings, were the onely cauſes for which a Prince might be removed: ſince we are informed, that all theſe ſignifie nothing to the purpoſe; it being not ſo much the defect of the King, as the pleaſure, or rather will forſooth, of his Holineſs at *Rome*: For thus are we told by no leſs man than *Thomas Bozzius*, whoſe Authority is neither ſlighted by the Pope, nor his *Romiſh* Favourites.

Sitq; aliquis jure, ſolers, induſtrius, potens, Catholicus, pius; Tamen Pontifex, Epiſcopiq; Pontifice approbante, jure naturali Divino in Divini Scriptis expreſſo ac tradito per Chriſtum & Apoſtolos —— valent huic auferre Imperia, Regna, alterq; nullum jus alioq; habenti adjudicare, ubi judicaverint id eſſe non modo neceſſarium, ſed & expediens. *Tho. Bozz.* de jure Status, lib. 3. cap. 4. pag. 287,288.

Although that a King be lawful, and underſtanding in Government, Induſtrious, Potent, a good Roman Catholick, and godly; yet the Pope, and the Biſhops by the Approbation of the Pope, by Divine Law delivered to the Church by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, have power to take away his Dominion and Kingdoms from him, and give them all to a third perſon, who had no right unto them; if ſo be, that they think that ſo doing to be not onely neceſſary but expedient.

Moſt miſerable muſt thus the State of Kings be, if they thus lye at the Mercie of one, which ſometimes is not onely tyrannical, wicked and debauched, but a ſimple Boy too, and ſome think alſo a whoriſh [b] Woman to boot: So that it is no wonder that there is ſuch ſtriving, canvaſſing, bribery, and underhand-dealing to be made Pope,

b See *Alexand. Cook's* Pope *Joan*, and les ſieur *Congnard* traité contre *Blondel.*

Pope; if their ſo being, inſtantly inveſt them with ſuch an unlimited Authority over all the world, and that by Divine right too; but of ſuch a Nature, that none can ſee into this Milſtone but themſelves or favourites.

And that there may not be any objection againſt this Authority of the Pope; *Bozius* undertakes to demonſtrate it by Examples, which you ſhall have as he gives us them; and then judge either of the Hereſie, or Authority of the Popes. Thus he tells us that

Baldwin II was lawful Succeſſor to the Eaſtern Empire; yet *Michael Palæologus*, by force of Arms and wickedneſs, took the Empire from him. However for all this injury, as he ſaith, did Pope *Gregory* X allow ſo much of it, that he gave the Empire to the Invador, and excluded the lawful Inheritor.

Another inſtance he giveth concerning the Weſtern Empire, *viz.* that *Richard* Duke of *Cornwal*, Son to King *John*, and Brother to *Henry* III of *England*, being by one part of the Electors of *Germany*, [*viz.* by the Biſhops of *Mentz*, *Colen*, and the *Palſgrave*,] choſen Emperour; And *Alonſo* X King of *Caſtile*, being by another part, [*viz.* Archbiſhop of *Trevers*, King of *Bohemia*, Duke of *Saxony*, and Marquiſs of *Brandeburg*] alſo choſen Emperour; And ſo by conſequence, as he ſaith, it muſt of neceſſity belong to one of theſe two: Yet ſuch was the pleaſure of the aforeſaid *Gregory* X, that he threw them both by, and commanded the Electors to pitch upon another; by which means *Rodulph*, Earl of *Habſpurgh* and *Heſſia*, came to be Emperour.

And the ſame power, *Bozius* ſaith, the Pope hath over *Infidels*: and to prove this by Example, he hints to us the Donation of *America*, by *Alexander* VI, and his huge Authority, divided between the *Caſtilian* and *Portugal*. And I wonder that before this time he hath not given the World in the Moon to ſome of his Favourites: And as Pope (*a*) *Clement* VI commanded the Angels to carry ſuch Souls into Paradiſe; ſo might ſome of his Succeſſors command ſome pretty vehicles or other, to carry his friends beyond the Earths attraction, and ſo into the Dominions of the Lunary World, where by a zealous *Croiſade*, and a furious *Inquiſition*, thoſe pretty people might be taught Rebellion.

(*a*) *H. Eſtiene* Apol. pour *Herodot.* p. 465, 466.

THE

THE

REBELLIOUS

AND

Treaſonable Practiſes

Of the

ROMANISTS:

From the Year DC, to the Year M.

With a Blow at *Conſtantines* Donation, The Popes abſolute Temporal Authority, and Legality of his Being.

Book III.

Chap. I.

The Tale of Conſtantines *Donation proved a meer Cheat and Forgery.*

I Shall not here ingage my ſelf in the Diſpute whether S. *Peter* was ever Biſhop of *Rome* or no, nor with the time of his preſiding there: [a] *Bellarmine*, their famous [b] *Onuphrius*, and ſome others, not agreeing about the manner; and ſeveral Learned Men have imployed themſelves on both parties in this Controverſie: Nor by what means the Popes came to that greatneſs they are now in, and pretend of right to have.

Chriſt ſaid [c] *his Kingdom was not of this world*; nor did S. *Peter*, or any of the reſt of the Apoſtles, endeavour to obtain either any

a De Rom. Pont. l. 1. c. 6.
b Addit. ad *Platin. viz.* S. *Petri.*
c *Joh.* 18. 36.

any such Temporal Government, or upon the account of their Spiritual, to lord it with a coercive Power over Secular Authority: And if any of their Successors plead such Prerogatives, they can draw no Arguments either from the Precept or Example of the Apostles. Not, but that the Clergy are as capable of Temporal Imployments as any, if the Supreme Magistrate so order it, without whose appointment the Lay-man himself cannot pretend to Office.

What jurisdiction the Bishops of *Rome* exercised over Princes for the first Ages, as History is altogether silent, so cannot we imagine that they did, considering in what Persecutions they themselves lived, being for their own preservation forced to sculk, and lurk about here and there, and that in poverty too; insomuch, that if we consult their own Histories, we shall finde that the first XXXIII Bishops
a An. 314. of *Rome* suffer'd Martyrdom, till [*a*] *Sylvester* in the days of *Constantine* the Great.

In whose time, by the Emperours declaring himself a Christian, Christianity began to appear more publick, being thus countenanced by Authority, whereby those who formerly lurk'd in Caves and Forrests, wandred about Mountains, and dissembled their Profession, for fear of persecution; now boldly shewed and declared themselves, and had places of Trust and Authority conferred upon them; whereby they became more formidable to the Pagans, and Religion daily gained more Proselytes, Splendour and Jurisdiction.

By this Emperour *Constantine*, they say that the Popes of *Rome* had not onely many Priviledges, but God knows how much Land too given them, *viz.* not onely *Rome* it self, but also all the Provinces, Places, and Cities of all *Italy*, and the *Western Region*; and that he might be more glorious and powerful in all the World, than the Emperour himself. And thus we see them set on Cock horse, and whence many of them plead a Prerogative. And for proof of this, they not onely say that they can shew you the Decree it self, but from it and other Authors tell the Reason of such a *Donation*; which because the Storie is pretty and miraculous, take as followeth in short.

'*Constance*, they say, being a wicked Tyrant and an Heathen,
Baron. anno 324. ☞ 16,17. 'murthering his own Son *Crispus* the Consul, *&c.* at last was sorry 'for his own wickedness, and desired to be clensed therefrom; but 'his Pagan Priests told him, That they had no means of purging 'such heinous Offences. In the meantime one *Ægyptius* [supposed
b Anno 324. ☞ 27. 'by (*b*) *Baronius* to be *Osius* Bishop of *Corduba*] a Christian, told the 'Emperour, That the Christians had a way to clense a man from any 'guilt: To which *Constantine* lent a willing ear, though upon that 'did not forsake his Idolatry, but persecuted the Christians; insomuch, that Pope *Slyvester*, with some others, for their own safety, 'stole from *Rome*, and hid themselvs in the Mountain *Syractes*, now
c Or *M.* Sr. *Oresto.* 'call'd (*c*) *Monte S. Trusto*, corrupted, as they say, from *Monte di* 'S. *Silvestro*, North from *Rome*, upon the Westside of *Tiber*.
Baron. ☞ 33. 'For these crimes and oppressions, they say, he was as by a judge-'ment, strangely infected with the Leprosie [or *Meselry* according
d Translat. of *Ranulphus* of *Chesters* Polycron. fol. 212. 'to the old Translation of (*d*) *John Trevisa*, Vicar of *Barckley* almost CCC years ago] to be cured of this disease, he applyeth himself to his Physitians; but with no benefit: then the Pagan Priests 'of the *Capitol*, advised him to make a Cistern, or Bathing-place in

'the

'the *Capitol*, and therein waſh his body with the warm bloud of 'little Children: and to effect this, upon his conſent, the *Flamens* 'prepared a great number of Infants, ſome write (*a*) *three thou-* 'ſand, and was going to kill them, to fill the Bath with their bloud; 'but *Conſtantine* being moved to compaſſion, by the cries and la- 'mentations of their Mothers, abhorred ſuch cruelty and wickedneſs, 'cauſing the Children to be reſtored to their Parents, with rewards 'and means to carry them to their dwelling places.

Edict. *Conſtant. Rich. Broughton* Eccleſ. Hiſt. Age 4. cap. 5. *a Pet de Natal* l. 2. c. 22. *Jac. de Voragine*. Hiſt. 12. *Jo. Treviſa Policron.* fol. 212. *Alonſo de Villigas* Flos Sanctorum, 31 *Decemb.* la vida de San. *Silveſtre.*

'The night following, the Apoſtles S. *Peter* and S. *Paul* appear 'to him, ſaying, *Becauſe thou haſt hindred this wickedneſs, and haſt de-* 'teſted to ſhed the blood of Innocents, we are ſent to thee by Chriſt our 'Lord and God, to tell thee how to be cured: Hear us therefore, and do* 'what we admoniſh thee. Sylveſter *the Biſhop of this City flying thy* 'Perſecutions, with ſome others of his Clergy, are hid in the Cliffs of 'Mount Soracte; ſend for him, and he will provide an holy Bath, in 'which thou ſhalt be waſh'd, and ſo clenſed from thy diſeaſe.

'*Conſtantine* the next morning ſends to finde out *Sylveſter*; to 'whom being come, he told the ſtorie of his Viſion, and asked him 'what Gods *Peter* and *Paul* were, and deſired to ſee their Pictures; 'which being ſhewed him, he declared that they were the very 'ſame who appeared to him the night before: Upon this he was 'Baptized by *Sylveſter*, and ſo clenſed from his Leproſie; an 'hand from Heaven at the ſame time touching him, as he himſelf 'ſaw.

'Upon this the Emperour became hugely Munificent to the 'Church of *Rome*, by his Decree ordering that ſhe ſhall be above 'the IV *Patriarchal* Seats, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, (*b*) *Conſtantinople* 'and *Hieruſalem*; and that the Biſhops of *Rome* ſhall be above all 'others in the world, all things belonging to Chriſtianity to be go- 'vern'd by them. In proof of this, he built a Church in the *Lateran*, 'where to maintain lights, he gave Lands and Poſſeſſions in *Aſia*, '*Thracia*, *Græcia*, *Africa*, *Italy*, and ſeveral Iſlands; he gave his Pa- 'lace alſo in the *Lateran*, with his Crown, and all his other impe- 'rial Habiliments, Badges and Authority; and the more to exalt 'him, the Emperour himſelf like a Foot-boy led the Popes Horſe a- 'bout by the Bridle, and beſtowed upon him and his Succeſſors the 'City of *Rome*, with the (*c*) Places, Cities and Provinces of *Italy*, 'and the Weſtern Countries; and then in a ſolemn manner, curſt 'and damn'd to the pit of Hell all thoſe, whether his ſucceeding 'Emperours or any others, who any ways oppoſed or violated this his 'Donation.

b Καστανσι- νουπολιν.

c Provincias loca Civitatis. Edict. *Conſtant.*

And this Edict or Donation of Conſtantine *is dated at* Rome, Conſtantine *and* Gallicanus *being Conſuls.*

Thus we have the ſtorie, and the Imperial *Decree* of *Donation*, which have made ſuch a noiſe in the World, and all as true as the Tale of this *Sylveſter's* (*d*) tying up, (and there to remain till the day of Judgement) a huge Dragon in a Den, which every day onely with its breath ſlew above (*e*) three hundred; men which quite puts down the ſtorie of Sir *Eglomore*.

d Guil. Gazet. Hiſt. des Saincts, Tom. 2. 31 *Decemb.*

Now the better to batter down the imaginary Caſtle of the Popes Temporal Authority, and that the Cheat and Forgerie may appear more viſible, we ſhall ſhew that the Foundation of all is a meer lye; the

Pet. de Natal. l. 2. c. 22. *e Jac. de Voragine.* Hiſt. 12.

the occasion of such a Donation, *viz.* the storie, to be false; and then the *Decree* it self, as a consequence, must vanish also. However, the *Edict* it self shall also be proved a Counterfeit, by such Arguments and Authorities as *Hottoman*, Dr. *Crakinthorpe*, *Laurentius Valla*, *du Plessis*, our Country-man *Cook*, *&c.* affords us, but with as much brevity as can be.

That the storie and occasion of such a Donation is false, appears plainly.

I.

Valerius Crispus was alive after this supposed Baptism, and so his murther could no way intitle *Constantine* to the Leprosie; and for truth of this, we need go no further than this, that they cannot deny but both their Ancient and their Modern Authors declare this *Crispus* to have been Baptized with *Constantine*, and alive after the Synod supposed to be held at *Rome*, upon this christning of the Emperour: Nor was *Constantine* a Tyrant.

Sozom. l. 1. c. 5. Trip. Hist. *Cassiodor.* lib. 1. cap. 6. *Evagr.* l. 3. c. 40, 41. *Niceph.* l. 7. c. 35. *Platina.* vit. *Marci Broughton's* Hist. Eccles. pag. 476. ☞ 2. Id. pag. 494. ☞ 9. *Jo. Mariana* de rebus *Hispan.* l. 4. c. 16.

II.

The Leprosie it self is confest by their (*a*) *Platina* and others to be a meer forgery, not mentioned by *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and such like ancient Writers; nor was there any cause for such a Disease, *Constantine* being a good Emperour.

a Vit. *Marci*, & vit. *Hadrian* I. *Canus* loc. Theol. l. 11. c. 5. ☞ 5. *Naucler.* generat. 11.

III.

Constantine did not persecute the Christians till this supposed Leprosie; but on the contrary, hugely favoured them; insomuch, that *Licinius* the Heathen Consul accused him to his Souldiers for so doing: And which is more, he did not onely countenance them, but was a profest Christian himself; his Father *Constantius* favouring that way, and his Son *Constantine* instructed in it; and some say in *Britain*, at (*b*) *Abington* in *Barkshire*: but of the latter I say nothing.

Euseb. vit. *Constant.* l. 1. c. 5. l. 2. c. 1, 4, 12, 13, 14. l. 10. c. 16. *Cedren.* Hist. *Sozom.* l. 1. c. 8.

b *Broughton's* Eccles. Hist. p. 460, 461. ☞ 5, 6, 7.

IV.

Being thus a Christian, he could not be ignorant what S. *Peter* and S. *Paul* were, in that time of *Sylvester*; and so not to suppose them to be Gods, after an Heathenish manner. And if he were ignorant, how came he to know what they were? for in his supposed *Decree*, where the storie is, he doth not tell us that they told him. If they did, 'tis probable that they would not leave him a supposed Pagan in the dark, but also declare what they were, besides telling their names, nor doth he say they told him that.

V.

Again, being thus a Christian, he would not make use of Heathen Priests, either to cleanse him from his iniquities, nor need *Ægyptius* or *Osius* upon that supposed infidelity, inform him of the Efficacie of Christ

Chriſt and his Religion: Neither would he conſent to the wicked adviſe of the Pagan *Flamens* for his Cure, by the bloud of ſo many Innocent Children.

VI.

If *Conſtantine* had conſented to this cruelty, yet 'tis not probably that he need either have ſuch a number ſlain, as ſome ſay, *three thouſand*; nor would he have had it ſo publickly done, as to be frighted from it by the cries of their grieved Mothers.

VII.

Conſtantine was not baptized by *Sylveſter*, nor at *Rome*, *Anno* 324: but after this, a little before his own death, at *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia* in leſſer *Aſia*, and that by one *Euſebius* Biſhop of that City. *Euſeb.* vit. *Conſtant.* l.4 c.61,62, 64. *Socrat.* l.1. c.26. *Theodoret.* l.1. c.31. *Sozom.* l.2. c.32.

This laſt quite overthrowing the occaſion of the Donation, they bend all their force to null it; but the chief of their Objections are thus anſwered.

Object. I.

That he was baptized at Rome, *and ſo not at* Nicomedia, *needs no diſpute: The* Font *wherein he was baptized being at* Rome.

Anſwer.

If ſo, 'tis nothing to the purpoſe, ſeeing ſeveral Monuments are there, which were neither made there, nor firſt erected there; and by this Argument their Reliques and Bodies of Saints; will make ſome holy men to be born, or have dyed here and there, and every where; for ſome of them by the ſeveral places pretending to have them, muſt have ſeveral bodies apiece, beſides there is no good proof of ſuch a Baptiſtory.

Object. II.

Of this there is proof enough; for Ammianus Marcellinus *an Heathen, mentions* Lavacrum Conſtantinianum *at* Rome, *and is not this the* Font *of* Conſtantine?

Anſwer.

No, but a *Bath* or Bathing-place ſo call'd, mentioned alſo by (*a*) *Sigonius*; and both him and (*b*) *Marcellinus* intimate ſo much themſelves, by ſaying, That the people would have ſet on fire the houſe of *Lampadius*, neer or adjoyning to the *Bath* of *Conſtantine*: And of theſe ſorts of *Baths* there were many of them at *Rome*, and that very large ones too; and this ſhews that it could not be meant by a *Font* or Baptiſtory in a Church: for if ſo, then reaſon would tell us, that the Authors would rather have ſaid, *neer ſuch a Church.*

a De Occid. Imp. l.7. *b* Lib.27. *prope Conſtantini lavacrum.*

Object. III.

Constantine *was present at the* Nicen *Council, and therefore baptized before that Council; and so not at* Nicomedia *in his latter days.*

Answer.

Euseb. vit. *Constant.* l.c.37. *Bin.* not. in Concil. *Arel.* & al.

This is no consequence, for long before this, *Constantine* call'd a Council at *Arles*, where he was also present; and yet not then baptized, as they themselves confess.

Object. IV

He was present at prayers with the Christians long before his death, and therefore not baptized at his latter end at Nicomedia.

Answer.

Nor will this hold water, for any might be at their prayers, till the receiving of the Sacrament; at which time the *Catechumeni*, [*i.e.* such as were instructed in the Faith, but not yet Christned] and others were to withdraw.

Object. V.

But Constantine *was present at the receiving of the Sacrament, and so must be baptized.*

Answer.

He was not, nor can they gather any such thing from *Eusebius*: if he were present, it will not follow that he received: Besides, an Emperour so favourable to the Christians, and one that call'd their Religion his own, both for Devotion and Curiosity; as also, good Example to gain Prosolytes, might be allow'd more priviledge than others, as being onely present, if he were so.

Crakinthorp. p.70,72,73, 74.

Object. VI.

Eusebius *Bishop of* Nicomedia *was an* Arian; *so that if* Constantine *had been baptized by him, he would have shew'd his Communion with that Heresie.*

Answer.

If he had, it doth not contradict the storie, but he did not agree with them. 'Tis true, this *Eusebius* was an *Arian*, but a cunning jugler, and carried himself otherwise before the Emperour. But when *Constantine* perceived that he was an *Arian*, he was so far from favouring, or siding with these people, that he baniſh'd him, with a severe Epistle or Order against him, and those of his Faction: Yet after upon his seeming repentance, he had the liberty to return, where he carried himself as against the *Arians* (though his heart was for them) and so the Emperour seeing onely with mans eyes, thinking

Theodoret. lib.1.cap.19.

ing his Converſion to be real, might lawfully be baptized by him, and yet none of his way or faith in thoſe points.

Object. VII.

It was not Conſtantine *the Great, who was baptized by* Euſebius *at* Nicomedia; *but his Son* Conſtantine, *who was an Arian, and expell'd Pope* Felix *from* Rome; *ſo that the old Hiſtorians miſtook the Father for the Son, which cauſed this error.*

Anſwer.

This *Conſtantine* the Son was dead or kill'd many years before *Felix* was choſen to ſit in the *Roman* Chair: Nor was he an *Arian* that we know of. And him who you aim at all this while, is *Conſtantius* another Son of *Conſtantine* the Great, with whom and *Felix* there was ſome claſhing: *Conſtantius* being look'd upon as an *Arian*, and one that had been twice baptized, and one of them by one (*a*) *Fuzoius*, Biſhop of *Nicomedia*: And that you miſtake in ſaying that this muſt be *Conſtantine* the Great, (*b*) (*Platina* himſelf will aſſure you.

a Athanaſ. de Synod, p. 350. *Socrat.* l. 2. c. 37. l. 1. c. 26.
b Vit. Felim.

Object. VIII.

Conſtantine *the Great was not baptized at* Nicomedia, *but onely Bathed in hot waters for the health of his body.*

Anſwer.

Neither Barrel better Herring; certainly *Aug. Stenchus Eugubinus* is put hard to it, when he brings ſuch a childiſh reaſon as this; but the Country Clown rather than ſay nothing, affirm'd *Tenterden* Steeple to be the cauſe of *Goodwin* Sands; and truely *Stenchus* at this time reaſoneth after the ſame ſort, as appears by *Euſebius* who lived at that time, was well acquainted with the Emperour *Conſtantine*: and at large writes this Hiſtory of his (*a*) Baptiſm, at *Nicomedia*, by the Biſhop of that City. The Emperor himſelf confeſſing that he ſtaid ſo long for the receiving of this Sacrament, becauſe he thought to have gone and been Baptized in *Jordan*, after the Example of our Saviour Chriſt. But being thus overtaken with ſickneſs, and neer his end, rather than dye without it, was Baptized, as aboveſaid, at *Nicomedia*.

a Vit. *Conſtantine*, l. 4 c. 61, 62.

But becauſe ſome of them have ſaid, that though the ſuppoſed occaſional ſtorie may be falſe; yet the Donation is true, as appears by the *Decree* it ſelf of ſuch a Donation, we ſhall prove here, that the *Decree* it ſelf is a meer Cheat and Counterfeit; and then the whole deſign muſt vaniſh: And that it is a forgery, is plain; becauſe

I.

It ſaith that *Conſtantinople* was then one of the four chief *Sees* or *Patriarchſhips*; whereas I would have them to prove that that digni-

ty was before this, or then given to this City; for some write it was not till many years after this, and so it must speak by Prophesie.

II.

a Κωνσταντινούπολις. In this *Decree* is mentioned the very word (*a*) *Constantinople*; whereas, at the time of this writing there was no such word, the City being then call'd *Bizantium*; nor was the name changed till several years after this supposed Baptism, *viz.* according to (*b*) *Sigonius* VI years, at which time the Emperor made it his Imperial City for the East.

b De Occid. Imp. l. 4. anno 330.

III.

The *Decree* saith, that *Constantine* then intended to return to, and live at *Bizantium*, and build there: And yet they assure us, that he was so far from thinking of it, that when he went from *Rome*, his resolution was to settle the Seat of his Empire of the East, at or neer *Ilium*, or old *Troy* in *Asia*; in which design he had gon so far, as not onely to have laid the plat-form of the City, but to have built the Gates of it not far from the *Hellespont*. Nor is this all, but that he was so resolved on this, that he had not left *Asia*, and come into *Europe* to *Bizantium*, if he had not been thereunto admonish'd by some Heavenly Vision or other, by which means the See of *Constantinople* in the *Decree* may be meant as well of *Troy* as *Bizantium*. And 'tis also said, that after he left *Ilium*, he fell in hand with (*c*) *Calcedon* before he went to *Bizantium*; quite contrary to the *Decree*.

See *Rich. Broughton's* Eccles. Hist. pag. 496. & Age 4. c. 11. p. 500. &c.

c *Phil. Holland's* Chronol. to *Am. Marcellinus* anno Christi 328.

IV.

In this *Decree Constantine* is made solemnly to give unto Pope *Sylvester* the *Lateran* Palace: And yet (*d*) *Sigonius*, (*e*) *Baronius*, and (*f*) *Binius* confess that it was given before to Pope *Meltiades*. If *Constantine* gave such gifts for the honour of Christianity before *Sylvesters* time; why do they say he was a Pagan and Persecutor for the first XI years of *Sylvesters* Popedom?

d L. 3. an. 312.
e An. 312. ℣ 82.
f Not. in lib. de munif. *Constant.*

V.

If *Constantine* had given *Rome* and *Italy*, &c. to the Popes and their Successors, he would never have given the same again to his Sons, as he did by *Testament*; and the (*g*) Lawyers say, that had the gift been true, yet 'tis null'd, because he could not give such Prerogative and Dominions from his Sons and Empire, to a third person: but this dispute concern not me.

Sozom. l. 2. cap. 32, 35. *Sonaras*, Tom. 3.
g See *Laur. Banck* de Tyran. Papæ, pag. 78, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 432, 433, 437, 441, 442, 443, &c.

VI.

This *Decree* makes *Constantine* to throw severe curses and execrations upon any, be who they will, that shall violate his Edict of the supposed Donation. Now 'tis not propable that good *Constantine* would thus have cursed himself, and have invoked his own damnation, as he must have done, if he himself broke the Decree, as he plainly did, by giving, as aforesaid, these places by Testament

to

to his Son, whch he had, as they ſay, formerly beſtowed upon the Popes of *Rome*.

VII.

If theſe Territories were thus given to the Popes and their ſole rule, why did the Emperours for a long time by their Deputies govern *Rome*, *&c.* without any dependance upon the Popes? And this *Decree* of *Donation* never pleaded by the Biſhops of that City, againſt ſuch Uſurpations [as they muſt have been, if the gift had been true and legal] of thoſe Lay-Governours. *Nic. Coeffeteau*, Reſponſe au Sieur du *Pleſſis*, pag. 245.

VIII.

We cannot ſuppoſe in reaſon, that *Conſtantine* would have given ſo much Lands and Territories, onely to maintain a few lights and Candles in a Church, as the Decree ſaith he did.

IX.

The ſtory of the hands clenſing of him at his Baptiſm from Heaven, ſounds like the reſt of the lying Miracles we oft meet withal in their writings.

X.

The ſtory in this Donation of the Emperour leading the Popes horſe about like a Page, looks alſo like a forgery, to propogate the Popes Pride; nor is it probable that *Conſtantine*, now ſuppoſed a ſober Chriſtian, would thus by telling this, boaſt of his own humility.

XI.

Several of the Romaniſts themſelves, confeſs that Authentick Ancient Hiſtorians do not make mention of theſe things, though they writ at large the other actions of *Conſtantine*: And why ſhould this ſo famous a matter be left out? *Mel. Canus*, l. 11. c. 5. *Alex. Carerius*, l. 2. c. 21. *Nic. Cuſan.* *Gaſp. Schiop.* de Concord. Cathol. l. 3. c. 2. *Jac. Almon.* de potest Eccleſ. Eccleſ. c. 51. *Hieron. Cathalanus.* *Æn. Sylvius* in Dialog.

XII.

Many of the learned Papiſts themſelves will not ſtand upon this thing, not knowing how to make it good: (*a*) *Baronius* when he ſhould come to ſpeak of it, though in all things in behalf of the Popes Authority he indeavours to be Voluminous, and ſpends many leaves upon *Conſtantines* ſuppoſed Convertion and Baptiſm; yet when he comes to this Donation, will by no means undertake its proof, but haſtily throws it by, and deſires you to look in other Authors, and lets every one think as he will, but for his part he meddles not with it: but we are aſſured by a fiery (*b*) Jeſuit, that *Baronius* look'd upon this *Decree* of *Conſtantine* to be either corrupted, or a falſe counterfeit thing. (*c*) Dr. *Coeffeteau* is in this caſe ſhie alſo, and lets *du Pleſſis* ſlip away without replying to his Arguments, yet at laſt declares it to be a (*d*) cheat and falſe: And (*e*) *Laurentius Valla* Senator of *Rome* writes bitterly againſt it in a long Declamation.

a An. 324. § 117.

b *Gretſerus* Apol. pro *Baronio*, c. 12.

c Reſponſe, au Myſtere d'Iniquité, pag. 115.

d Ib. p. 1188.

e De falſa donat.

(*a*) *Hieronymus*

(a) *Hieronymus Cathalanus* looks upon it as a cheat, and yet he was Chamberlain to Pope *Alexander* VI. Cardinal (b) *Nicholaus de Cusa* is much of the same opinion, protesting that he hath taken great pains to finde it there, were any such thing, but all to no purpose: and some of these you have printed together in a little book. And *Æneas Sylvius*, who was afterwards Pope *Pius* II in a particular Dialogue, cited by the aforsaid *Cathalanus*, looks upon it as a meer forgery: Nor will *Franciscus Guiccerdine* give any credit to it. 'Tis true, the (e) *Section* which contains his judgement of this Donation, and the History how the Popes rose to such greatness in Temporalities, is fraudulently left out in some Forreign Editions: but it is to be met withal in the (d) *English*, (e) *French*, and some others, as also in (f) *Goldastus*. And (g) *Laurentius Banck* tells us of other *Romanists*, who either doubt of, or oppose this *Donation*.

a Practic. Cancel. Apostol.
b Concord Cathol. ad Concil. *Basil.* l. 3. c. 2.
c Hist. lib. 4.
d Edit. *Lond.* 1618.
e Edit. *Paris.* 1612.
f Tom. 3.
g De Tyran. Papæ, pag. 335, 336.

To this exception I shall say no more, but that the Learned *French* Jesuite (h) *Philippus Brietius* the Prince of *Geographers*, affirms that this *Donation* of *Constantine* is a *fooliſh* and *absurd* forgery, to be disposed and *hist at by all men*, being onely *maintain'd* by a company *of ignorant people*: And (i) *Philippe Labbe* another *French* Jesuite well versed in these things, confesseth that *Baronius*, *Morinus* and others may very well doubt it.

h Certum est mihi, Donationem *Constantini*, quæ à quibusdam illiteratis profertur, ineptam esse, absurdam, & omnium fibulis explodendam. *Briet.* Parallela Geograph. part 2. lib. 6. pag. 889.

i De Script. Eccles. Tom. 1. pag. 237.

XIII.

They write that this Baptism and supposed *Donation* of *Constantine* was in the CCCXXIV; and yet the Decree it self of such a Donation with the story of his Baptism is dated, *Constantine* and *Gallicanus* being Consuls: And yet according to the *Fasti* of the Consuls, *Crispus* and *Constantinus* were then Consuls, and not *Gallicanus*, who was Consul with *Bassus* some VII years before this, and was again V years after the *Nicen* Council: and this false dating is another sign of the cheat.

XIV.

If *Constantine* gave all this to the Church of *Rome* in Pope *Sylvesters* time, how cometh (k) *Melchiades*, who was Pope before this *Sylvester*, to take notice of *Constantine*'s being a Christian, and expresly to relate his building of Churches, his giving great things to *Rome*, and his leaving of that City to the Popes? The truth is, they are both cheats, to the shame of the Collectors of their Canon-law, who would thus fob such forgeries upon us. And *Gregory* XIII his amendments were to small purpose, leaving such gross lyes as these in their Canon, to deceive the more ignorant.

k 12. Q. 1. c. *Futuram.*

More might be said against the pretended *Donation* of *Constantine*: but this is enough to satisfie any man of its forgeries, and that there was never any such thing. However, because they pretend to give some reasons for it, take some for example sake.

I. First,

I.

Firſt, they ſay, that *Euſebius* in his book call'd *Enneadoes*, writes the ſtorie of the Leproſie, Baptiſm and Donation of *Conſtantine*, and ſo why not true?

Anſwer.

This is a ſpurious and counterfeit Book, never made by *Euſebius* as [a] *Baronius* and [b] *Covarruvius* confeſs, and the true *Euſebius* writes no ſuch thing, but quite contrary, as aforeſaid.

a An. 1191. § 51.
b Var. Reſol. l. 4. c. 16. § 8.

II.

Again, they ſay, that S. *Hierome* in one of his [c] Epiſtles to *Euſtichius*, affirmeth *Conſtantine* to have been baptized by *Sylveſter*, and ſo not at *Nicomedia*, as *Euſebius* ſaith.

c Beginning *Sepiſſime rogatus.*

Anſwer.

This is alſo a forged Epiſtle, never writ by S. *Hierome*, but by ſome cheat or other, and father'd upon him (as many other writings are) as is confeſs'd by [d] *Baronius* and [e] *Poſſevine*, with [f] *Eraſmus*, and ſeveral [g] others.

d Not. in Martyr. Rom. Aug. 1.
e Apparat. in *Hier.* pag. 752.
f Tom. 4. pag. 202. Annot. ante Epiſt. & Præf. ante Tom. 4. *Hieron.*
g See *Jo. Hen. Hottinger.* Elench. Scriptor. ſuppoſitiorum, page. 83.

III.

Again, they ſay, that (h) *Gratian* having collected the ſtorie of it into his Decrees, and ſo become a part of the Canon-law: we need not ſuſpect the Antiquity of it, no queſtion but they had good reaſon and true, for putting of it there.

h Diſt. 96. c. 14. *Conſtantinus.*

Anſwer.

I hope you will not take all to be Goſpel in theſe *Decrees*; for if ſo, (i) *Concubines* will thank you for allowing them ſo fair a plea. But to the purpoſe, 'tis confeſt by (k) *Antonius*, Biſhop of *Florence*, by (l) *Volateran*, by (m) *Cuſanus*, and others that this was not inſerted by *Gratian*, nor is it in the Ancient Copies; and the *Palea*, or Chaff prefixt to its Title, tell you what ſtamp and authority 'tis of. However, to prove this donation, though not inſerted by *Gratian*, yet to be ſet in theſe *Decrees* in his time. (n) Dr. *Marta* tells us a ſtorie of a plagiary Cardinal, why ſuch Chapters were ſo call'd. But another *Italian* Lawyer, (o) *Catellianus Cotta* ſaith, that *Palea* was one who was Schollar to *Gratian*, and probably one is as true as the other.

i Diſt. 34. c. 4. & 5. with the contents Edict. *Ludg.* 1544. & 1572. & Edict. *Pariſ.* 1561.
k Hiſt. part 1. Tit. 8. c. 2. § 8.
l Antropol. l. 23. fol. 270. *a.*
m De concord. Cathol. l. 3. c. 2.
n De juriſdict. part 1. c. 30. § 35, 36.
o De juris peritis.

Several

Several other ſuchlike ſpurious Authorities as theſe are alledged in behalf of this *Donation*; to which I need not trouble the Reader with an Anſwer, but refer him to Dr. *Crakinthorp*. And in truth, ſome of them are impudent to a miracle in this way of forgery, witneſs their yet confident ſtorie of the *Nags-head* Ordination, as notorious a lye as ever was ſpread abroad; witneſs their affirming that the Reverend Biſhop *Morton* confeſt the truth of the ſtorie in a Speech in Parliament, as true as the other: But had the ſtorie been true, might not we ſay, we took the Example from Pope *John* XII, who (*a*) ordain'd a Deacon in a Stable?

Here baſely the Fathers and others have been abuſed, and corrupted in their Additions: I ſhall not at this time undertake to declare, but refer you to (*b*) Dr. *Tho James*; and Archbiſhop *Uſher* left a large Manuſcript behind him much to the ſame purpoſe.

The aforeſaid (*c*) Dr. *James* (an induſtrious Toyler amongſt all ſorts of Books and Writings) tells that in the *Vatican* Library, there are certain men maintain'd onely to write out the Acts of the Councils, or Copies of the Fathers works, who are brought up to imitate the ancient Letters and writings of ſome of them; which *Poſſevine* the Jeſuit confeſſing that *Manuſcripts* themſelves need a Purgation.

To prevent the thruſting of theſe Abuſes upon us, the Noble Prince *Henry* had ſome thoughts to erect a *Royal Library*, with all ſorts of Books and Editions; as I think betwixt St. *James* and the *Muze*. And in the *Propoſition* preſented to the aforeſaid Prince, both to forward and to ſhew the means to carry on ſuch a glorious deſign: I finde theſe following words (according to my Manuſcript) confirming the former obſervation of Dr. (*d*) *James*.

The Pope gathereth up all the Manuſcripts he can into his Library the Vatican, *and there uſeth them at his pleaſure. One of their tricks is Notorious, they have men that can counterfeit any hand, and write the old hands that were written* 500 *and* 1000 *years ago; then they have an artificial Ink, which within three days after the writing, looks as it had been written* 500 *years afore. Thus having altered and taken out all that made for us, they ſuppreſs the old true Copies, and produce theſe new ones (they written by themſelves as afore) as the Authentical Books.*

In this was alſo deſigned a noble maintenance for the Library-Keepers, and other Officers thereunto belonging, to incourage their attendance and pains; as alſo, for Factors in Forreign parts to buy up Books: but all theſe things being vaniſh'd by the death of that famous Prince, it would be well if ſome Noble Benefactors in this covetous Age would think upon, and raiſe to themſelves a famous remembrance by their liberality this way to the publick Library in *Oxford*; which, though already it exceeds any yet in the World for number of Books and free acceſs (I wiſh never abuſed) yet it may want ſome thouſands of Books; for having no fit ſtipend to make yearly recruites from *Franckfort* and other places.

To this I could wiſh, that we were as buſie in printing all the Councils (the better to diſcover the fraud in ſome Editions) as the *Romaniſts* beyond Seas are; it being a hard caſe, that otherwiſe we muſt relye upon their Editions, and we are not ignorant of unhandſome dealings amongſt them in this very buſineſs. *Binius* we know takes ſome

D. *Barwick*'s life of Biſhop *Morton*.

a *Baron.* anno 963. & 17. *Binius* Concil.

b Corruption of Father. See alſo *Blondel.* Pſeudo-Iſidor. *W. Craſhaw's* Romiſh forgeries and falſifications.

c Appendix to the Reader.

d It would be well if ſeveral of his Books were reprinted to ſhew the abuſe of ſome Editions of Fathers.

ſome of his counſels *verbatim* out of *Baronius*, one very partial, and hath left ſeveral neceſſary things out in his Volumns, becauſe againſt the Church of *Rome*, which were ſet down by *Crabbe* (now two hard to be got) and ſeveral Councils, eſpecially of our own Nation, are not completed in the late *Pariſian* Edition in 36 Tomes, beſides *L' Abbe* the Publiſher of them is thought and (*a*) judged to be very partial.

To theſe I could wiſh a careful review, and reprinting of the Fathers; ſince we finde our ſelves at a loſs in their *Antwerp*, *Colen*, and ſome other Editions; and thoſe of *Eraſmus* by *Froben* at *Baſil*, and other old Editions are hard to be got. (*b*) *Junius* tells a ſtory of a notorious cheat done by them upon St. *Ambroſe*; and Dr. *James* at large tells you how they have abuſed St. *Cyprian:* to which I can ſpeak the more boldly, having my ſelf compared ſeveral places of him with ſome old Manuſcripts, eſpecially that (*c*) Book which they make ſo much uſe of to prove the Popes Supremacie, in which Manuſcripts I find not the expreſſions they brag moſt of, and father upon St. *Cyprian*, which may allow us to ſuſpect ſome ſtrange dealings by addition from their own heads. Dr. *James* once in a *Convocation* at *Weſtminſter*, moved ſtrongly for theſe reviews and reprinting of the Fathers, *&c.* but private intereſt and faction was too ſtrong, either to beſtow ſo much coſt or time upon ſuch a noble and publick deſign.

a See the pernicious conſequences of the new Hereſie of the Jeſuits, printed 1666, p. 102, 103, 104, 105, &c.

b Præfat. in Indicem Expurg. *Lovanienſem.*

c De ſimplicitate Præcatorum, *or* de unitate Eccleſiæ.

And to theſe I could wiſh that there were ſome care taken to reprint ſome of the Ancient Hiſtorians of Church and State; the want of which in time may put us to a loſs in dealing with our Adverſaries; the old Editions being very hard to come by, we muſt then (if care be not taken to the contrary) be content to make uſe of ſuch falſe and ſpurious ware as our Enemies will thurſt upon us. And that this complaint is not without good reaſon; many inſtances might be brought of their abuſing us in this ſort; But at this time for Example ſake, I ſhall onely make uſe of one, *viz. Aubertus Miræus* of *Brabant*, a great Antiquary, and a famous Schollar, and one that hath been much read in Church-Hiſtory; for which things he hath got a fame amongſt the Learned, his ſeveral works having been greedily read of all ſorts, and that with ſome repute to the Author. This great and noted man, nay, and a Church-man too, being Canon of *Antwerp*, can we think that his ſtudy was to deceive Poſterity, and publickly endeavour to cheat the world with his, or the inventions of others?

Well, do but peruſe his Edition of *Sigebertus*, that ancient Hiſtorian of above 500 years ſtanding; and amongſt other places, look upon him in the years 773 and 4; compare them with other old Editions, and ſee how he hath ſometimes cut off, ſometimes added, and other times perverted the true ſence; and all this to take away ſome authority from the Emperour.

But to this may be objected, that he followed ſome ancient Manuſcripts or other; 'tis true, 'tis an objection with himſelf ſoon made; but what ſmall reaſon we have to believe this onely ſaying ſo, ſhall be left to the judgement of any man by this following ſtory. This *Miræus* alſo ſet forth a (*d*) Regiſter or Breviary of Biſhopricks, with ſome ſmall Annotations of his own: and becauſe formerly there hath been ſome diſpute of theſe things, that this Tract of his may carry the more Authority with it: In his very Title Page, he aſſures

d Notitia Epiſcopatuum.

all the world, that this his *Notitia* is printed (*a*) according to an Manuſcript almoſt 500 years old.

(*a*) Ex vetuſto Codice ante annos fere quingentos ſcripto.

And why may we not believe this good man of *Bruxels*? for if Antiquity ſtudy to cheat the world with falſe Copies; well may others who are apt to take things upon truſt run into errors, and I fear this dealing hath too much power upon Faith and Religion. But to ſhew this to be a villanous forgery, I ſhall paſs by other Countries, and onely come to our own of *England*; though methinks 'tis odd, if this Manuſcript be ſo ancient, that he ſhould not put down *Dunkeld* in *Scotland*, as well as *Roſs*, *Brechin* and *Dunblane*, ſince they were all founded by one and the ſame King, *viz.* that pious and vertuous King *David*, who gave ſo much to the Church from his own Crown-lands.

But to make the knavery more viſible, lets ſee his dealing and ignorance of *England*: In which I ſhall not trouble my ſelf with his naming *Cheſter* or *Gloceſter* amongſt our Biſhopricks, becauſe formerly ſome of the Biſhops of *Liechfield* were ignorantly call'd Biſhops of *Cheſter*, becauſe one or two of them once lived there; and ſome think that *Gloceſter* was an Epiſcopal See in or before the *Saxons* time, but not under that name, but *Cluvienſis*. But waving theſe, though good enough to diſcover the cheat, I deſire the Reader to conſider this following, againſt which there can be no exception, *viz.* if this *Manuſcript* was almoſt 500 years old, how comes it to ſet down ſix Biſhopricks in *England*, *Peterburgh*, *Oxford* and *Briſtol*, when none of them were made Epiſcopal Sees till *Henry* the Eighth's time, little above ſixty years before *Miræus* ſet out this falſe *Notitia*?

Theſe cheats ſhould oblige us to ſtudy prevention in time, otherwiſe hereafter they may run us down by their falſe Fathers, and other Authorities: and when they have thus forced us onely to the protection of *Scriptures*, an endleſs diſpute may begin about the *variæ lectiones*; by which means the poor people and truth may be abuſed by both parties. But ſince they ſtand moſt upon Authority and Quotations, 'tis fitting we ſhould be more careful, that they do not cheat us with falſe play.

But enough of this, and the ſuppoſed *Donation*, which the *Venetians* did once prettily confute, and ſo ſhake off a cloſe demand. The Pope asking them by what right they appropriated to themſelves all the juriſdiction and power in the *Adriatick* Sea, ſince they could not ſhew any Writings of Priviledges granted to them for ſo doing? To which 'tis ſaid, they thus returned an Anſwer, That *they greatly wonder'd, that his Holineſs ſhould expect from them to ſhew thoſe priviledges, which, yea, and the very Originals the Popes themſelves had carefully kept all along in their own Archives, as a ſacred thing; and might eaſily be found, if he would but look upon the backſide of the Deed of* Conſtantine's *Donation; for there might be ſeen the Priviledges granted to them over that Sea, written in great Letters.*

Laurent. Banck de Tyran. Pap. pag. 355.

And ſuch another ſtory they tell us how Pope *Alexander* the Sixth having ask'd the ſame queſtion, was thus anſwer'd by *Girolamo Donato* the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, *Let your* Holineſs *ſhew me the Inſtrument of St.* Peters *Patrimony, and you will finde on the backſide of it the* Grant *of the* Adriatick *Sea to the* Venetians.

CHAP.

Chap. II.

1. *When the Biſhops of* Rome *had raiſed themſelves up to ſome favour and greatneſs, what odd ſtriving and dealings there were to obtain that See, with the manner of Elections?*
2. *That the Temporal Power had formerly the greateſt ſtroke in the Election of Popes, and that it yet hath, though by underhand-dealings.*
3. *An Eſſay upon this Quere,*
Whether for ſome years paſt, there hath been according to their Decrees and Orders, really any true Pope?

Sect. I.

THe Biſhops of *Rome*, though formerly lived in great obſcurity, lurking privately here and there without any greatneſs or notice, by reaſon of the Perſecutions againſt Chriſtianity: Now that they had the Emperours embracers of the Goſpel, and favourers of the Prelacy, appear'd in publick, in great Splendor and Authority; and preſently raiſed themſelves to ſuch a *Grandeur*, that they ſeem'd not onely to overtop their Neighbours, but next the Emperour to appear in greateſt glory, ſway and priviledge; which made *Prætextatus* (deſign to be Conſul) drolingly ſay to Pope *Damaſus*, *Make me Biſhop of* Rome, *and I will quickly make my ſelf a Chriſtian.*

Facite me *Romanæ* Urbis Epiſcopum, & ero protinus Chriſtianus. *Hieron.* Epiſt. 61.

And now the ambition to be great made every one aſpire to this Dignity; and that ſometimes with ſo much earneſtneſs and indirect means, that Religion it ſelf, and the Biſhops of that City loſt much of their Reputation, not onely from the Heathen, but Chriſtian too, as is plain by St. *Hierome*, and others, who wrote againſt their faults. I ſhall not trouble my ſelf concerning the diſcention and ſchiſm about *Liberius* and *Felix* the Second, onely that if *Liberius* was an Heretick, as ſeveral accuſe him, then a man may well plead the other to be no Antipope; if that be true, which ſome of their own Church confeſs, that a Pope for Hereſie looſeth his Dignity and Chair.

But to wave this, [*a*] *Liberius* being dead, the two Factions divide again, each of them ſtriving to make a Pope of their party. Theſe who were of the *Antipope Felix*'s ſide choſe one *Damaſus* [(*b*) whether of *Tarragona* in *Catalonia*, or *Madred* in *New Caſtile*, or of *Guimaranes Antre Duero y Mino* in *Portugal* Authors agree not] and thoſe who were for *Liberius* choſe one *Urſicinus* a *Roman*; at this Election the feud was ſo great betwixt both parties, that in the Church of *Sicininus*, there was ſlain upon the place CXXXVII perſons; and it was a long time after before the rage of the people could be aſſwaged; inſomuch, that *Vivenſius* Governour of *Rome* for the Emperour, not being able to appeaſe theſe Tumults, was forced to retire himſelf out of the City. But at laſt *Damaſus* got the upper-hand, and ſo kept the Popedom by the aſſiſtance of the Emperour (*c*) *Valentinian*.

a An. 367.
b *Jo. Marian* de Reb. *Hiſpan.* l. 4. c. 19. *Villegas* F.S. Decemb. 11. *Am. Naucellin.* Hiſt. l. 27. c. 2. *Ruffin.* l. 11. c. 10.
c *Onuphr.* Annot. in *Platin.* vit. *Felicis* II. *d Platin.* vit. *Damaſ.* *Sabellic.* En. 7. l. 9. *Nauſler.* Gen. 13. p. 487. *Genebrard.* p. 576.

Thus was this thing managed, beſides voting, with (*d*) *main force and arms.* And thoſe who formerly were held as Schiſmaticks for

chuſing and ſiding with an *Antipope*, are now brave boys for ſtanding and fighting luſtily againſt thoſe who were for the true Pope *Liberius*, as they call him. And had the Emperour approved of *Urſicinus*, for ought that I know, he had been call'd infallible, and *Damaſus* an Antipope.

And that the Emperours had ſome authority about the Election of Popes, will appear by the ſtory of another uprore and ſchiſm.

a An. 418. Pope *Zoſimus* being (a) dead, the people of *Rome* enter again into diviſions; one party choſe for Biſhop *Eulalius* in the *Lateran* Church, and the other *Boniface* in another Church; and thus each faction cryed up their Pope. Of this, *Symmachus* Governour of *Rome* giveth the Emperour notice, and tells him, that *Eulalius* had moſt reaſon and right of his ſide. *Honorius* the Emperour acknowledgeth *Eulalius* as Pope, as being choſen and approved of by a lawful number, time and place, rejects *Boniface* as illegitimate, wanting theſe neceſſaries to an Election, and bids him ſubmit, or to be expell'd the City; *Symmachus* ſends this news to *Boniface*, but the Meſſenger is beat. In the mean time the party of *Eulalius* rejoyce, he acting as Pope, and the City Gates being ſhut to exclude his Adverſary; the Governour being the more careful, by reaſon of the great inconvenience and trouble the City underwent by the former Tumults and Riots at the Election of *Damaſus*.

Baron. anno 419. & 1, 2, 3, &c.

Thoſe who ſided with *Boniface*, ſeeing themſelves and cauſe quite loſt, if preſently they procured not Remedy; drew up a Petition to the Emperour, complaining *Eulalius* not to be lawfully elected, but *Boniface* to be truely Pope; for which they deſired *Cæſars* aſſiſtance. *Honorius* upon this orders that both the elected ſhould appear before him, where he would have the Caſe tryed, and accordingly ſee the right diſpoſed of; and for more clearing of the buſineſs, he appointed ſeveral Biſhops to meet about it; but theſe not agreeing concerning the Election, this meeting vaniſh'd without any determination, whereupon he reſolved upon another convention.

In the mean time, the better to keep good Order in *Rome*, now full of hubbubs, by reaſon of this diviſion, he order'd *Eulalius* and *Boniface*, the two heads of theſe diſorders, to depart the City; and *Eaſter* now drawing neer, that the people might not be without a Biſhop to celebrate at that Feaſt, he appointed *Achilleus* Biſhop of *Spoleto*, one unintereſt to either party, to officiate as chief in *Rome*, and him, he call'd (b) *His Holineſs*, or *Bleſſedneſs*, and ſo did he *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Nola*, and thoſe of (c) *Africk*.

b Beatitudo tua.
c Sanctitas veſtra.

And here *Eulalius* loſt himſelf with the Emperour, for contrary to his expreſs command, he enters into the City; upon which new Tumults begin, and odd threatning and bickering there was in ſpight of the Governour or Authority. *Symmachus* himſelf being in great danger in this hurlyburly; all parties ſtriving to poſſeſs the *Lateran*. Upon this *Honorius* expreſly orders *Eulalius* for peace-ſake to depart the City, and that in the mean time he ſhould not be acknowledged, and that the Biſhop of *Spoleto*, according to the former Order, onely remain there, and ſolely have the poſſeſſion of the *Lateran* Church for the time of *Eaſter*.

These Orders, *Eulalius* alſo very unadviſedly withſtands, and having gotten his party together, thought by main force to have

ſeis'd

ſeis'd upon the *Lateran*; upon this, more miſchief falls out; but at laſt *Eulalius* is beat out of the City, *Achilleus* remain'd poſſeſs'd of the Church, and had good Guards appointed him for his and its defence. *Honorius* the Emperour being certified of, and offended at this, expreſly excludes *Eulalius*, and ſettles *Boniface* in the Popedom, to which he had a meeting of many Biſhops conſenting. *Sigon.* Hiſt. de Occid. Imp. an. 419.

Thus we have ſeen in ſhort the ſtorie of another riotous canvaſing: and becauſe this is of no ſmall concern, *Baronius* would by no means have us to think that *Eulalius* had any right by Election upon the Narrative of *Symmachus*, becauſe (as he ſaith) he was partial, and ſeem'd to favour *Eulalius*: But to this may be return'd,

I.

That if the Governour favour'd (*a*) Heatheniſm, he might be as much an Enemy to the Chriſtianity of the one as well as the other; they objecting nothing againſt the ſoundneſs of either of them for Principles of Religion. *a Coeffeteau* Reſp. p. 245.

II.

Symmachus in his third letter to *Honorius*, (when the Emperor ſhew'd no more favour for the one than the other) (*b*) nameth *Boniface* before *Eulalius*, which ſomewhat ſignifieth rather his favour for the former. *b* Religioſos viros *Bonifacium* & *Eulalium*.

III.

And laſtly, *Symmachus* in his Letters to *Conſtantius*, Brother-in-Law to the Emperour, writes virulently againſt *Eulalius*, accuſing him of occaſion of misbehavour and riots; from which ſome may ſuppoſe that the Governour was impartial and true, when he aſſured to the Emperour, that *Eulalius* was rightly choſen.

But beſides this, another diſpute may ariſe upon this ſtory, *viz.* (*c*) *Petrus de Natalibus*, (*d*) *Nauclerus*, (*e*) *Platina*, (*f*) *Filippo da Bergamo*, (*g*) *Sigonius*, (*h*) *Gonzalo de Illiſcas*, and their ancient *Vatican* (*i*) *Liber Pontificalis*, with (*k*) *Onuphrius* do declare, that the Emperour *Honorius* was at *Milan* at this time, and thence ſent his Orders; which if be true, (and theſe men had no reaſon to affirm this if falſe, nor need the *Roman* Catholick queſtion them being all noted Hiſtorians of their Religion) then muſt thoſe Letters in *Baronius*, which carry their date to and from *Honorius* at *Ravenna*, concerning this Schiſm be ſpurious and counterfeit, and ſo (for ought that I know) we may loſe part of the ſtory; and if theſe be be falſe (and 'tis plain the two *Vatican* Manuſcripts contradict each other) I ſhall give the leſs eſteem to the pretended Records, that are produced from thoſe Archives, for many cheating writings (not forgitting the Gift and Decree of *Conſtantine*) are ſhewn to us for true and authentick out of that Library; of which *Platina* was Keeper, and a diligent ſearcher into the ancient Manuſcripts of it; and *Onuphrius* had the liberty, and was well read in every piece of Antiquity in it.

c Lib. 4. cap. 160.
d Generat. 15. pag. 511.
e Vit. *Bonifac.* I.
f Cronicle Univerſale, fol. 266.
g Hiſt. de Occid. Imp. l. 11. anno 419.
h Hiſt. Pontifical, fol. 74.
i See the Councils.
k Epit. Pontif. Rom. de Pontif. & Cardinalium

creatione. Edict. *venet.* 1557. vit. *Eulalii*: *But this is left out in the* Colen *Edition, at the end of* Platina: *And in that of* Jo. Gaulter. Chron. Chronicorum, Tom. 1.

The

The often mention of *Symmachus*, Governour of *Rome* in the late Tumults, puts me in minde of a Pope not long after of that name, noted alſo for a Schiſm in his time.

a an. 498. For *Anaſtaſius* the Second being (*a*) dead, thoſe of *Rome* ran headlong into a new diſorder, ſome chuſing for Pope *Symmachus*, whilſt others elected one *Laurentius*; upon which great diſorders, riots, and miſchiefs ariſes, which continued for ſome years; to be ſhort, the buſineſs was refer'd to *Theodorick* an *Arian*, King of the *Oſtrogothes*, who had then over-run *Italy*, and *Symmachus* carryed it; thoſe of the party of *Laurentius* troubled at this, frame Articles againſt *Symmachus*, accuſing him of ſome Vices, and admit *Laurentius*; upon which new diſorders growing, and the King being vext at this diſſention, as (*b*) ſome ſay, ſends *Petrus* Biſhop of *Altino* [in the Territory of *Venice*, now ruined, and no Epiſcopal Seat] to *Rome*, there to rule as chief, the other two being turn'd out: to conclude, *Petrus* is rejected, *Laurence* his party ſtrive to carry all; all ſorts of villanies are committed, Sacred places violated, Prieſts ſlain; but at laſt, after ſuchlike infinite outrages and murders, *Symmachus* is acknowledged as Pope, and in the Chair of *Rome* rnled ſeveral years.

b *Platina*, vit. *Sym.* *Fil. da Bergamo.* Cronicle Univerſale, fol. 245. *Ant. Sabellic.* Enn. 8. l. 2. *Jo Manceler.* Gener. 17.

But before I ſhake hands with this ſtory, I hope you will give me leave to tell you one Tale, in confirmation of the right of *Symmachus* to the Papal Chair, and this upon no leſs authority than Pope (*c*) *Gregory* the Great. But firſt, we muſt underſtand that one *Paſchaſius* ſtood fiercely for *Laurentius* againſt *Symmachus*; and that this *Paſchaſius* for his learning, honeſty, and holineſs, was eſpecially famous in thoſe times; yet for all theſe noble qualifications, he would never acknowledge *Symmachus*, but on the contrary, look'd upon *Laurentius* to have all right, equity and law of his ſide; and ſo ſtedfaſt was he in this, that to his dying day he would hold none other for Pope. And this was not a little blot to the reputation of the Cauſe of *Symmachus*, and by conſequence to the true Succeſſion of Popes, that this *Paſchaſius* ſo knowing, ſo juſt, ſo vertuous, and one who hath got an holy name in the *Roman* (*d*) Martyrologies ſhould look upon *Symmachus* as an Antipope, and acknowledge *Laurentius* as the onely true one.

c Dialog. l. 4. c. 40.

d *Baron.* Martyrol. Rom. Maii 13.

But though good *Paſchaſius* dyed in this opinion, yet we ſhall now here the ſtorie of his puniſhment and repentance for ſo doing, and ſo the objection cleer'd. It chanced upon a time, that *Germanus*, Biſhop of *Capua* [now an Archbiſhop See] being not well, was deſired by his Phyſitians for healths-ſake, to go into an hot Bath, whither being gone, he findes there *Paſchaſius* (dead long before) ſtanding in a penitent and piping-hot condition; at which *Germanus* being troubled, ask'd him, Why he, ſo good a man, had to do there? To which *Paſchaſius* thus replyeth, *Alas, I am here puniſh'd for no other fault, but becauſe I took part with* Laurentius *againſt* Symmachus: *But I beſeech you pray heartily for me; and if you do not finde me here when you return again, then you may conclude that your prayers are heard.* Upon this *Germanus* gave himſelf to prayer for him; and after ſome days returning to the ſame Bath, he found not *Paſchaſius* there: Argument good enough that he was delivered out of Purgatory, and pardoned of his fault, for thinking any right to be in *Laurentius*; and laſtly, that *Symmachus* muſt be true Pope, or elſe the Miracle is not worth a Ruſh. And this pretty ſtory

(*a*) *Ba-*

(a) *Baronius* would not have you to think unworthy your reading. a An. 498.

To run over all the factions, intereſts and feuds at the election of Popes would be too tedious at this time; and if thoſe of latter days were not freſh in memory, we might tell at large the violent canvaſing at the election of (b) *Gregory* XIV between the *Spaniſh* party and that of Cardinal *Montalta*; the *French* not pretending to any intereſt there, *Henry* the Fourth being King, and then of the Proteſtant Religion: We might alſo tell of the hubbubs in the (c) *Conclave* of *Leo* the Eleventh, and *Paul* the Fifth, between the Factions of the Catholick and Chriſtian Kings, of the crying out of Treaſon againſt the King of *Spain*, becauſe the Cardinal of the *French* party got the better, and ſome other violences. And as great ſtir there was at the chuſing of (d) *Innocent* the Tenth, every one ſtriving to get a Pope of his party; Cardinal *Bentivolio* that famous States-man, had once like to have carryed it, but the *French* party oppoſe him, as a favourer of the *Spaniards*, and his dying at the ſame time ended this diſpute; then *Sacchetti* bid fair for it, but he alſo was rejected by the Catholick Kings faction, as one who loved *France* and *Portugal*. At laſt, after many plottings and contrivings, libelling and ripping up one anothers faults, the Cardinals being boldly lockt up in *Sixtus* the Fourth's Chappel, and not to ſtir till they had agreed, *Phamphilio* carried it by a Majority. b An. 1590. c Vid. *Caſ. de Ligny.* les Ambaſſades du Card. du *Perron.* lib. 3. an. 1605. d An. 1644.

As for the election of the preſent Pope (e) *Alexander* the Seventh, there was as much faction and intereſt, as any of the reſt; the *Spaniards* having one party there, headed by the two Cardinals *de Medices*, *Charles* and *John*, the firſt, Uncle; the laſt, Brother to the great Duke of *Tuſcany*: the *French* had their Creatures alſo countenanced by the two *Barberini*, *Francis*, and *Antonio* the firſt, calling himſelf Protector of the *Engliſh*: And beſides theſe there was a third intereſt conſiſting againſt of ſeveral Cardinals, and in *Rome* call'd the *Squadrone Volante*, who would ſeem to be indifferent to the other two Parties; and Cardinal *Imperiale* a *Genoeſe* was head of this Troop. e An. 1655.

Sacchetti had not onely *Barberini*, but the *Squadrone Volante*, and ſome others zealous for him; yet though the moſt deſired by the *Romans*, and was held the beſt and worſt worthy amongſt the Cardinals, he loſt it upon the ſame account, (*viz.* as a lover of *France* and *Mazarini*) as he had done in the former *Conclave*. However, for ſometime many Cardinals were ſo reſolved for him, that 'twas ſaid, That they would (f) *either have him Pope or dye there*: And for a long time at every ſcrutiny he had XXXIII Votes, in oppoſition to which, every one of the *Spaniſh* faction in their Schedules onely writ f *O Sacchetti, O Caletta.*

Ego **** *Card.*

****

Accedo Nemini.

By which means they kept unanimous and intire, by not dividing themſelves in theſe ſcrutinies to other Candidate Cardinals: but this obſtinacie of both parties ſo lengthned the *Conclave*, that Cardinal

dinal *Chigi* [now Pope] ſaid merrily, that a Pope would never be choſen, till the Cardinals *Nemini* and *Triginti tria* could agree.

Cardinal *Corrado* had ſeveral friends, but thoſe of *Caſtile* rejected, him becauſe *Barberini* was for him, though he might have ſerved being a ſevere Canoniſt, and in truth knew nothing elſe; yet this may be enough, ſince of late times they have not choſen a Pope, who had ſtudied Divinity, but onely ſome Canon-law or Politicks.

Caraffa was thought on, but the *French* reject him, becauſe the *Spaniards* intended his promotion; however, his death at the ſame time ended the diſpute. As for Cardinal *Rapaccioli* he had both hopes and many friends in the *Conclave*, who voted ſtoutly for him; but *de Medici* and that party oppoſed him, and Cardinal *Spada* in writing objected againſt him, that he had cauſed Prayers to be ſaid, that the Devils ſins might be pardoned.

The ſtory of which, being pretty odd and unuſual, take as they report it. At *Teramo* in *Italy*, of which place this Cardinal was Biſhop, one being poſſeſt with a Devil, *Rapaccioli* for curioſity ſake went to diſcourſe with it; and amongſt other things, asked the Devil, *if he indured great torments*; the Devil replyed, *exceeding great*: The Cardinal inquired of him, *Why he did not repent for his ſins, the cauſes of his puniſhment?* The ſpirit replyed, That *he had earneſtly repented, but without any benefit. Then*, quoth the Cardinal, *if God ſhould pardon you, would you take ſuch a forgiveneſs and mercy in good part?* To which the Spirit conſenting, *Rapaccioli* commanded prayers to be ſaid to God, that the Devils ſins might be remitted and forgiven him.

Cardinal *Maculano*, or St. *Clement* had once ſome hopes, having many votes, but he had to oppoſe him Madam (*a*) *Olympia*, Siſter-in-law to the laſt Pope *Innocent* the Tenth; for ſhe, with ſome carryed a ſway in the *Conclave*: And ſhe alſo gave a main ſtroke againſt *Cecchino*, ſhe and others taking him to be a fierce enemy againſt her and the Houſe of *Pamfilio*, Pope *Innocent* having ſufficiently abuſed him, about the forgeries of *Maſcambruno* in the *Porugal* Sodomiſts, and other baſe actions, though *Cecchino* was clear and guiltleſs concerning theſe things. And as for *Fiorenzola*, though many wiſh'd he were Pope, and had ſeveral Votes to forward it; yet the ſame *Donna Olympia* his mortal enemy, and ſome other oppoſitions hindred his promotion; and indeed *Barberini* by his Votes and Friends would ſometimes favour her deſigns, whom though moſt did hate for her imperiouſneſs in the laſt Popes days; yet they did not wiſh the ruine of the Family, and ſo had no minde to chuſe an Enemy to the *Pamfilii*, being then a kin to the *Barberini*. However, *Alexander* the Seventh hath ſhew'd himſelf no Friend to *Olympia*.

(*a*) Her life is lately written by the well known *Gualdo*: In it the world may ſee what a woman ſhe was, and how ſhe ruled Pope *Innocent* X, & the *Roman* Church.

Several others were thought on, and adhered to, but to no purpoſe, the *Spaniards* ſtill oppſing thoſe the *French* would have; and thoſe, whom the Catholick King deſired. At laſt, after they had thus baſled, jugled, and out-plotted one another for a quarter of a year; Cardinal *Mazarini* ſends privately to *Barberini* from *Paris* his approbation of *Chigi*; the *Germans* alſo had ſome minde to him, being mindful of his dexterous carriage at the Treaty of *Munſter* 1644, and what the Emperour and *Auſtria* approve of, the *Spaniards* uſually

muſt

muſt conſent to. Beſides this, the *Squadrone Volante*, and the houſe of *Pamfilii* were his Friends, being made Cardinal but three years before by *Innocent*; and he had had ſome ſufferings formerly in this *Conclave*; and ſo at laſt, though quite contrary to the firſt deſign, was this Cardinal *Fabio Chigi* of *Sienna* choſen Pope, and call'd himſelf *Alexander* the Seventh, from his Relation, both as Country and Kindred to *Alexander* the Third.

The way of chuſing Popes in a cloſed-up *Conclave*, was firſt inſtituted, as (*a*) *Onuphrius* tells us, by Pope *Gregory* the Tenth. And there was good reaſon to endeavour the reſtraint of the too much liberty then uſed by the Cardinals in the election of the Pope [though we ſee the greateſt care abuſed in our times in ſuch actions] by which means their Chair would ſometimes be void a long time, to the ſhame both of the Electors and their Profeſſion; of which, this *Gregory* the Tenth may ſerve for an Example: For *Clement* the Fourth being (*b*) dead, the *Cardinals* though then but a few, *viz.* XVII, could by no means agree about a Pope; for though they met oft about it, yet they would never conclude upon the perſon; every one of them endeavouring to be the man, they would not conſent to another. *Philip* King of *France*, and *Charles* of *Sicily*, deſired them to haſten the election, but all would not do; which occaſioned *John* Biſhop and Cardinal of *Porto*, ſeeing the ſelf-obſtinate ambition of the Cardinals, and yet calling upon the Holy Ghoſt to aſſiſt them, jeeringly ſay to them, *My Maſters, let us open the top of the Room, for the Holy Ghoſt cannot come to us through ſo many Coverings.*

a Annot. ad *Platin.* vit. *Greg.* X.

b An. 1278.

Sæpius ſiquidem congregati negotium conficere nulla ratione valuere, dum unuſquiſq; ipſorum ad Pontificatum aſpirans, nemini cedere vellet. *Onuphr.* loco citato.

Domini, diſcooperiamus tectum Cameræ hujus, quia ſpiritus ſanctus nequit ad nos per tot tecta ingredi.

And when they perceived that none of themſelves, by reaſon of their diſſention could be choſen, after almoſt (*c*) three years wrangling and canvaſing about it; at laſt *Theobaldus* Archdeacon of *Liege*, then in the *holy Land* in promoting of that War, was pitcht upon, who upon notice went to *Italy*, and call'd himſelf *Gregory* the Tenth. Upon the election of this Pope, the aforeſaid Cardinal of *Porto* made theſe two riming Verſes, a way then much in Faſhion.

c Two years nine months and one day.

Papatus munus
Tulit Archidiaconus unus,

Quem Patrem Patrum
Fecit diſcordia Fratrum.

Of *Liege* the Archdeacon
Was choſe Pope from *Acon*;

By the Diſcord of Brothers
Made Dad of all others.

But of this tedious diſſention amongſt the Cardinals, voluminous *Baronius*, becauſe 'tis a blot to his Church, will ſcarce give you ſo much as one hint. This *Gregory* the Tenth, amongſt other Laws concerning the Election of Popes, decreed in a

Council at *Lyons* in the fourth Rule, That *not onely Cardinals who were abſent, but that any man of what Order or Condition ſoever might be choſen Pope.* But this is now laid aſide, with ſome other of his Conſtitutions concerning the *Conclave.*

IV Non ſolum Cardinales abſentes, ſed omnes cujuſvis Ordinis & Conditionis homines in Romanum Pontificem creari poſſint. *Onuphr.* & *Baron.* anno Pap. 3.

Popes were formerly choſen by the ſuffrages of the Clergy then preſent, though of inferiour rank: After this, the power of election was reſtrain'd onely to Cardinals; and theſe ſometimes not agreeing, but falling into divers ſchiſms, one party holding him for Pope who they gave their votes for, others acknowledging none but whom they nominated, and ſometimes a third party would ſtand to another: but to prevent this, *Alexander* the Third, who had like to have loſt the Popedom by theſe means, in a (*a*) *Lateran* Council, order'd a way by *Scrutiny*, and that none ſhould be held for Pope, but he who had at leaſt two parts in three for him.

a 1179.

But this alſo in time was found not ſecure enough to binde up the ſelf-ended intereſt of the *Cardinals*: And therefore the aforeſaid *Gregory* the Tenth in a Council at (*b*) *Lyons* by Decree order'd a cloſe *Conclave*, all under one Roof, not divided by any Walls, but onely having the Cells of the Cardinals, divided one from another by Wollen-cloath; and that the Cardinals ſhould by no means be permitted to go out of this *Conclave*, till they had choſen a Pope; and if any of them got out before an election, they ſhould be compell'd to go in again: That if after three days a Pope be not choſen, then their allowance of dyet to be leſned, and but one (*c*) Diſh or Meſs granted them: And none to be choſen till he had two parts of three. But all theſe, except the laſt, are laid aſide.

b 1274.

c Ferculum unum.

Other (*d*) Orders have been made by divers Popes concerning this election, too tedious here to mention: Of late days (*e*) *Gregory* the XV made Rules for the *Conclave* by a *Bull*, and a quarter of a year after a *Ceremoniale*, which were confirm'd by (*f*) another of his Succeſſor *Urban* VIII, which XXXVII Cardinals, (the reſt I ſuppoſe abſent) by their ſubſcription *promis'd, vow'd* and *ſware* to obſerve, and XLI ſubſcribed the ſame to that of *Gregory* XV.

d Dist. 79. *Clemens* VII an. 1529. *Pius* IV, an. 1562.

e Dat. *Rome* 1621.

f Dat. *Rome* 1625.

Ego ----- S. R. E. *Card.*
--- *promitto, voveo & juro.*

The *Bulls* themſelves being very long, I ſhall refer the Reader to them.

Sect.

Sect. 2.

That the Temporal Power had formerly the greateſt ſtroke in the Election of Popes; and that it yet hath, though by underhand-dealings.

TEmporal Princes finding themſelves oftentimes diſturb'd and in danger, not onely by the divers Factions ariſing about the Popedom, but alſo by the imperious and incroaching humour of the Biſhops of *Rome*, have alſo reſtrain'd theſe Inormities by their Laws.

The Emperour *Honorius* (of whom we lately heard) being greatly troubled by the Tumults and Factions between *Bonifacius* and *Eulalius*: To prevent ſuch ſiding, made a Law, that if [*a*] two ſtrove for the Popedom, neither of them ſhould be capable, but another election to be made. Pope [*b*] *Vitalianus* according to the cuſtom, ſent news of his election to the Emperour, without which acknowledgement he ſhould not be Pope.

[*c*] *Felix* the Fourth choſen Pope by *Theodorick* King of the *Oſtrogoths*, then ruling in *Italy*: and [*d*] *Severinus* retain'd the ſame Dignity by the confirmation of *Iſatius*, then onely *Exarch* in *Italy*: *Platina* himſelf confeſſing, that in thoſe days, *the Election of Popes by the Clergy and People was of none effect, unleſs they were confirm'd or approved of by the Emperours or their Exarchs.* And *Pelagius* the Second being choſen Pope, when he and the City of *Rome* were cloſely beſieged by the *Lombards*, ſent as ſoon as he could poſſibly to the Emperour at *Conſtantinople*, to ſatisfie and pacifie him, concerning the election without his Imperial knowledge, laying the fault upon the ſiege. And *Onuphrius* here commenting upon *Platina*, confeſſeth the cuſtom of the Emperour's approving the Pope; for which approbation, the Elected was to pay a certain ſum of money; and that at every election, there was a ſpecial care taken for the promotion of one, who was a known friend and creature to the Emperour, and one who would act nothing againſt the Emperour. But now the caſe is alter'd.

a Diſt. 79. c. *Sidus.*

b Diſt 63. c. *Agatho.*

c *Biron.* an. 526.

d *Platin.* vit. *Severini.*

Vana tunc enim habebatur Cleri ac Populi Electi niſi ad Imperatores aut eorum *Exarchi* confirmaſſent. *Platin.* vit. *Sever.*

Hæc autem una fuit cauſa, quare *Pelagius* injuſſu Principis, tum Pontifex creatus eſt, cum extra obſeſſam ab hoſte urbem mitti quiſpiam non poſſet. Nil enim tum a Clero in eligendo Pontifice actum erat, niſi ejus electionem Imperator approbaſſet. *Platin.* vit. *Pelag.* II.

And why ſhould we ſuſpect the authority of Temporal Princes in theſe things, having ſuch good proof? and beſides this, their own *Canon-law* aſſures us that Pope [*e*] *Hadrian* the Firſt freely granted to *Charles* the Great of *France* (after Emperour of *Germany*) the ſole power of chuſing the Popes and other Biſhops. This being ſuch a fair grant, and with conſent too of the Clergy, whereby a fatal ſtroke was then given to the Papal juriſdiction; [*f*] *Baronius*, and others after him [for the Modern Hiſtorians do but according to the Fable lick up his Spittle] bend their whole power and skill to cry down this as a forgery, thereby to free their Church from this clog.

e Diſt 63. c. *Adrianus.*

f Of this cheat in *Baronius*, ſee more in *Fran. Maſon* of Conſecration of Biſhops, lib. 4. cap. 7. p. 166, 167.

And to carry it on more cleerly, [*g*] *Baronius* takes upon him to rail

g An. 774.

rail dapperly againſt the ancient and noted Chronologer *Sigebertus Gemblacenſis* (*i.e.* of *Gemblaurs* in *Brabant*) looking upon him as an Enemy to the Church, for [*a*] affirming ſuch a ſtory, which the Cardinal would perſwade us to be a meer forgery.

a An. 773.

But before he do this, he muſt alſo cleer the *Canon-law* from the ſame crime; and thus he indeavours to do it: He cannot deny but that this ſtorie and *Order* is in the *Decrees*; nor will he accuſe *Gratian*, the Collector of them, to have been diſhoneſt in putting it amongſt the reſt: How then? onely that *Gratian* here might not be careful enough, to conſider what he did, and ſo took it out of *Sigebertus*, and put it down for authentick in the Canon.

But by the Cardinals favour, I ſhall bring this Argument for confirmation of this Canon, which after ſo much pains he holds forth to diſprove it; for they both living at the ſame time, and hitting ſo exactly upon the ſame ſtorie, doth the more confirm its authenticknes, it being very probable that neither of them ſaw one anothers Writings, living ſo far diſtant, as the one in *Brabant*, the other in *Italy*; and in thoſe days there was neither friendſhip or correſpondencie between thoſe places; if there had been, 'tis probable had the Authors known one another, they had been as great Enemies as their Maſters, *Henry* the Emperour, and Pope *Gregory* the Seventh.

Baronius endeavours to overthrow this *Canon* by another Argument, *viz.* that the word *Inveſtitura* was not known in thoſe times: but the *Gloſſaries* will aſſure us the contrary; and for more ſatisfaction on this point againſt *Baronius*, I ſhall refer you to the well-read [*b*] *Goldaſtus*, [*c*] *Boeclerius*, and [*d*] *Laurentius Banck*.

b Rationale Conſtitutionum Imperialium, p. 1, 2, 3.
c Germ Cæſar. in *Carolo* Mag. pag. 36, 37, 38, 39.
d De Tyran. p. 157, 158, 159, *&c.* And their own *Gloſſaries* upon this *Canon*, confirm the ſtory.

But before I leave this, I cannot but take notice of one pretty cheat. I told you formerly of the knavery of their Antiquary *Aubertus Miræus* in his corrupting ancient Authors; and here he is tardy again: for in his Edition of *Sigebertus* he quite leaves out this whole ſtorie, as if the Author had writ no ſuch thing; whereas *Baronius* himſelf aſſures the world that *Sigebert* writ it, and rants againſt him bitterly for ſo doing; nor hath any queſtioned the integrity of old Editions 'till this *Miræus*, whom I have formerly proved (againſt his *Notitia Epiſcopatuum*) to be a notorious forger, even to the putting forth of his own things for ancient Manuſcripts; and ſo no credit to be given to him, let him pretend what ancient Copies he pleaſeth. I have ſeen one ancient Manuſcript of *Sigebertus*, which formerly belong'd to our famous Antiquary Mr. *Cambden*; but to this place I can ſay nothing of it, becauſe this very place, with above an hundred years beſides, have been, God knows how and when, convey'd from the reſt of the Hiſtory.

This Grant of *Adrian* is alſo mentioned (according to their *Canon-Law*) by Pope [*e*] *Leo* the Eighth, in his confeſſion of the ſame Priviledges of electing of Popes, to the Emperour *Otho* the Firſt. But 'tis to ſmall purpoſe to trouble my ſelf any more about theſe things; ſince, long ago, they have deny'd any ſuch prerogative to remain in Temporal Authority; nor will they grant to the Emperour or Kings any intereſt of ſuch an Election, but this onely to be done by the Cardinals, who no doubt will chuſe according to their

e Diſt 63. c. *In Synodo.*

Conſciences

Conſciences, and not by favour or reward, every one of them ſwearing ſo to do, before every ſcrutiny.

The Oath.

Teſtor Chriſtum Dominum, qui me judicarus eſt, me Eligere quem ſecundum Deum judico Eligi Debere, & quod idem in Acceſſu præſtabo.

And yet when we conſider the ſtrange factions, canvaſings, and deſigns in the *Conclave*, we might think that intereſt ſway'd more there, than this Oath or Conſcience. Add to this, that there are always ſome *Cardinals*, whoſe own revenues will ſcarce keep them in that ſplendour befitting the red Hat: And theſe are commonly underhand-Penſioners to *France* or *Spain*, from whoſe Kings they receive yearly ſtipends; and ſo muſt always act according to the pleaſure of their Pay-Maſter. Add further, that at every Election the Cardinals act under ſeveral Chieftains; and though *France* and *Spain* in a manner divide the *Conclave*, yet others, eſpecially the Duke of *Tuſcany*, have alſo their Creatures there, who beſtir themſelves vigorouſly for the deſigns of theſe their Lay-Patrons; who though excluded from voting, yet are the onely chuſers of the Pope by their thus ruling the Cardinals.

As for inſtance, the death of a Pope being known, 'tis the cuſtom of the King of *Spain*, &c. to ſend inſtructions to his Ambaſſadour, or ſome other Confident at *Rome*, how to carry on the *Conclave*, that a friend of his might be choſen; and alſo nominates five or ſix, any of which he is willing to be Pope; and at the ſame time ſends the names of ſome others, whom by no means he will not allow to be elected; by which means Cardinal *Baronius* loſt the Title of Holineſs, the *Spaniard* wholly excluding him, for (*a*) ſcratching a little upon the *Spaniſh* Territories of *Sicily*. The inſtructions being come, the Cardinals of his Faction act accordingly; And he (though he deſerve the Chair never ſo much; as for Example, *Baronius*) who is thus excepted againſt by a King, 'tis an hundred to one he ſhall never change his red Hat for a Triple Crown.

'Tis true, ſometimes a few Cardinals in the *Conclave*, when they ſee they cannot bring their own ends about, exclaim pittifully againſt this *mode* of ſubmitting their ſuffrages and conſciences to the pleaſure of this or that King; and now and then Pen and Paper are imploy'd in making little Tracts of Oppoſitions and Juſtifications of ſuch Actions; but this ſcribling and crying out of a few Cardinals, never hinders the reſt from proſecuting their intended deſigns. And thus we ſee that yet the Temporal Authority hath a main ſtroke, if not all, in the election of Popes.

And here I cannot but ſmile at *Thomas Bozius*, who makes a great deal of noiſe and bluſtering in behalf of the Popes juriſdiction; and what an horrid danger and judgement 'twill be, to croſs the Biſhops of *Rome*. For, ſaith he, the Emperours *Honorius* and *Valentinian* the Third reſtrained the Popes of ſome Temporal Power; and then the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and *Heruli* waſted *Italy*. Again, that the Emperour *Juſtinian* made a Law, that the Popes ſhould not be conſecrated, without firſt conſulting the Emperour, and paying a certain ſum

(*a*) An. 1097. This Tract is left out in ſome Edition of his Annals, the King of *Spain* having made an *Edict* againſt it. See *D'Avily* les Eſtats, p. 235.

De *Italiæ* ſtatu, lib. 4. c. 3. p. 388. 390.

Id. p. 395.

ſum of money for it; and ſo the Plague or Peſtilence ſeis'd upon *Italy*, and *Totila* the *Goth* took *Rome*. Again, long after this another Law was made, that the Pope ſhould not be conſecrated, but in the preſence of the Emperours or their Deputies; and therefore beſides Plagues, great Earth-quakes troubled *Italy*, and the *Saracens* and *Huns* lorded it there alſo. And ſuchlike conſequences as theſe he hath ſtore of, and all as true as the Star fell down, and therefore the Aſtronomer ſhot it with his *Jacobs-ſtaff*.

Pag. 403.

And truely, the reſt is much after the ſame faſhion, the ſum of his whole Book being onely this: *Italy* is more fruitful, hath more and greater Cities and Towns, brave Monaſteries and Churches, better Houſes and Colledges, and more knowing men and women for theſe laſt twelve hundred years, than it was or had before; *Ergo*, the Pope and his Authority is the greateſt happineſs that can happen to *Italy*.

And is not this a notable wonder, that building ſhould increaſe in ſo many hundred years? If this way of Argumentizing be authentick, 'tis coming time, not Scripture or Antiquity, that muſt prove any Religion, the which upon this account muſt grow better and better; and ſo as they ſay, Modern Proteſtantiſm muſt be held a greater bleſſing and benefit than that which they call ancient Popery, in thoſe Nations where the reformed Religion bears the ſway.

Sect. 3.

An Eſſay upon this Quere,
Whether for ſome years paſt, there hath been according to their Decrees and Orders, really any true Pope?

HAving thus haſtily diſcours'd ſomething concerning the Election of Popes, it will not be amiſs to add theſe few following Obſervations, which may add ſome light to the buſineſs; and by a farther proſecution, may be of greater conſideration, than at this time I ſhall trouble my ſelf withal, but leave it to the cenſure of every man.

In the time of *Paul* the Fifth [who began his Popedom in 1605] there lived in *Italy* a great Scholar, and a ſevere *Roman* Catholick, who being troubled at the odd carriage of the Popes and their Election, thought it convenient to have a General Council to rectifie all; but knowing the Biſhops of *Rome* to have a natural averſneſs from this, look'd upon himſelf obliged, as a true ſon of the *Roman* Church, to endeavour as much as lay in his power, the promotion of ſuch a publick benefit to his Religion.

And therefore, (knowing the Popes againſt it) he drew up a (*a*) Petition to the Emperour and other Chriſtian Kings, to bring this noble and charitable deſign about. And poſſibly fearing, that if this his ſupplication ſhould onely come into the hands of the Potentates of the *Roman* Catholick perſwaſion, it might there be ſtifled by the over-perſwaſion of their intereſted Favourites and Councellors: To prevent this, ſeeing our King *James* of a publick ſpirit for the

(*a*) Supplicatio ad Imperatorem, Reges, Principes, ſuper cauſis Generalis Concilii convocandi.

the benefit of the Church; he directs it onely to him, that by his means his neceſſitating reaſons might be diſcover'd to the Emperour and the other Chriſtian Princes. Upon this the Author (*a*) dyeth at *Rome*, leaves this *Petition* with a dear Friend of his, who delivers it to an *Engliſh* Gentleman then there, who accordingly convey'd it to King *James*, who preſently diſpers'd it all *Europe* over.

a An. 1613.

As for the Author, I ſhall poſitively ſay nothing, but that he appears one to have been very well verſed in the *Roman* affairs: the common opinion is, that it was the famous *Neapolitan Civilian* Dr. *Marta*, of whom we have formerly hinted; and indeed his very ſubſcribing himſelf to the Supplication *NOVUS HOMO*, doth intimate that he had now in ſomething changed his Opinion: and we cannot but obſerve that this Supplication carryeth all along a grand reſpect and veneration to Temporal Authority over *Rome* it ſelf in ſome things; whereas Dr. *Marta* in his other Volumes is ſo reſolute a Champion for the Popes very Temporal Prerogative, that he ſcrews up the power and juriſdiction of the *Romiſh* Biſhops, even to trample upon all other Potentates in this world. If *Marta* be the man, it muſt be the diſcovery of ſome grand iniquities that could thus alienate his affection from Pope *Paul* the Fifth.

In this his diſcourſe is indeavoured to prove a failing in the ſucceſſion of Popes, raiſing the Foundation from the Simoniacal entrance of *Sixtus* the Fifth. But probably one might fetch a farther riſe than this, even by viewing over their own ſchiſms, where ſometimes we ſhall finde ſuch odd chopping and changing of Popes, that the wiſeſt then living could not tell which or where was the Head of the Church; and yet every party creating Cardinals, and declaring himſelf Chriſt's Vicar. Now this is certain, [ſince the time they have acknowledged that none but Cardinals can elect a Pope] that if ever a Biſhop of *Rome* was choſen by thoſe Cardinals who were created by an Antipope, or one not truely (as they ſay) Chriſt's Vicar, that then ſuch an Election is of no validity, being made by thoſe who were not truely Cardinals, and ſo wanted an authentick Authority to make ſuch an election. And if the ſucceſſion once fail, I know not how or when it muſt begin again.

But becauſe the aforeſaid *Italian* foundeth his main deſign upon *Simony*, I ſhall onely Preface a little on the ſame crying ſin, and that but a few years before his *Sixtus* the Fifth.

When they declare that the ſin of (*a*) *Simony* is *Hereſie*; and ſo he that is guilty of the firſt, muſt alſo be an Heretick; and when they alſo confeſs that if a Pope be (*b*) choſen by *Simony*, then that Election is null and void: and ſeeing they go yet farther, as to affirm, that if a Pope be Heretical, he is not onely (*c*) inferiour to all other Chriſtians, but (*d*) falleth from his Popedom; and ſo not being Head of the Church, 'tis no difficult matter from theſe Principles (thus granted by them) to prove a failing, if not an end of their ſucceſſion.

a *Gondiſalv. de Villadiego*, contra hæreticam pravitatem Quæſt. 1. ſect. 3. *Flav. Cherubinus* Compend Bullar. Tom. 1. pag. 152. Card. *Jacobat.* de Concil. l. 8. art. 8. ſect. 8. Id. l. 4. art. 4. ſect. 53. *and ſo their Canon-Law.* 1. q. 1. c. *Presbyter.* c. *Quicunque.* c. *Cum liqueat.* c. *Eorgni.* c. *Fertur.* c. *Statuimus Decretum.*

b *Petr. de Baiſius* director. Electionum, cap. 14. *Hieron. Monfred.* deciſ. 321. *Eman. Sa*, Aphoriſm. v. *Papa.* 1.

c *Mart. de Carazziis* de Principibus, Quæſt. 199.

d *Jo. Hieron. Alban.* de poteſt. Papæ, p. 1. ſect. 6. Card. *Jacobit.* de Concil. l. 9. art. 1. ſect. 12, 3. *Martinus de Carazziis* de Principibus, Queſt. 522. *Eman. Sa*, Aphoriſm. v. *Papa*, ſect. 6.

And

And that Popes ought of old to be depoſed for obtaining their Dignities by *Simony*, or ſuchlike unlawful means, is undeniable from the (*a*) *Decree* made above DC years ago in the time of *Nicholas* the Second, in a Council at *Rome*. And ſince that time, *Julius* the Second made a more vigorous *Bull* againſt the Simoniacal Election of Popes, and the nulling of ſuch a choice; of which we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter.

a Si quis pecunia vel gratia humana, aut populari militarive tumultu, ſine concordi & Canonica Electione *Cardinalium* in throno *Petri* collocatus, is non Apoſtolicus, ſed Apoſtaticus, id eſt, à ratione deficiens meritò vocetur: liceatq; Cardinalibus, Clerius & Laius Deum colentibus, illum ut prædonem anathematizare, & quovis humano auxilio à ſede Apoſtolica propellere: atque quovis in loco, ſi in Urbe non liceat, Catholicos hujuſce rei cauſa congregare. *Platina* vit. *Nichol.* II. & *Diſt.* 97. c. *ſi quis.*

Now, if that horrid and unmanly ſin of *Simony* make an Election illegal and void, what ſhall we think of Pope *Alexander* the Sixth, who by this corrupt means obtain'd the Papal dignity? as their own (*b*) *Mariana*, (*c*) *Onuphrius*, with (*d*) *Guicciardine* do declare; and though (*e*) *Coquæus* is unwilling to meddle with this objected crime, yet his Country-man, and fellow Doctor of *Paris*, (*f*) *Coeffeteau*, not being able to confute the Objection, doth profeſs, that we need not trouble our ſelves to bring out Teſtimonies to prove it, ſince all the world doth confeſs it.

b De rebus *Hiſpan.* lib. cap. 2.
c Vit. *Alexand.* VI. apud *Platin.*
d Lib. 1. *beginning.*
e Anti Mornæus, Tom. 2. p. 305.
f Il ne faut point chercher tant de Teſmoins pour proves une choſe que tout le monde avoüe. *Coeffet.* Reſponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquite. pag. 1209.

If this *Alexander* by his illegal obtaining that dignity was no true Pope, then the Cardinals by him created were alſo falſe ones; and ſo the Popes by them elected, of no true Authority or Juriſdiction to be Chriſt's Vicars.

This *Alexander* remaining Biſhop of *Rome* above eleven years, at ſeveral Creations (others dying in the time) made theſe following XLIII Cardinals.

1. *Jo. Borgia*
2. *John Morton*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*
3. *Jo. Anton. de S. Georgio* ● 1
4. *Jo. de la Grolaye*
5. *Bernardinus Coravagial* ● 2
6. *Raymund. Perauld*
7. *Ceſar Borgia*, Baſtard to Pope *Alexander* the Sixth: for this Pope had three Sons and two Daughters.
8. *Hippolitus Eſtienſis*
9. *Friderieus Caſſimirus*, Son to the King of *Poland.*
10. *Julianus Ceſarini* ● 3
11. *Dominicus Grimanus* ● 4
12. *Alexander Farneſius* ● 5
13. *Bernardinus de Lunate*
14. *Guillielmus Briſſoneta*
15. *Bartholomæus Martinus*
16. *Johan. de Caſtro* ● 6
17. *Johan. Lopez*

18. *Johan.*

18. *Johan. Borgia*, Nephew to the Pope, poyſoned by *Ceſar Borgia*
19. *Aloyſius de Arragonia* ● 7
20. *Philipp. de Lucemburgo*
21. *Georg. de Amboſia* ● 8
22. *Thomas ex oppido Herdouth, Hungarus*
23. *Jacobus Serra*, al. *Caſanova* ● 9
24. *Petrus Iſſualies*
25. *Diego Hortado de Mendozza*
26. *Franciſcus Borgia*, ſuppoſed to be Son to the Pope *Galliſtus* the Third. ● 10
27. *Johan. Vera* ● 11
28. *Ludovicus Podacatharus* ● 12
29. *Jo. Anton. Trivultius* ● 13
30. *Jo. Baptiſt. Terrarius*
31. *Amanatem de Albreto* ● 14
32. *Petr. Ludovic. Borgia* ● 15
33. *Marcus Cornelius* ● 16
34. *Jo. Stephanus Ferrerius* ● 17
35. *Johan. Caſteller* ● 18
36. *Franciſcus Remolinus*
37. *Franciſcus Soderinus* ● 19
38. *Melchior Copis*
39. *Nicholaus de Fliſco* ● 20
40. *Franciſcus de Sprata*, al. *Spares* ● 21
41. *Hadrianus Caſtellenſis* ● 22
42. *Jacobus Caſanova* ● 23
43. *Franciſcus Ioris* ● 24

After the death of this *Alexander*, XXXVII Cardinals, after ſome diſturbance and fears, enter into the *Conclave*, to elect another Pope; and of this little number, there were XXIV of this *Alexanders* Creation, whoſe names you ſee mark'd with this ●. In this *Conclave* was *Pius* the Third choſen; but how could he be legally elected, if almoſt two parts in three of the Cardinals had no lawful voice?

But again, ſuppoſing all the Cardinals to be legally created; yet, how can the election of this *Pius* be true and lawful, ſeeing he was ſo far from having the voices of two parts in three, or a Majority (though this would not make a true election) that he onely obtain'd the (*a*) leſs part or number in the *Conclave* for him? and yet was, I know not how, declared for Pope.

(*a*) *Alphonſ. Ciaconius vit. Pii* III.

What in part hath been objected againſt *Pius* the Third, may alſo paſs upon *Julius* the Second: for though at his election there were XXXVII Cardinals in the *Conclave*, yet XXVI were of *Alexanders* creation: And if this ſtand good, then we may affirm that there hath been no true Pope ſince.

But let us proceed: this *Julius* the Second (it may be being troubled at the clamours againſt the Simoniacal election of *Alexander* the Sixth, a Pope compoſed of wickedneſs) with the conſent of his Cardinals in Conſiſtory, made a notable *Bull* to prevent theſe inconveniencies, part of which take as followeth.

Nos--- de fratrum noſtrum S. R. E. *Cardinalium concilio & unanimi conſenſu; hac noſtra perpetuo valitura Conſtitutione, Apoſtolica authoritate, & de poteſtatis noſtra plenitudine, Statuimus, Ordinamus, Decernimus & Definimus, Quod ſi (quod Deus ſua Clementia & ineffabili bonitate avertat) contigerit, poſtquam nos vel ſucceſſores noſtros ſucceſſivè, ipſe Deus ab hujuſmodi univerſali Eccleſiæ Regimine abſolverit (humani generis inimico procurante, & Ambitione vel cupiditate ad hoc inclinate ſeu impellente) electionem Rom. Pontificis ab eo quem eligi contigerit, vel ab aliquo ſeu, aliquibus de Cœtu Cardinalium, quomodolibet votum dantibus per Simoniacam hæreſim, in dando, promittendo vel recipiendo Pecunias, Bona cujuſque generis, Caſtra, Officia vel Beneficia, ſeu promiſſiones & obligationes commiſſam, per ſe vel per alium, ſeu alios quomodocunq; & qualitercunq; etiam in duorum partium vel omnium Cardinalium unanimi concordia, quomodo libet etiam per viam* Aſſumptionis *unanimiter, nemine diſcrepante, etiam ſine* Scrutinio *facto celebrari vel fieri: Non ſolum hujuſmodi* Electio *vel* Aſſumptio *eo ipſo* nulla *exiſtat, & nullam eidem ſic* electo *vel* Aſſumpto *adminiſtrandi in ſpiritualibus & Temporalibus facultatem tribuat; ſed etiam contra dictum ſic* Electum *vel* Aſſumptuus *de* Simoniaca *labe, à quocunq;* Cardinali *qui eidem Electioni interfuerit apponi & excipi poſſit ſicut de vera & indubitata* Hæreſi, *ita quod à nullo pro* Rom. *Pontifice habeatur. Quinimo ipſo ſic* Electus *à priori ſuo* Cardinalatus *& alio quocunq; honore, Eccleſiis Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis & Patriarchalibus, Monaſteriis, Dignitatibus, & aliis quibuſcunq; Beneficiis & Penſionibus, quæ tunc obtinebat in Titulum vel in Commendam,*

With the advice and unanimous conſent of our Brothers the Cardinals of the holy Church of *Rome*: By this our perpetual Conſtitution, Apoſtolical Authority, and fulneſs of our power, We do Appoint, Ordain, Decree, and Determine, That if it ſhall hereafter fall out (which God of his mercy and goodneſs prevent) that when we or our Succeſſors ſhall by Gods appointment be removed from the Government of this Univerſal Church; that then (through the Devils malice, the Enemy of Mankinde, or the Ambition or Covetouſneſs of the Chuſers) the Election of the new Pope be made and done, either by him who is ſo choſen, or by any other, or more of the Colledge of Cardinals, by the Hereſie of Simoniacal Compact; by giving, promiſing, or receiving monies or goods of any kind, or Lands, or Caſtles, or Offices, or Benefices, or by making any other Promiſe or Obligation whatſoever; whether it be by themſelves or any other, or others, or what other way ſoever it be, and whether that Election be accompliſh'd by two parts, or unanimous conſent of all the Cardinals; and whether it be by *Aſſumption*, or *Adoration*, all agreeing, though without Writing or Scrutiny, yet that the *Election* or *Aſſumption* ſo made, *ſhall be from that very moment Void and of none Effect*; And that no power or faculty ſhall accrew thereby to him ſo thruſt in, of any Adminiſtration, Government or Juriſdiction in matters Spiritual or Temporal: But alſo that it ſhall and may be lawful to any *Cardinal* preſent at the ſame Election, to except againſt the ſame Elected or Intruder, to call him in Queſtion for the crime of *Simony*, as of a true and undoubted *Hereſie*, that ſo he may be accounted and held of all men as no Pope or Biſhop

of

aut alias quomodocunq; eo ipſo abſq; alia declaratione privatus exiſtat. Et Idem Electus non Apoſtolicus ſed Apoſtaticus & tanquam Simoniacus & Hæreſiarcha, & ad prædicta omnia & ſingula perpetuo inhabilis & habeatur & ſit.

Rome. And moreover, that he, thus Elected, ſhall hereby from that time forward, though without a Declaration, remain deprived of his Cardinalſhip, and any other honour whatſoever, whether Cathedral, Metropolitan, or Patriarchal Churches, Monaſteries, Dignities, and all other Benefices and Penſions, which then he either held by Title, or in Commendam. And that he thus Elected ſhall not be held as Apoſtolical, but as an Apoſtate, one guilty of *Simony*, and an Arch-heretick, and never to be capable to enjoy or have all or any of the aforeſaid Benefits.

Nec hujuſmodi Simoniaca Electio per ſubſequentem ipſius Inthronizationem, ſeu temporis curſum, aut etiam omnium Cardinalium Adorationem ſeu Obedientiam, ullo unquam tempore convoleſcat, &c.

Neither ſhall ſuch Simoniacal Election be any time afterwards made good, or be in force by any ſubſequent Inthronization, Adoration, or Obedience, or homage done to him by the Cardinals, or by any Continuance or Courſe of time, *&c.*

Datum Romæ *apud S.* Petrum 1505.

Given at *Rome* 1505.

Having thus ſeen the ſevere Bull for the avoiding and annihilating of Elections obtain'd by *Simony*, or ſuchlike illegal means; let us now ſee whether it hath been obſerved or no: and if not, according to their own Law, down falleth ſucceſſion.

Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth being (*a*) dead, the *Cardinals* in the *Conclave* according to cuſtom fell into ſeveral Factions about the Election; ſome being for *de la Terre*, ſome for *Tarneſius*, ſome approved *Savellius*, others favour'd *Sertettus*; *Caſtagneus* wanted not Friends, *Paleotto* had hopes, and others were now and then thought on: *Ferneſius* headed one party, *Altemps* another, *Alexandrino* a third; S. *Sixtus* by his Authority carryed a great ſtroke there, *de Medici* ruled ſome; and *Aloyſius de Eſte*, Son to the Duke of *Ferrara*, had a great party of Cardinals at his Devotion. (*a*) An. 1585.

Theſe heads of intereſt drawing ſeveral ways, inlarged the Faction: at laſt Cardinal *Montalto* had ſome hopes, finding *Alexandrino* and *de Medici* his Friends, and at laſt to ſtand really for him; but theſe with their dependants not being ſtrong enough to carry it, he gets ſome to tamper with S. *Sixtus*, whilſt himſelf feels the pulſe of *Aloyſius de Eſte*, with whom at laſt he ſtrikes up a Bargain, the Condition of which was this: That whereas there was one *Hieronymus Matthæus* a *Roman* Biſhop of great eſteem in the Court, but one that *de Eſte* above all men hated; that if *Montalto* would promiſe never to make this *Matthæus* Cardinal, *Aloyſius* would give his own voyce, and the ſuffrages of all thoſe Cardinals who were many depending on him, to make the ſaid *Montalto* Pope: this was agreed on be-

tween them; to which *Montalto* did not onely give him his promiſe by mouth, but by open writing ſubſcribed and ratified under his own hand, and ſo he carryed the Popedom from all the reſt, and call'd himſelf *Sixtus* the Fifth.

But now let us ſee how things work'd to bring this Simoniacal Bargain to light. Pope *Sixtus*, after this his Election, having got what he aimed at, broke his Promiſe and Faith made to *de Eſte*, and contrary thereunto, made *Hieronimo Mattheo* Cardinal: which unfaithfulneſs *Aloyſius* took ſo much to heart, ſeeing his Enemies thus advanced to affront him, that he fell deadly ſick; but before his death, to be revenged of *Sixtus*, he ſent the Agreement and Covenant, even the very Original ſigned with *Montalto*'s hand, to *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*; who thereupon in the year 1589, ſent the Duke of *Seſſa* Ambaſſador to *Rome*, to give the Pope notice hereof, and to intimate to him the preſent neceſſity of a *General Council* concerning this Simoniacal Election; and to require the Cardinals (created by his Predeceſſors) and others of the Clergy, to appear in the ſaid Council, which he intended to hold at *Sivil* in *Andaluzia*. The King of *Spain* liking this well enough, having about this time fallen out with the Pope, for not ſhewing himſelf vigorous for his *Caſtilian* intereſt, then troubling *France*: But upon Duke *Seſſa*'s coming to *Rome*, *Sixtus* dyed, and ſo this Council for a new Election fell to the ground.

Yet the ſtory of this Simoniacal Election was not forgot; inſomuch, that when a few years after *Clement* the Eighth [who was made Cardinal by the aforeſaid *Sixtus* the Fifth, and to whoſe Election about thirty illegal Cardinals concur'd] did abſolve *Henry* the Fourth, and ſo acknowledged him King of *France*, ſeveral *Spaniards* openly undertook to prove, that this *Clement* was not lawfully elected Pope, and ſo had no power to abſolve King *Henry*; to which purpoſe alſo ſeveral Books were writ by them. For if *Sixtus* was guilty of *Simony*, then by the Bull of *Julius* the Second he was no true and lawful Pope, and ſo could not make Cardinals, nor theſe ſo ſuppoſed to be created, to elect a Pope: However, he undertook to coyn theſe thirty three Cardinals.

1. *Alexander Perettus de Montalto*; Nephew to this Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth: he was but fourteen years old.
2. *Henricus Caetanus.*
3. *Georgius Draſcovitius.*
4. *Jo. Baptiſt. Caſtruccio.*
5. *Fr. Fridericus Cornelius.*
6. *Dominicus Pinellus.*
7. *Hippolitus de Rubeis.*
8. *Decius Azolinus.*
9. *Hippolito Aldobrandino*, afterwards Pope *Clement* VIII.
10. *Hieronimo du Ruvere.*
11. *Philippus de Lenoncourt.*
12. *Hier. Bernerius de Corrigio.*
13. *Anton. Maria Gallius.*
14. *Conſtantinus Buccafocus Sarnanus.*
15. *Hieron. Matthæus*, Enemy to Cardinal *de Eſte.*
16. *Benedictus Juſtinianus.*
17. *Aſcanus Columna.*

18. *William*

18. *William Allen*, an Engliſhman.
19. *Scipio Gonzaga.*
20. *Antonius Saulius.*
21. *Jo. Evangeliſta Pallotta.*
22. *Petrus Gondius.*
23. *Stephanus Bonuccius.*
24. *Johan. de Mendoza.*
25. *Hugo Verdala.*
26. *Federicus Borremæus.*
27. *Jo. Franciſc. Maurocenus.*
28. *Auguſtinus Cuſanus.*
29. *Franciſcus Maria de Monte.*
30. *Marianus Perbenedictus.*
31. *Gregorius Petrochius de Montelparo.*
32. *Carolus de Lotharingia.*
33. *Guido Pepulus.*

If theſe Cardinals be illegal, then will the following Popes be alſo unlawful: for this *Sixtus* the Fifth being dead, fifty three Cardinals enter the *Conclave*, twenty five of which number were made by *Sixtus*; and being headed by his Nephew *Montalto*, having got ſome others to joyn with them, they choſe Cardinal *Caſtagneus*, who call'd himſelf *Urban* the Seventh, who dyed a few days after; and after him, not without a great deal of clutter, canvaſſing and faction, was choſen Cardinal *Sfondratus*, who call'd himſelf *Gregory* the Fourteenth: and in this *Conclave* was as many of *Sixtus* his Cardinals, as in the former headed by *Montalto*: after ten Months this Biſhops dyed; and after the ſame way was Cardinal *Facchinetto* choſen, who call'd himſelf *Innocent* the Ninth, who after two Months rule alſo dyed.

And the next that ſat in the Chair, was Cardinal *Aldobrandino*, who call'd himſelf *Clement* the Eighth; who before his Election was not ſo much as a Biſhop, and ſo was afterwards, but before his Coronation, made one. Beſides this, if *Sixtus* the Fifth was no true Pope, nor could this *Clement* be one alſo, being made Cardinal (which qualifieth him for the Popedom) by *Sixtus*. But another exception may be brought againſt his Election.

For the Cardinals being in the *Conclave*, two parts in three of them agreed upon Cardinal *de S. Severina*, whom they nominated, took and led into the Chappel of S. *Paul* [*January* 11.] where they ſet him in the Papal Chair, and by publick ſcrutiny proclaim him Pope, and ſo the very (*a*) *Canon* doth acknowledge him. But let us now ſee an after-game, the third part remaining perplext without the Chappel; from them cometh in two Cardinals, *Geſualdus* and *Sfortia*, the firſt crying out, *My Lords, let's number the voices, to ſee if two full parts have conſented*; and with that he began to count, but ſo leiſurely, that in the mean time *Sfortia* had plaid his part ſo well with two of the Cardinals, that he got them out of the Chappel, whereby two parts in three did not continue: Beſides this, at his return into the Chappel, he behaved himſelf ſo cunningly with the other Cardinals, by laying open to them the rigour and ſeverity of *San-Severina* (good Arguments to ſome of them) that ſeveral of them left their thus Elected Pope, and joyning with the third party, who ſtay'd without the Chappel, and nominated

Clement

a Decretal. *Greg.* de Elect. c. *licet de vitanda.*

Clement the Eighth, of the validity of whoſe Election there was a great doubt and diſpute at *Rome*, as a (a) *Romaniſt* confeſſeth.

a Life of Father *Paul*, pag. 62.

Now I ſuppoſe that when two parts in three (the number to make an Election good) have freely given their ſuffrages to ſuch a one to make him Pope, and moreover, in confirmation of it, have declared the ſame more fully by ſome other ceremonies, as ſetting of him in the Pontifical Chair, and ſuchlike, that they cannot recall their Voyces again. Nay further, that if their number had not been ſufficient to compleat an Election, they could not with honeſty recant at the ſame time: However, the very carrying on of this oppoſition was a meer juggle and trick of *Sforti a* and *Geſualdus*, and ſo illegal and null according to the (b) *Canon*.

b Diſt. 23. c. *In nomine Domini*

Nor is it material to ſay that he wanted *Inthronization* or *Adoration*, or kiſſing of the foot. All theſe being but effects and conſequences of a true Election, but not eſſential to the Election; and are appointed to be done to him that is Elected, but do not help forward his Election. Beſides this, their own (c) Canon doth not make theſe neceſſary to an Election; if they cannot conveniently be done, by the oppoſition of ſome croſs-grain'd and wicked-minded men, either by force or cunning, as at this time.

c Loco citato.

If this *Sant-Severina* was truely Elected, then could not *Clement* the Eighth be a true Pope: and if *Clement* had no right to the Popedom, no more could *Leo* the Eleventh, the *Conclave* in which he was choſen, being ruled by the Cardinals made by this *Clement*, thirty nine of them being preſent, he having created fifty three in all.

And the ſame objection might paſs againſt his Succeſſor *Paul* the Fifth, at whoſe Election forty Cardinals made by *Clement* the Eighth aſſiſted. Beſides this, we are told of ſuchlike dealings in this *Conclave*, as there was in that when *S. Severina* had the go-by, *viz.* that in this *Conclave* ſixty one Cardinals entred, forty four of whom [full two parts in three] choſe Cardinal *Tuſchus*, and took him, though ſick and lying in his bed, and had him carryed into the Chappel of *Sixtus* the Fourth, that they might Inthrone and Adore him as a Pope; and whilſt in the mean time, they expected the reſt of the third part, according to cuſtome to increaſe the ſolemnity, they altogether uſed *Tuſchus* as Pope, both by their demeanor, ſome exhibiting Petitions, others begging favours; at laſt, in haſte cometh Cardinal *Baronius*, *Juſtiniano*, and *Montalto*, the Ring-leaders of the third party or faction, and being got to the Chappel-door, *Baronius* cryeth out, *What, will you chuſe a Pope, that at every word ſpeaks bawdily and filthily, to the great ſcandal of Chriſtians?* Upon which, and ſome other diſcourſes, the other Cardinals were tolled away; and ſo poor *Tuſchus* was there left ſick of a Fevour in his bed: and ſo at laſt Cardinal *Borgheſi* was choſen, and call'd *Paul* the Fifth.

:- Quiin omni verbo *Priapum* miſcet.

As for this *Dominicus Tuſchus*, Cardinal *de* S. *Onufrio*, in relation to *Baronius* his accuſation, I ſhall ſay little, onely that he ſhew'd himſelf to be a *Lombard*, [he was born at *Reggio*] where cuſtom makes ſome bad words proverbially familiar, even with the beſt of men; and *Tuſchus* himſelf was naturally of a free, debonnaire, and jocant ſpirit and humour, being all heart, and full of merry ſtories and jeſts; which never agrees with a moroſe and zeal-pretending-gravity: And yet was *Tuſchus* as famous for his skill in Law, as

Baro-

Baronius in Church-ſtory; and for ought that I know, as diligent a Student as the other, as his eight large Volumes can teſtifie, dedicated (a great ſign of good nature) even to this *Paul* the Fifth: they were both of them made Cardinals by *Clement* the Eighth.

But enough of this, though a diſcourſe might be renew'd concerning the awe, if not bribery, that many Cardinals lye under in a *Conclave*, both of Temporal Princes, and others ruling them in theſe Elections, ſufficient to ſatisfie us, that neither Heaven nor a true Spirit hath always an influence in the chuſing of this infallible Vicar.

As for that ſneaking vice of *Simony*, as 'tis moſt triumphant in the Court of *Rome*, as practice can teſtifie; and their old (*a*) *Taxa* declares it to be but a puny *Peccadiglio*, yet by them far greater than (*b*) Murder: ſo I could wiſh it were no where elſe, and 'twould be well if Patron as well as Parſon were obliged by Oath againſt it: But it may be, 'tis dangerous too ſpeak too plain on this caſe, ſince ſtory tells us that the good (*c*) *Arialdus* was publickly murdred for accuſing one, though juſtly, of this vice.

a *Taxa* Cancell. Apoſt. ſect. 4. Tit. 6.
b Id. ſect. 3. Tit. 6, 7. ſect. 4. Tit. 4.
c *Baron.* an. 1066. & 19, 20.

Yet I cannot but think of *Rudolphus* [Son to *Simon* the Second, Duke of *Lorreign*] Biſhop of *Liege* in *Germany*, and I think by ſome made Biſhop of *Ments*; who gloried ſo much in this *Simony*, that one time having ſold a Prebendſhip, ſhew'd publickly the mony to many people, boaſtingly ſaid, *I have hugely inrich'd the Church of Liege, and inlarged her Revenues: for that Prebendſhip which my Predeceſſors uſed to ſell for ten Marks, I have now skrew'd up to paſs for forty.* And this, we may ſuppoſe, was a good price in his time, about five hundred years ago.

Ceſarius Hiſt. lib. 6. cap. 5.

But though the vice with this man went unmask'd and at noonday, one of the *Philips* of *France* by an ingenious trick ſhew'd his diſlike of it; in ſhort, thus: According to mine old Author, the Abbot of S. *Denis* being dead, one came to the King, begg'd the preferment, and offer'd him 500 pounds: the King would conſider of it, but bid him give the money to the Chamberlain: another knowing of this, cometh with the ſame Petition and Sum, and receives the ſame Anſwer: and ſo to a third, all unknown one to another. At laſt the King appoints a day for the diſpoſing of the place; and being ſet in the Chapter-houſe, every one of the three money-givers thinking to be the man, at laſt, after ſome diſcourſe, the King looking about, ſaw a poor Monk ſitting in a corner, never thinking of any preferment; he calls him to him, and bid him take notice that he made him Abbot of St. *Denis*: The poor Monk deſired by all means to be excuſed, as one no way fit for ſuch an honour; and beſides all that, the *Abbey* was in debt, and had not wherewithal to pay it ſufficiently: But the King bid him take no care for that, for he would give him moneys to defray thoſe things; and forthwith order'd the 1500 pounds (given to the King by the three former Competitors) to be given him. And ſo he became Abbot, whilſt the other three deſervedly loſt it. Ib. cap. 14.

And ſuch a ſtory as this there goeth on our King *William* the Second, who though he uſed to be guilty in ſelling Church-places, yet one time it ſeems in a frolick he croſt the humour; for an Abbey being vacant, two Monks went to him to beg it or buy it, in oppoſition one to the other; and in thus out-bidding one another, offer'd great ſums. Whilſt theſe were thus chaffering, the King eſpyed another

nother Monk at the lower end of the Chamber, who, by chance, for company ſake had come along with one of the Competitors: The King asked him, what he would give for it? who anſwered, that he neither had any thing to give, nor if he had, would he give any thing: Well (quoth the King) thou haſt ſpoken like an honeſt man, and art fitter to be Abbot than either of theſe; and ſo beſtowed the Abbey upon him freely. The truth is, it muſt be ſomething elſe, beſides true Politicks, that prefers the covetous man to Church-dignities, becauſe the very Office or Order through him gets an *Odium* amongſt the people.

The Learned *Italian* in his Supplication to the Emperour, &c. from the Popes guiltineſs of *Simony*, concludes the neceſſity of a General Council, to amend and reſtrain theſe enormities: And though he be a ſerious *Romaniſt*, yet he confeſſeth, that upon theſe and ſuchlike faults, the Temporal Princes have good and ſufficient Authority to call ſuch a Council, and earneſtly perſwades the Chriſtian Princes to effect it.

But experience tells us, that theſe meetings are as terrible to the Pope, as tumults to the Grand Seignior; the latter upon ſight of theſe up-rores, fears his ruine and end not to be far off; and the Biſhops of *Rome* ſuppoſe Councils, eſpecially the latter, do rather take away then give them any juriſdiction, whereby ſuch conventions are both chargeable and troubleſome to them, in the carrying on of their intereſt; and therefore they uſe all their cunning and reaſon to draw ſuch power and thoughts from Temporal Princes, and with a thouſand ſlights will prolong the time: To which purpoſe the *Italians* ſay not amiſs of them.

Coll' arte el' Inganno
Lui paſſa Mezzo anno,

Coll' Inganno è coll' arte
Se vive l' altra parte.

With art and with guile
O'th' year they paſt one while,

With guile and with art
They live the other part.

And for confirmation of this, we need go no farther than their Council of *Trent*, it being a long time before the Popes would be perſwaded to call it; and when 'twas held, 'twas carryed on with ſo much cunning and jugling, even to the trouble and grief of many Eminent *Roman* Catholick Divines there, that the *Legates* would permit nothing to be concluded upon, but according as they received directions and orders by Letters from the Pope; which occaſioned the unlucky Proverb, That *the Council of* Trent *was guided by the Holy Ghoſt, ſent to them from* Rome *in a Cloak-bag.* Inſomuch, that ſeveral of the Divines there did divers times publickly complain, that it was not a (*a*) free one: and both the (*b*) Emperour, and the King of (*c*) *France* call'd it a *Convention.*

a Paolo, pag. 507, 508, 530, 551, 623, 635, 644, 659, 661, 683, 566, 569.
b Id. p. 279.
c Id. p. 818.

As

As for the Teſtimonies in the *Italians* ſupplication, I have no reaſon to ſuſpect them; it having been above theſe fifty years diſperſed all *Europe* over, and not (that I know of) in the leaſt contradicted; beſides, ſeveral of their own Hiſtorians do almoſt confeſs as much.

Chap. III.

The Murther of the Emperour Mauritius, *with his Empreſs, Children,* &c. *by wicked* Phocas : *with Pope* Gregory *the Firſt, ſirnamed the Great, his judgement and opinion of that barbarous action; and his Authority pretended over Kings.*

HAving hitherto briefly ſeen the forgery of *Conſtantine's* Donation, the low condition of the Biſhops of *Rome* for ſome hundreds of years, the power and practice of Temporal Princes over them in their Nominations or Approbations, with ſome ſhort Obſervations concerning their Elections: We ſhall now proceed to what we firſt deſigned. 600

Their great Lawyer (*a*) *Gregorius Toloſanus* tells us, that though the Chriſtians indured grievous oppreſſions and cruel torments, yet for the firſt three hundred years they never rebell'd againſt their Kings or Temporal Governours: And had not the Pope incouraged and fomented it, this *ſin of witch-craft* had never been, I am certain, ſo much practiſed by thoſe who call themſelves Chriſtians. But here Cardinal (*b*) *Bellarmine* the Jeſuit joyns hand in hand with (*c*) *Buchanan* the Puritan, to free the Primitive Chriſtians from this *ſcandal* of *Obedience*, and would have the fault to lye not in Religion, but the want of ſtrength; though the former (*d*) *Gregorius* will daſh this Argument in pieces, by telling you that they had force and number enough to perpetrate ſuch wickedneſs, if their wills and piety would allow of it.

a De Repub. lib. 2, 6. cap. 7. & 10.

b De Rom. Pont. lib. 5. cap. 7.

c De jure Reg.

d Loco citato.

As for the Popes Temporal Authorities, *Guicciardine* will tell you that they had none long after theſe times. 'Tis true, this Section is knaviſhly left out in ſome *Italian* Editions, and others who followed them; but you have it at large in the (*e*) *Paris*, (*f*) *London*, and ſome others; and it hath been ſeveral times printed by it ſelf, as at (*g*) *Baſil* in three Langues, *viz. Italian*, *French* and *Latin*; and at (*h*) *London* in four, the *Engliſh* being added to the former; of which the *Italian* according to *Guicciardines* own Manuſcript in *Florence*. As for the Popes ſpiritual Power, as Biſhop of his own See, I have nothing to do with; nor ſhall I trouble my ſelf with the Excommunication of the Emperour *Anaſtatius* by the Popes (*b*) *Gelaſius*, (*b*) *Anaſtatius* the Second, or by (*i*) *Symmachus*, becauſe it

Nel qual tempo i Pontefici Romani privati in tutto di potentia Temporale. *Guicciard.* Hiſt. d' *Ital.* lib. 4.

e *French* 1612.

f *Engl.* 1618.

g 1561.

h 1595.

They are alſo lately, (with amendments of *Thuanus*) printed at *Amſterdam* 1663.

h *Platina.*

i *Baron.* an. 502.

600 it may be, all will not agree of, what was the meaning and authority of ſuch cenſures in thoſe times. We are alſo told that *Euphemius*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, threatned to depoſe this *Anaſtaſius*: if ſo, then it ſeems others beſides *Rome* can unthrone Princes; but I wonder why (*a*) *Baronius* brags ſo much of this, it being quite contrary to the *Roman* greatneſs and prerogative. But let us come to realities.

a An. 491.

Tiberius the Second being dead, there ſucceeded him in the Empire *Mauritius*, famous in War, but he was tainted with covetouſneſs. In this time, *John*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, made the means to have himſelf call'd *Univerſal Biſhop*: at this Title, *Gregory* the Firſt, ſirnamed the Great, Biſhop of *Rome*, taketh great offence; and hoping to get this null'd by his acquaintance with the Emperour *Maurice*, having formerly been at *Conſtantinople* with *Tiberius* and him to prove a confirmation for *Pelagius* the Second in his Popedom, having alſo been God-father to one of *Mauritius* his Sons; as alſo himſelf confirmed in the Papal Chair by the ſame Emperour.

Upon theſe, and ſuchlike good turns and acquaintance, he queſtioned not but to have this Title taken from *John* of *Conſtantinople*; to which purpoſe he ſends to *Mauritius*, his Empreſs and others, Letters after Letters, affirming it to be a (*b*) *New name againſt Goſpel and Canon*; *a title of vanity, profaneſs and blaſphemy*; a (*c*) *horrible and wicked word*; (*d*) that *none of his Predeceſſors had ever uſed ſuch a profane title, to be abhor'd by a Chriſtian minde*; and ſuchlike, to be read in his Epiſtles. But the Emperour did not care to trouble himſelf with theſe paper-ſquablings, onely wiſh'd that they would not bring a ſcandal to the Church by this railing.

b Lib. 4. Epiſt. 32.
c Id. Epiſt. 38. & 39.
d Epiſt. 36.

This troubles *Gregory*; yet he giveth the Emperour all the noble Titles that could be, calling of himſelf onely, (*e*) *Duſt and very Worm of the Earth, his moſt unworthy man or ſervant*, &c. And indeed, he as well as (*f*) other Biſhops of *Rome* in thoſe times were exactly obedient to the Emperours (however the caſe is alter'd now) of which one inſtance at this time may ſatisfie.

e Lib. 6. Ep. 62, & 63, & 64.
f *Duarenus* de ſacris Eccleſ. Miniſt. lib. 1. cap. 5. *and ſee more of this in Andr. Rivet.* Jeſuita Vapul. cap. 28. & 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42. pag. 539, 540, 541, 542, *&c.*

This Emperour perceiving that every one in thoſe zealous times, thought himſelf either cock-ſure of Heaven, or lived more idle, or lazie, or freer from trouble or danger, if he got but a Monks Cowl on, and lived hum-drumming in a Cell or Monaſtery, made a *Decree* againſt (as I may ſay) run-away Souldiers (againſt whom I onely concern my ſelf in the former cenſure:) In which he Ordain'd, that no Souldier, unleſs he was diſmiſs'd, ſhould enter himſelf in a Monaſtery to turn Monk, except he were lame, or otherwiſe unfit for the Wars. And this he ſends to Pope *Gregory*, ordering him to ſee it put in practice and divulged. *Gregory* looks upon this as an unjuſt law, even contrary to Chriſtianity; and deſires the Emperour to conſider how he can anſwer it at the day of Judgement; yet declared that he had fulfill'd his duty, by yeilding obedience to his commands, and ſo had accordingly publiſhed the Order abroad. But I warrant you *Gregory* the Eighth, and our Modern Popes, would not thus obey the Emperours; and yet they will not ſay, that this *Gregory* the Great, an holy Saint in their Calendar, in this his obedience and humility was erronious, or committed a fault.

Lib. 2. Ep. 62.

In the Emperours Army there was one *Phocas*, a common Captain or

or *Centurion*, but a moſt cruel and wicked man, who upon a Mutiny in *Sclavonia*, made himſelf very active, ſo that they flew into open Rebellion; and in this humour, he plaid his Cards ſo well, that he became the onely Ring-leader (thoſe that were loyal being forced to flee) inſomuch, that they heaved him upon a Shield (an old Ceremony not onely in Armies, but alſo in *France* and *Spain*, in proclaming their Kings) and ſhouted him up for Emperour. 600

Having gone thus far in villany, he proceeds; and to looſe no time, in all haſte marcheth to *Conſtantinople*; and that with ſuch a ſtrength, that the Emperour *Mauritius* (who of late had led a very religious life, having ſent to all places to be pray'd for) was forced to flee, and ſo in a little Bark with his Wife and Children, ſtole out of the City over the Chanel to *Chalcedon* [now call'd *Scutari* or *Calcitin*] but being overtaken by *Phocas* his Souldiers, was brought back to *Conſtantinople*, where *Phocas* had the Emperours Children, (which then he had ſeis'd on) murther'd before the Fathers face; the poor *Mauritius* onely repeating that of the *Pſalmiſt*, *Juſt art thou, O Lord, and righteous are thy judgements*. And, which was more, the Emperour having there one of his Sons a little Childe, the kinde Nurſe of it, through a ſtrange pitty, love and loyalty, ſtole it away, and put her own Childe in its ſtead to be ſlain. But the Emperour not to be out-done in compaſſion, unwilling to allow of ſuch a cruel charity, withſtood the deſign, and ſo had his own innocent Infant murdred before his face, and at laſt was himſelf alſo ſlain; then their heads were cut off, and their bodies expoſed to all manner of contumelies. There were alſo murder'd *Petrus*, Brother to the Emperour, and many of the Loyal Nobility.

Theodoſius, eldeſt Son to *Mauritius*, who had alſo been ſome years before Crown'd *Auguſtus* and co-Emperour to his Father, being ſent upon this Rebellion to *Coſrhoes* of *Perſia*, to deſire his aid and aſſiſtance againſt *Phocas*, was alſo overtaken and beheaded. And to make the Tragedy compleat, one *Scholaſticus* an Eunuch having ſaved the Empreſs *Conſtantina* [Daughter to the Emperor *Tiberius*; thus a Father-in-law and Predeceſſor to *Maurice*] and her three Daughters, hid them ſecretly in a Church; yet was not this ſo privily done, but *Phocas* heard of it, and ſent to have them delivered. *Cyricius* the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* made ſome oppoſition, nor would he yeild them up, till *Phocas* had by Oath ſworn to do to them no violence; which for ſome time he kept, thruſting them into a Monaſtery, but at the years end, had them all four moſt barbarouſly butcher'd.

Here we have *Phocas* one of the moſt abſolute Villains in the world: as for *Mauritius*, (a) *Baronius* himſelf cannot but give him many commendations; yet he will quickly ſhoot his bolt to finde out the Reaſon of all theſe Judgements againſt him; and all this, becauſe forſooth he would not comply with the liberty of the Church, as they call it, and was not a ſure Friend to *Gregory*; for this is that which he aims at. a An. 602. § 23.

And now let us ſee how Pope *Gregory* behaved himſelf towards this Villain; he no ſooner hears of this abominable Murther, and how the Tyrant had made himſelf Emperour, but he hath the Statues of *Phocas* and his Wife carryed through *Rome* in triumph, with a great many pretty cantings; and then with a great deal of ſtate and glory placed up amongſt the other Emperours. Nor was this

600 all: for he writes to *Phocas*, congratulating his good ſucceſs, as the
a *Baron.* an. Angels did the Nativity of our Saviour, —— [a] *Glory be to God*
603. § 3. *in the higheſt, who, as it is written, changeth the times, and tranſlateth*
Kingdoms; —— *For which we rejoyce that thou art come to the*
Empire: Let the heavens rejoyce, and let the earth leap for joy; and
of your gracious actions, let all the people be exceeding glad. ——
b Id. § 5. In another [b] Letter to the ſame Tyrant, he rejoyceth, and thanks
God that he is Emperour, and that *Mauritius* was taken away. And
in another to *Leontia*, Wife to *Phocas*, he thus begins, ——
c Ib. § 6. [c] *What tongue can declare? what minde can conceive, the thanks*
which we owe to God for your Empire? ——

And yet if we conſult Hiſtorians, they will aſſure us, that this *Phocas* was not onely a *cruel, furious and bloudy-fellow*, but alſo a
d Ib. § 9. *drunkard, wencher*, yea, and an *Heretick* too. But [d] *Baronius* and
e Tom. 1. pag. 333. [e] *Coquæus* are very buſie to quit him of the laſt fault, and ſo make him a good *Roman* Catholick. But be as bad as he will, 'tis confeſt that his Wife *Leontia* was guilty of the ſame vices. Whereby I can ſcarce think of Pope *Gregory*'s Letters, but I muſt at the ſame time remember the flattering and wicked *Addreſſes*, of late days, made to *Oliver* and his Son *Richard*, by their canting Armies, and ſuchlike knaviſh Phanaticks; who in the hight of their wickedneſs would impudently pretend the Spirit of God to be their Informer. I do not here compare Pope *Gregory* to theſe Villains; yet I can eaſily perſwade my ſelf, that he had not (as the *Turks* ſtory of their great Prophet) the Pigeon or Holy Ghoſt, at the writing of theſe Letters, directing him at his ear, as they ſay ſometime he had; and ſo they always paint him.

The Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* having (as aforeſaid) ſomewhat angred *Phocas*, for not delivering the Empreſs *Conſtantina* and her Daughters to his cruelty, without an oath of ſecurity; and the Tyrant ſeeing himſelf thus bravely courted by the Infallible *Roman*, condeſcended to the requeſt of Pope *Boniface* the Third, and ſo decreed, That the Church of *Rome* ſhould be the [e] *Head* or Chief of all other Churches; and this in oppoſition to the *Conſtantinopolitan* Church, which had appropriated to her ſelf the ſtile of the firſt Church. And her Patriarchs had took upon them the Title of *Univerſal Biſhops*, which greatly troubled this *Gregory* the Firſt, who in oppoſition to that other [f] *Prophane* and [g] *Blaſphemous* Title [*viz. Univerſal*] (but now made uſe of by all Popes) termed himſelf the *ſervant of ſervants of God*; upon which Title their [h] Gloſs affords us this Diſtich:

e Hic Rogante Papa *Bonifacio*, *ſtatuit* ſedem *Romanæ* Eccleſiæ ut *Caput* eſſet omnium Eccleſiarum; quia Eccleſia *Conſtantinopolitana* primum ſe omnium Eccleſiarum ſcribebat. *Paul. Diac.* de geſtis *Romanorum*, lib. 18. in vit. *Phocæ*.

f As *Gregory* himſelf call'd it.

g 1 Q. 7. c. *Quoties cordis.* Gloſſ. *& per te.*

Servi erant tibi Roma *prius* Domini Dominorum,
Servorum Servi *nunc tibi ſunt Domini.*

The greateſt Kings once ſerv'd thee *Rome*, but now
To th' leaſt of *ſervants* thou thy neck doſt bow.

This Title hath been ever ſince uſed by his Succeſſors, and not onely by them, but alſo other Biſhops ſometimes write themſelves ſo,

ſo, as (*a*) *Rabanus* of *Mentz*, (*b*) *Agelnoth* of *Canterbury*, (*c*) *Anſelme* of *Ravenna*, (*d*) S. *Auguſtin* himſelf, and many others; and indeed they confeſs, that that Title is (*e*) *common to all other Biſhops*; and ſo is the word (*f*) *Papa* too. But though Pope *Gregory* ſtiled himſelf ſo humbly, yet we are told that he declared, that he had Authority to depoſe the greateſt Kings; in proof of which, thus they frame their Arguments. 600

a Epiſt. to *Hincmer* of *France*.
b *Will. Somners* Antiq. of *Cant.*
c *Cognats*, Tom. 2. p. 70.
d Ibi.

e *Coeffeteau*, pag. 807. il eſt commum à tous les Eveſques.
f Vid. *Fran. Duaren.* de ſacris Eccleſ. Miniſt. lib. 1. cap. 10.

About the time that this *Gregory* the Great was a Young man, there flouriſh'd in *France* one *Medard*, famous (as they ſay) for his holineſs and miracles, and ſince Sainted; who was at the ſame time Biſhop of two Places, *viz. Noyon* in *Picardy*, and *Tourney* in *Flanders*; and this by the Popes approbation: though I doubt that *Monſieur* (*g*) *Gazet* is out, when he makes it to be Pope *Hormiſda*, who muſt have dyed before this, according to the computation of (*h*) *Chenu*.

St. *Medard* dying, King *Clotaire* had his body carryed to *Soiſſons* in *Picardy*, and there buryed, where he began to build a Church for him; but being murder'd, his Son *Sigebert* finiſhed it. To this they ſay, this (*i*) *Gregory* the Firſt gave great Priviledges, with an expreſs Order that that King or Potentate ſhould be degraded or (*k*) depoſed, who violated them: Of this (*l*) *Baronius* makes a great boaſting, how thus the Pope can depoſe Kings; and *Gregory* the Eighth made uſe of this inſtance for an Argument againſt the Emperour *Henry*.

g Hiſt. des Saints, Tom. 1. p. 689.
h Hiſt. Epiſc. *Gal.* p. 310.
i Lib. 2. Indict. 11. poſt Epiſt. 38.
k *Fran. Bozzius* de Temporal. Monarch. p. 225. *Bellarm.* de Rom. Pont. l. 5. c. 8.

l — Vides lector Pontificis *Romani* eſſe ſancire leges, quibus ſi ipſi Reges non pareant Regno priventur. *Baron.* an. 593. ☞ 86.

And what might not *Gregory* the Great do upon Earth over poor Mortals, whoſe juriſdiction reached ſo far, that they ſay he relieved the tormented ſoul of *Trojan* the Heathen Emperour out of Hell, and ſent it packing to Heaven; in proof and vindication of which pretty action, their famous (*m*) *Alphonſus Ciaconius* wrote a particular Book.

m Vid. *Ciacon.* vit. *Greg.* I.

Another inſtance they give us of *Gregory*'s juriſdiction over Kings, *viz.* that Queen *Brunechilde* or *Brunehaut* built a (*n*) Monaſtery to S. *Martin* at *Autbum* in *Burgundy*, where ſhe her ſelf was buryed. To which our (*o*) *Gregory* the Firſt granted alſo many Priviledges, but with the ſame Decree againſt thoſe who violated any of them: Of which (*p*) *Baronius* alſo taketh ſpecial notice, and triumpths thus of the Papal Authority in depoſing of Kings, as he did formerly. But ſome think theſe Deeds and Priviledges are (*q*) forged.

n Vit. *Borth. Caſſanaum.* Catal. glor. mundi, part 12. conſid. 60. fol. 332.
o Lib. 11. Indict. 6. Epiſt. 10.

p Anno 603. ☞ 17.

q Vit. *Caron.* Remonſtrant. *Hybernorum*, part 5. pag. 68, 69.

And truely, S. *Martin* Archbiſhop of *Tours* deſerved both a good Church and great Priviledges, if that be true which they ſtory of him; as how he rais'd three people from the dead, and cured

Pet. Natal. l. 10. c. 47.

600 cured folk by kiſſing, who had Angels to cover his arms with plates of gold, and thoſe holy Choriſters to ſing his ſoul into Heaven, who was compared to the (*a*) *Apoſtles* and *Elias*, and of whom they tell many ſuchlike pretty ſtories; yet methinks his charity was very odd, to turn away his man, onely becauſe he was (*b*) good-natured and vertuous.

a Baron. an. 583.

b Villeg Flos Sanct. *Novemb.* 11.

Chap. IV.

1. *The depoſing of* Suintila, *King of* Spain.
2. *The Murther of* Childerick *the Second, King of* France, *with his Queen great with Childe.*
3. *The unfortunate Rule and Murther of the Emperour* Juſtinian *the Second, and the troubles of* Conſtantinople.
4. *The Popes cenſures and troublings of the Emperour* Leo *the Third about Images.*
5. *The depoſing of* Childerick *the Third, King of* France.

Sect. 1.

The depoſing of Suintila, *King of* Spain.

And now let us turn to the Weſt, and in *Spain* we ſhall finde the Pens of Authors in as much oppoſition, as the Swords of Souldiers: for though all confeſs that (*c*) *Suintila* was lawful King of the *Goths* in *Spain*, yet Writers will not agree of his life and *exit*. For though (*d*) *Iſidorus*, (*e*) *Rodericus*, *Toletanus*, (*f*) *Alphonſus de Carthagena*, and the other ancient *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians do declare him to be one of the braveſt Princes in the world, not onely for his Juſtice, Charity, Humility, and other excellent Vertues, but alſo Valour joyn'd with Succeſs, whereby, they ſay, he drove the *Romans* out of thoſe Territories; and ſo was the firſt of the *Goths* that obtain'd the abſolute Monarchy of *Spain:*

c An 621.

d Chronicon.

e Lib. 2. c. 17.

f Cap 33.

Yet ſome of our Modern Writers lay all manner of Tyranny and Vices to his charge, drawn thereunto, I ſuppoſe, by that which they finde ſet down in the Fourth Council of (*g*) *Toledo*. Though methinks 'tis ſomewhat odd, that learned *Iſidore*, the great Biſhop of *Sevil*, and one Sainted in the *Roman* Calendar, ſhould ſo ſoon write contradictions, as not onely by his ſubſcription to this Council, to commend the uſurping *Siſenandus*; but to declare *Suintila* [*Cintila*, *Santila*, or *Suinthila*] to be abominable vicious, tyrannical, a fugitive, and what not? whom a little before he had (*h*) magnified for a *brave Souldier and King, for one vertuous, faithful, prudent, induſtrious, juſt, munificent, and liberal; that he ought*

g Cap. 75.

h Præter has militares gloriæ laudes plurimæ in eo Regiæ Majeſtatis virtutes, fides, prudentia, induſtria in judiciis examinatio, ſtrenua in regendo regno cura, præcipua circa omnes munificentia, largus erga indigentes & Inopes, miſericordia ſatis promptus; ita ut non ſolum Princeps Populorum, ſed etiam Pater Pauperum vocari ſit dignus. *Iſidori* Chron.

to

to be call'd the Prince of his people, and Father of the poor. He had done well if his Subſcription had been true, to have corrected his Hiſtory, that they might not ſtand thus at defiance againſt each other to deceive Poſterity; we cannot plead *Iſidores* ignorance, ſeeing he lived in the ſame time and Country: and why may not this good Character in his Chronologie be more true and authentick, than that other teſtified by his and the others ſubſcription, ſince the firſt was writ freely, and privately, without any obligation to flatter, onely to inform Poſterity, whilſt the other (as is very [a] probable) was onely ſubſcribed to gratifie and pleaſure *Siſenandus*, a diſſembling and powerful Uſurper? But 'tis all one to my purpoſe, were he good or bad. 600

[a] *Marian. de rebus Hiſpan. lib. 6. cap. 5.*

And here we have another rancounter amongſt Hiſtorians: for, the aforenamed *Rodericus Ximenius*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*; and *Alphonſus de Carthagena*, Biſhop of *Burgos*; with [b] *Michael Ritius*, [c] *Ceſare Campana*, and ſeveral others, give not the leaſt hint of any oppoſition that *Suinthila* had in his Government, but that he dyed at *Toledo*: and the learned *Belgick* Jeſuit, [d] *Andræas Schottus* agreeth to the laſt, whilſt other Writers are confident of his depoſition; the ſtory of which is rather hinted at than told, but in ſum thus:

[b] De Reg. *Hiſpan* lib. 2.

[c] Arbori delle famiglie Regali di *Spagna*. pag. 34.

[d] Bibl. *Hiſp.* Tom. 1. p. 163.

One *Siſenandus* or *Siſnandus*, but of what relation Pens will not agree, great in Wars and Authority, having a deſire to make himſelf King, plotted Treaſon with ſome others of the Nobility: and the better to carry on this Rebellion, he ſent to *Dagobert*, King of *France*, to deſire his aſſiſtance; the which he obtain'd, by his great promiſes and treaſure which he ſent to this *Dagobert* (who ſent the Wealth to St. *Denis*, where he had built the great Church; ſince that, the burying-place of the *French* Kings.) A ſtrange piece of Policy (commonly in practice) for Kings not onely to aſſiſt, but (if beaten) to protect Rebels againſt their Soveraigns, when two to one it may a little after be their own caſe. And as this is a ſtrengthing, ſo 'tis an incouragement, by the certainty (if overcome) of a refuge to Rebellion.

Dagobert accordingly ſends *Abondant* and *Venerand* (or [e] *Venerabandus*) with an Army of *Burgundians*, who enter *Spain*, and march ſtraight-way to *Saragoza*: Upon this the *Gothick* Rebels revolt, joyn to *Siſenand*; by which he grew ſo powerful and ſtrong, that *Suinthila* with his Queen and Children were forced to flee, and ſo *Siſenandus* by his treaſon obtain'd the [f] Crown.

[e] *Jo. de Buſſiers* Hiſt. *Fran.* Tom. 1. pag. 183.

[f] An. 631.

The Laity having thus proved themſelves bold Rebels, let us ſee if their Church be cleer from this vice. *Siſenand* having thus uſurp'd the Throne, cunningly courted peace with all people; and in the third year of his Reign, pretending forſooth a great care for Religion and the Church, [though his (g) deſign was to get himſelf fully ſetled, and the through extirpation of *Suintila* and his Relations] call'd a Council at *Toledo*, where met ſome LXX *Spaniſh* and *French* [*i.e.* that part of it then under *Spain*] Biſhops.

[g] *Jo. Mariana*, lib. 6. cap. 5.

The Biſhops being met at *Toledo* in the Church *de Santa Leocadia*, [a (h) Virgin-Martyr] *Siſenand* like an Hypocrite, humbles himſelf before the Council; and with many tears and ſobbings, upon his knees deſires their bleſſings and prayers, and to mend the faults they found in the Church, and ſuchlike good words. After ſome Conſultation, and the making of ſome *Canons*, they gratifie *Siſenando* to the

[h] An. 305. 9. *Decemb.*

600 the purpoſe, not onely by declaring of him true and lawful King, and confirming of him in the Throne, but by daſhing in pieces all the hopes of *Suintila* (whom they call *Suinthilanis*) againſt whom they raunt very dapperly, calling of him Fugitive and Runaway from his Authority. A pretty jeſt, that *Titius* ſhould be call'd coward, and worthy to looſe his Lands, when being over-power'd by a company of Robbers, he is forced to flee to ſave his life. And thus they deprive *Suinthila* his Queen and Children of all benefit there.

Qui propria ſcelera metuens ſe ipſum Regno privavit, & poteſtatis facibus exuit.

Having thus confirm'd *Siſenando*, they go on and make ſtrange curſes and threats againſt any that ſhall indeavour to diſturb him in his Throne, or, who ſhall intend by ſiniſter ends to aſpire to the Crown. A pretty Type of *Oliver Cromwel* and his Parliament, who having beat out the true Heir to the Crown, and ſo made himſelf Lord Paramount, they vote it high-Treaſon for any to oppoſe that Government, or deny the Authority and Rule of his Highneſs forſooth; as if it were vertue and godlineſs in him to depoſe a lawful Prince, but Treachery and Villany in others to withſtand an Uſurper. And *Mariana* the Jeſuit himſelf (though a great Patron to (*a*) Treaſon) doth confeſs that *Siſnandus* obtain'd the Kingdom, either by Treachery or Rebellion, though to me in the concluſion there is no difference. Another of the ſame Society, *viz. Andræas Schottus*, doth confeſs that *Siſenando* obtain'd the Kingdom by force or (*b*) Tyranny: and ſo to conclude this ſtory, we ſee not onely an action, but alſo a Vindication of Treaſon and Rebellion, and that by one of their Councils. Nor is this any ſuch wonder; for they ſay that the twelfth *Council* of *Toledo* did the ſame courteſie to *Flavius Ervigius* [or *Ervingius*, *Erigius*, or *Hermigius*] after he had Trayterouſly endeavour'd the poyſoning of the renounced King *Bamba*, or *Wamba*, and ſo got the Crown, to which he had no (*c*) right. And ſo much at this time for *Spain*.

a De Inſtitut. Reg. c.6.

Siſenandi proditione an rebellione *Suinthila* ſublatus eſt. *Jo. Marian.* de reb. *Hiſpan.* lib.6. cap.4.

b *Siſenandus* rex creatur, qui per Tyrannidem Regnum ſuit adeptus. A. S. Bibl. *Hiſpan.* Tom.1. pag.163.

c Hiſt. of *Spain*, pag.150. *Rob. Tolet.* l.3. c.12. *Alphonſ. de Carthag.* cap.1940. *Andr. Schott.* pag.170. *Jo. Marian.* l.6. c.17.

Sect. 2.

The Murther of Childerick *the Second, King of* France, *with his Queen great with Childe.*

AND now let us walk over the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and take a turn in *France*, where we ſhall finde *Childerick* the Second, King, but in ſhort time moſt barbarouſly murdered; the ſtory thus in ſhort:

This *Childerick*, (but for what fault Authors will not tell us) had caus'd on *Bodilo* [or (*d*) *Bolidus*] to be bound and whipt with Rods: Upon this he and ſome others of the Nobility contrive a Plot againſt their King, though at firſt in their Councils they could not agree; for though they concluded to take the Kingdom from him, yet ſome were onely for depriving him, and to have him ſhorne, and ſo thruſt into a Monaſtery for a Monk; whilſt others would be ſatisfied

a *Gaguin*, fol.22.

ſatisfied with nothing but his death, to which at laſt the reſt conſented. 600

Accordingly *Bodille* ſeeing the King one time hunting, and but few with him, having call'd his fellow-Traytors together, went and preſently (a) ſlew him; but this not ſatisfying, to increaſe their Villany, they took his innocent Queen *Blitide*, great with Childe as ſhe was, and murder'd both her and the Infant. (a) Anno 657.

Sect. 3.

The unfortunate Rule and Murther of the Emperour Juſtinian *the Second, and the troubles of* Conſtantinople.

SOme few years after this, the Emperour *Conſtantinus Pogonatus* the Fourth dying, his Son *Juſtinian* the Second ſucceeded in the Empire; and being then but young, did ſeveral things unadviſedly, which procured him the ill will of many of his Subjects.

Amongſt the reſt *Leontius*, a famous Souldier, and one that had been General, reſolved to rebel, and make himſelf Emperour; which deſign he diſcover'd to *Gallicanus*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and other friends, who conſented to the Treachery. Upon this, he privately armed a great many men, who upon a day appointed, went to his houſe, where he headed them; thence went to the Goals, and ſet all the Priſoners at liberty: And thus having gathered a ſufficient company, he went to the Emperours Palace, where he was proclaim'd Emperour: and thus apprehending *Juſtinian*, very cruelly cut off his Ears and Noſe, and ſome ſay his Tongue, and then baniſh'd him to *Cherſoneſus*.

Leontius having thus made himſelf Emperour, ſends an Army, but not big enough, againſt the *Sarazins*: the General *John* with this little Army troubled the *Sarazins* as much as could be, but earneſtly ſollicited *Leontius* for more ſupplies, but without effect; whereupon he himſelf poſted privately to *Conſtantinople* to perſwade *Leontius*, and in his abſence left as General one *Tiberius Abſimarus*. The Army at laſt began to murmur to ſee themſelves thus neglected, and proceeded ſo far as to perſwade *Tiberius* to make himſelf Emperour.

Tiberius having thus taken upon him the Title of Emperour, left his deſign in *Aſia*, and in all ſpeed ſhips his Army for *Greece*, where being landed, many of his friends joyn'd to him, and ſo went ſtraight to *Conſtantinople*, where *Leontius* had fortified himſelf; but *Tiberius* by force took the City, and *Leontius* Priſoner, and cut off his Noſe and Ears, and ſlew many of his Friends; and grew ſo jealous, that he baniſh'd one of his own dear Friends, *viz. Philippus*, onely for ſaying he dream'd that an Eagle alighted upon his head, as if by this he would aſpire to the Empire, which after accordingly happened.

For more ſecurity, *Tiberius Abſimarus* reſolved to kill *Juſtinian*; of which he hearing, eſcaped, and fled into *Sarmatia*, where he marryed *Theodora*, Daughter to King *Chaganus*: but this King being cor-

600 corrupted by *Tiberius*, reſolved to deliver up the Emperour; of which *Juſtinian* being informed by his Wife, fled ſecretly thence; and after long wandring up and down, he got to *Trebellius*, King of *Bulgaria*; who pittying his caſe, rais'd an Army for him, with which he marched to *Conſtantinople*, and took it and *Tiberius*, whom with *Leontius* he made to be carryed in diſgrace through the principal Streets of the City; and then being brought before him in irons, they fell flat down at his feet, upon whoſe necks *Juſtinian* troad, and then they were both onely beheaded; and *Callinicus* the Biſhop had his eyes put out, and himſelf ſent as a preſent to the Pope. They ſay farther, that he was ſo incenſed againſt the Rebels who had done thoſe great indignities to him, that he never wiped or blew his cut Noſe [whence he was call'd *Rhimetus*] but he caus'd one of *Leontius* his faction to be ſlain.

Juſtinian being thus again reſtored, reſolved to be revenged upon the people of *Charſeneſus*, who had formerly deſigned his diſtraction, and abuſed him; and accordingly ſends an Army againſt them. Upon this they prepare for defence, and deſire the formentioned *Philippus* to head them; which he doth, calls himſelf Emperour, and many of *Juſtinians* Army revolt to him; and ſo being very ſtrong, he marcheth towards *Conſtantinople* in two diviſions, one commanded by *Maurus*, who took *Tiberius* (a young Son to *Juſtinian*, but crown'd alſo Emperour) in a Church begging mercy at the Altar, whoſe head he preſently cut off; and the other Army was commanded by *Elias*, who ſeis'd upon *Juſtinian* himſelf, and beheaded him with his own hands. And this was the end of unfortunate *Juſtinian*; and *Philippus*, ſirnamed *Bardanes*, was held for next Emperour.

This *Juſtinian* deſiring to ſee Pope *Conſtantine*, then ſitting in the Chair at *Rome*, ſent to him, and (*a*) commanded him to come to him at *Conſtantinople*; who accordingly obeyed, the Emperour going out to meet him, and in ſign of humility, not onely imbraced him, but kiſs'd his feet. And this we are (*b*) told was the firſt Emperour that kiſs'd the Popes Toe; which was not ſo much a fault in *Juſtinian*, as in *Conſtantine* to permit: which in my opinion is ſince that aggravated by placing a Croſs at the end of the Shoe or Pantofle, to take away the objection of worſhipping a man, ſince it would be a greater ſign of Religion to place that Badge in a more honourable place; but whatever be the pretences, pride and policie (to promote greatneſs and reverence) is the reaſon. Though for mine own part, ſince I finde the greateſt Potentates ſubmit themſelves to ſuch a ſalute, I ſhould not ſcruple to kiſs a worſe part, if cuſtom gave it authority; for thoſe mens conſciences are the worſt part of their Religion, which take pet or boggle at thoſe ceremonies, which time and faſhion have made ſigns of civility: and who can now deny the Pope to be a Temporal Prince within his own Territories? And beſides this, curioſity is a good prop to the Argument.

And thus by the (*c*) Murther of *Juſtinian* the Second, and his Son *Tiberius*, ended the Imperial Family of *Heraclius*, which had continued juſt an hundred years.

Philippus Bardanes having thus made himſelf Emperour, the Pope [*Conſtantine*] and he fell out about Religion; and ſo the Pope excommunicated him, and declared him an Heretick [but ſaid nothing againſt his Rebellion or Murther:] but to end the ſtrife, *Artemius* his

a Hic *Conſtantinum* Papam ad ſe venire *jubens* honorifice ſuſcepit ac remiſit. *Paul. Diacon.* vit. *Juſtin.* & *Anaſtaſius* Bibl.

b *Genebrard.* Chron. Tom. 2. pag. 706. *Coeffeteau*, pag. 481.

c An. 711.

his Secretary and others conſpire againſt him : and one day, he reſting himſelf after his diſports on horſe-back, they ruſhed into his Lodging, apprehended him, pluck out his eyes and baniſh'd him; and the next day they proclaim *Artemenius* Emperour, who changed his name to *Anaſtaſius*. 700

Anaſtaſius the Second ſends a great Army againſt the *Saracens*, but they took a gig in their heads and revolted, chuſing for Emperour one *Theodoſius*, a good man, but of no great birth, being onely a Collector of Subſidies.

Theodoſius thus Emperour, though really againſt his will, took *Anaſtaſius*, and gave him his life, but made him a Monk: but he continued not long, for *Leo* who was General to *Anaſtaſius* the Second, reſolves in vindication of his former Maſter to oppoſe him; and ſo having got a great Army, marched towards *Conſtantinople*, and in the way, took priſoner a Son of *Theodoſius*. Upon this the Father began to grow fearful; and not daring to reſiſt ſo great a power, yeilded himſelf upon promiſe to have his life ſecured, which was granted: *Theodoſius* and his Son, as they ſay, being both ſhorne and made Monks. And *Leo* being thus ſucceſsful, was made Emperour, having three, who had ſat in the Imperial Throne, his Priſoners, *viz.*

I. *Philippus Bardanes*, whom *Anaſtaſius* had caſt into priſon, and pluck'd out his eyes.

II. *Anaſtaſius*, who was forced into holy Orders by *Theodoſius*.

III. *Theodoſius*, who thus ſubmitted to *Leo*, and was alſo put into holy Orders.

Sect. 4.

The Popes cenſures and troublings of the Emperour Leo *the Third about Images.*

Leo the Third before this, call'd *Iſaurus Conon*, from his Country *Iſaurus* in *Aſia*, ſirnamed alſo by his Enemies *Iconomachus* from his hatred to Images, for which cauſe Pope *Gregory* the Second falling out with him, was the occaſion of great miſchief to Chriſtendom.

This *Leo* (*a*) declaring againſt Idolary, as he ſaid, commanded that all Images in the Churches of *Conſtantinople* ſhould be taken down; and ſent to *Gregory* the Second at *Rome* to have his Orders there alſo obey'd : but this the Pope ſtifly withſtands, affirming the Emperour to have nothing to do in things of Religion, and perſwaded all people in this to oppoſe the Emperour; which took ſuch effect, that in *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, ſome men did not onely reaſon againſt the Imperial Decree, but the women aſſaulted thoſe who according to Order went about to execute *Leo*'s commands; inſomuch, that he was forced to uſe ſeverity againſt thoſe who oppoſed his Edicts.

a Tollendi ut ipſe dicebat Idolatriæ cauſa, *Platin.* vit. *Gregor.* II.

And in *Italy*, ſo zealous were the people by the perſwaſion of the Church-men, that in *Ravenna*, where the Imperial Authority moſt reſided, they flew into ſuch open Tumults or Rebellion, that they

700 murther'd *Paulus* the Fourteenth *Exarch*, being the Emperours Lieutenant or Deputy; in *Rome* it ſelf they took *Petrus* the Duke, and put out his eyes; and in *Campania* they beheaded the Duke *Exhilaratus*, and his Son *Adrian*, who there took the Emperours part againſt the Pope, who now began to ſhew themſelves Enemies; and two to one, if the Emperour could have got the Pope into his clutches, he had made him ſmart for his oppoſition.

But *Gregory* on the other ſide had play'd his Cards ſo well, that he had dwindled the Imperial Juriſdiction in *Italy* to nothing, by his Excommunication, and ſuchlike Cenſures, not onely forbidding any more Tax or Tribute to be paid him, but that he ſhould not at all be obeyed. And here (*a*) *Baronius* according to his cuſtom, huggs and applauds *Gregory* for his Cenſures againſt the Emperour, whereby he got the people to his own Devotion; and alſo left a good Example to Poſterity, not to permit obſtinate Heretical Kings to Rule; as the Cardinal ſaith, who never lets any piece of Rebellion paſs without commendation.

(*a*) Quo tonitru exitati fideles Occidentale mox deſciſcunt penitus à *Leonis* Imperio, Apoſtolico Pontifici adherentes. Sic dignum poſteris idem *Gregorius* reliquit exemplum, ne in Eccleſia Chriſti regnare finerentur hæretici Principes, ſi ſæpe moniti in errore perſiſtere obſtinato animo invenirentur. *Baron.* anno 730. §. 5.

But for all this, *Leo* kept his Imperial Seat in *Conſtantinople*, and continued in his reſolution againſt Images, and ſo had them pull'd down; nor could *Gregory* the Third, who ſucceeded his Name-ſake, ſtop his proceedings, though by his Cenſures, with the conſent of the *Roman* Clergy, he did not onely declare him deprived from the Communion of all Chriſtians, but alſo depoſed from his Empire. But *Leo* never thought himſelf the worſe for theſe brutiſh Thunderbolts, and ſo raigned as Emperour to his dying day, having ſat in the Imperial Throne twenty four years. And his Son *Conſtantine* the Fifth carryed the ſame Opinion againſt Images, which did not a little perplex the Popes in his time.

But the Popes quarreling about theſe trifles, was the occaſion that the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* loſt his juriſdiction in *Italy*, *Ravenna* being about this time taken by *Aiſtulphus*, the two and twentieth King of the *Lumbards*, in *Italy*: *Eutichus* the Fifthteenth and laſt *Exarch* forced to flee (this *Exarchical* Government having ruled as the Emperours Deputies, almoſt CC years in *Italy*, keeping their Seat at *Revenna*) but the Popes gain'd by this; for the Popes (as ſome ſay) having made *Pepin* King of *France*, in requital deſired his aſſiſtance againſt the *Lombards*, who accordingly march'd into *Italy*, beat *Aiſtulph*, took *Ravenna* from him; which with many other Cities he gave to S. *Peter*, whereby the Pope in a manner held himſelf Maſter of that which he now doth in *la Marcha di Ancona*, *Romagna*, *di Urbino*, *Bononia* and *Ferrara*: which they ſay was confirm'd by his Son *Charles* the Great, with the Addition of the Dukedoms of *Spoleto* and *Tuſcany*, and the Iſlands *Sicily*, *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, reſerving to himſelf the Soveraignty of them: but ſome men give that which is none of theirs to give, and ſo might *Charlemaign*; but right or no right, the Popes do not uſe to looſe any thing that is to be had. This *Charles* the Great alſo (*b*) beat *Deſiderius* who ſucceeded *Aiſtulph*, and was the laſt King of the *Lombards*; and ſo that Kingdom and Ruſe ended, after they had triumph'd in that part of *Italy* (from them) call'd *Lombardy*, and the adjacent parts,

(*b*) An. 774.

parts, for above CC years; and now the Pope began to ſtrut it with the proudeſt, throwing off the juriſdiction of the Weſtern Empire, having his daring *Lombards* thus brought to nought; and *Charles* the Great, the Champion of *Europe* his freind, doubly ingaged to him the See of *Rome*, authoriſing his Father *Pepin* to be King of *France*, the firſt ſtep to *Charles* his greatneſs; and after, as they ſay, Crown'd him the firſt Emperour of the Weſt, in oppoſition to that of the Eaſt or *Conſtantinople*. 700

Sect. 5.

The depoſing of Childerick *the Third, King of* France.

HAving here treated ſomewhat of *Pepin* and *Charlemaign*, let us ſee how they came to their greatneſs and government. There having raign'd in *France* Eighteen Kings, ſince *Meronee* (ſome ſay Grand-childe to *Pharamund*) who was the firſt that brought theſe *German* people into *France*, and there ſetled them; there then ſucceeded in the Kingdom *Childerick* or *Helderick*, by ſome falſely call'd *Chilperick*, of which name there hath alſo been two Kings of *France*.

About the year DLIX *Clotaire* the Firſt ſet up the Office of the Majordom [*Maire du Palais*] being the principal Officer in the Kingdom, one *Landregeſile* being the firſt that was choſen; theſe by little and little rais'd their Authority ſo high, that they diſpoſed of all things. For though at firſt they were onely Stewards to the Kings Houſhold, and could ſtretch their juriſdiction no farther; yet after the death of *Clotaire* the Second, they began to increaſe their power; and at laſt taking opportunity by the negligence and weakneſs of ſome Kings, they began to rule all things. The firſt that advanced the Majordoms was *Ebroin*, in the time of *Theodorick* or *Thierry* the Firſt, a very meek and patient King. In this Kings raign was alſo *Pepin* the *Groſs*, Major of the Palace: Son to this *Pepin* was *Charles* ſirnamed *Martel*, who had himſelf call'd Prince and Duke of the *French*; and in his Tomb at S. *Denis* he is ſtiled (*a*) King; and the truth is, he ruled both King and People. Son to this *Charles* was *Pepin* ſirnamed the ſhort, who depoſed his Soveraign, and made himſelf King; the ſtory thus: *Du Haillan* fol. 316. lib. 4.

Pepin agitated by an ambitious humour, reſolves to make himſelf King of *France*; and to facilitate his Treachery, he had ſeveral of his Creatures prompted to ſound nothing but his commendation; and having thus got a good eſteem amongſt the Vulgar, (who love nothing more than novelty) and having alſo gain'd over to his Faction and intereſt, what by former favours, future promiſes, and ſome awe, many of the great ones; he procures an Aſſembly or Parliament to be held at *Soiſſons*, by the Prelates and Nobility: for as then the third Eſtate or Commons had no authority in voting, onely the liberty of preferring their complaints.

The Aſſembly preſently agreeth to the preferment of *Pepin*: nor was there any thing which lay in the way, but one ſcruple, *viz.* the Oath of Allegiance they had formerly ſworn to *Childerick*. And if they

(*a*) *Carolus Martellus Rex.*

700 they could be but diſingaged from this, they were then reſolved to pull down their King, and ſet up the little Candidate.

To cut in pieces this *Gordion*-knot, 'tis concluded to ſend to the Pope *Zachary*, whom (to gratifie themſelves) they would fancie to have the power to abſolve Subjects from Allegiance and Oaths. And ſo two are pitch'd upon to go as Ambaſſadors to his Infallible Holineſs, about the pretty, loyal and honeſt Errand.

a Jo. de Buſſieres Hiſt. *Fran.* Tom. 1. pag. 244. *b Jo. Pits* de Scriptor. *Angl.* pag. 164. *c Dav. Camerar.* de *Scot.* fortitud. p. 100. *Tho. Demſter.* Apparatus ad Hiſt. *Scot.* *d Jan. de Serres*, pag. 184.

The firſt was call'd *Burchard* [but now by a *French* (*a*) Jeſuit erroniouſly call'd *Richardus*] acknowledged by all men to be a *Britain* by birth; but of what Kingdom is the Queſtion, ſince both (*b*) *Engliſh* and (*c*) *Scotch* declare him to be theirs; ſome will alſo have him to have been Biſhop of (*d*) *Bourges* in *France*, but I ſee little reaſon for that opinion; neither *Claudius Robertus*, nor *Chenu* making any ſuch name or man in their Hiſtories of that Archbiſhoprick: And therefore we ſhall with the common opinion, conclude him to have been the firſt Biſhop of *Wirtzburg* in *Franconia*: However, he is well enough, being Sainted in the *Roman* Calendar. The other imploy'd in this Ambaſſie was *Tulrad*, chief Chaplain to *Pepin*, and made Abbot of S. *Denis*.

Theſe being got to *Rome*, and brought to the Popes preſence, *Burchard*, as the better man, told his tale at large, ſtuft with the commendations of *Pepin*, and his Father *Charles Martel*, what great maintainers they had and would be to the *Romiſh* See: And as for King *Childerick*, they render'd him the worſt of all Creatures; but what was worth all the reſt, they promis'd him, that if he would do *Pepin* this favour, that he, when he was King, would aſſiſt the Pope againſt his Enemies the *Lombards*, and by reducing of whom, the Pope would in a manner Rule all *Italy*.

This was that which *Zachary* look'd for; and ſo the bargain being thus ſtruck, the Pope by ſome pretty knack or other, declares the *French* diſingaged from the Oath of Allegiance, they formerly ſware to *Childerick*; and with this good news the two Ambaſſadors return joyfully to their Aſſociates at *Soiſſons*, the Pope having delegated S. *Bonifacius* to annoynt *Pepin* King.

Nic Serar. Hiſt. *Mogunt.* p. 341. *e* Hiſt. *Mogunt.* p. 438. *f* Spotiwood, pag. 20.

This *Boniface* was then the firſt Archbiſhop of *Mentz* [which before him had onely Biſhops] he was firſt call'd *Wenefrid*; but when *Gregory* the Second conſecrated him Biſhop, he changed it to *Bonifacius*, from his good deeds: he was born in *Britain*, but both *Scotch* and *Engliſh* ſtrive for him: and it may be that (*e*) *Serarius* miſtakes the *Italian Bonifacius* for (*f*) this, who is call'd the Father and Apoſtle of the *Germans*, he being the chief means of their Converſion to Chriſtianity; and he was in all things a true man of the Popes, by whom he is declared a Saint and Martyr.

Bonifacius being accordingly come to *Soiſſons*, anoynts *Pepin* King; and then according to their ancient Cuſtom, being lifted up by ſome of the Nobility upon a Shield, to be ſeen of all, is by the acclamation of the people ſhouted out King of *France*.

Jan. de Serres.

And thus was *Childerick* depoſed, whoſe Heir they rounded or ſhortned, as a badge of infamy and degrading: and the better to underſtand the ignominy of this, we muſt know that *Clodion* or *Cloion* the Second, King of the *Francks* or *France*, and Son to *Pharamond*, made a Law, that none but the King, his Sons, or Princes of the Bloud-royal ſhould wear long Hair, it being as with the *Romans* a ſign of Rule and Authority; which occaſioned their cropping of

Slaves

Slaves or Servants: and this Cuſtom confirm'd by this Law of *Clodion*, continued a long time in *France*; inſomuch that *Clodomire*, Son to *Clouis*, being ſlain in Battail by the *Burgundians*, was found and known from the reſt of the dead men, by his long Hair. And which is more, this badge they obſerved with ſuch Reverence and Devotion, that their Hiſtories tell us that Queen *Clotilde* would rather allow her Sons heads to be cut off than their hair; as if ſhe expreſt by that, an honourable death before an ignoble life. This King *Clodion*, for his eſtabliſhing this Cuſtom amongſt his people, was ſirnamed the (a) *Hairy*. 700

a *Le Chevelu.*

But the diſhonourable cropping was not all they did to their King *Childerick*; but as if to make him ever after incapable to ſit in the Throne again, they had his Pole ſhorne or ſhaven, his Robes pull'd off, and a Religious Habit put on; and ſo forcing of him to be a Monk, thruſt him into a Monaſtery: and they ſerved his Queen *Geſtlee* after the ſame way, making of her be vail'd, and ſo thruſt into a Nunnery. And thus ended the Royal Family of the *Merouingiens* [ſo call'd from King *Merouee*, the firſt that brought them out of *Germany*] after they had raigned over the *French* CCC years.

As for *Childerick*, I believe he was eaſie-natured-enough, apt to be cheated by every knave, being none of the wiſeſt: but yet it will not follow, that he ſhould therefore be depoſed; but on the contrary, upheld by good aſſiſtants and counſels, himſelf being tainted with no vice or wickedneſs; but on the contrary, as (b) *Paolo Morigi* will aſſure us, very religious, good-natured, and peaceful: and all the time to his dying day in the Monaſtery led a very heavenly life.

b *Chilperico non ſi moſſe punto dell' ingiuria fattagli, per haverlo privato del Regno, anzi eſſendo di natura pia, è pacifica, ſi arreccò à gloria l'eſſe fatto Monaco. Perche tutto il tempo che viſſe nel Monaſterio, egli menò vita Angelica. Paolo Morigi* Hiſt. de Perſonaggi illuſtri Religioſi. lib. 3. cap. 18. pag. 138.

Here ſome raiſe an objection concerning the anoynting of *Pepin*, ſirnamed the (c) ſhort, for his littleneſs: for ſome will have him onely anoynted by S. *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*; others onely by Pope *Stephanus* the Third. But (d) *Serarius* thinks it no great wonder to have them both true, it being not the firſt time, as he ſheweth, that a King hath been twice anoynted, as amongſt the *Iſraelites*; and that *Pepin* was alſo Crowned by Pope *Stephanus* the Third, they with joy confeſs; and thus tell the ſtory:

c Le bref.

d Hiſt. *Moguntina.* lib. 3. not. 38. pag. 522, 523, 524.

The *Lombards* being rampant in *Italy*, the Pope for his ſecurity, and to beg aſſiſtance, fled to *Pepin*, at his coming into *France*: *Fulrad* the Abbot, and Duke *Rotaldus*, were ſent to congratulate him in the Kings name; and moving forward in his journey, *Charles* his Eldeſt Son waited upon him; and three miles off *Paris*, *Pepin* himſelf met him, alighted off his Horſe, proſtrated himſelf before him, kiſs'd his feet, and [the more to curry-favour with that See, whence he had his Crown, and was now to deſire another courteſie] very humbly play'd the part of a Lackey, himſelf refuſing to ride, but on foot very dapperly leading by the Bridle the Horſe on which Pope *Stephanus* rode. Whilſt this Pope ſtay'd in *France*, he anoynted at S. *Denis Pepin* for King, *Bertrad* his Wife for Queen, and his two Sons *Charles* [afterwards Emperour, and call'd *Charlemaign*] and *Caroloman*, as Princes to ſucceed their Father; whom he publickly declared

P. Mexia vite di gl' Imperadori, vit. *Conſtantin.* V. fol. 306. b. *Jo. de Buſſieres*, Tom. 1. pag. 249, 250. *Grimſton's* Imp. Hiſt. pag. 371.

700 declared to be the true and lawful King; and that it ſhould be unlawful hereafter for the *French* to have any King, but of the Race of *Pepin*. The Pope having done this good turn to *Pepin*, he in requital beats the *Lombards*, and the Towns taken from them beſtows upon St. *Peter* for the good of his ſoul; and having thus reſetled the Biſhop of *Rome*, returneth to *France*. And this *Pepin*, as (a) *Scipion Dupleix* ſaith, was the firſt Chriſtian King that ever was anoynted.

a Hiſt. de *France*, Tom. 1.

I ſhall not trouble my ſelf with the diſpute of this (b) *Dupleix* againſt *du Haillan* and *Hotoman*, whether the Kingdom of *France* be Hereditary or Elective: for if theſe great *French* Lawyers and Hiſtorians cannot agree, they will never grant a ſtranger to be Umpire; though I ſhall willingly grant that Monarchy abſolute and Hereditary.

b Id. pag. 338. & 4.

And again, though ſome will have this depoſition done onely by the Authority remaining in the *French*; yet I finde moſt of the (c) *Romaniſts* affirm it acted onely by the Popes authority; and ſo vapour with this ſtory, as an example of the Popes power to depoſe Kings. And ſo I leave it, as I found it.

c *Bellarm.* de Rom. Pont. l. 2. c. 17. l. 5. c. 8.

Caſp. Sciop. Eccleſiaſt. pag. 511, 512. *Dionyſ. Carthuſ.* de Author. Pap. l. 1. art. 6. *Celſmancinus* de jur. Principat. l. 3. c. 3. *Fran. Duarenus* de Benefic. l. 1. c. 4. *Fran. Ghetius* Theol. Moral. v. *Papa*, & 10. S. *Raymund.* Sum. l. 1. tit. de Hæret. & 7. pag. 41. *Jo. de Turrecrem. Sum.* de Eccleſ. c. 14. propoſ. 4. *Lud. à Param.* l. 1. Q. 1. Opin. 4. & 55. *Sylveſt. de Prierio* Sum. v. Papa, & 11. *Dom. à Soto* diſt. 25. Q. 2. Art. 1. *Alphonſ. à Caſtro* de Hæret. punit. lib. 2. c. 7. *Guil. de Monſerrat* de ſucceſſ. Regum. dub. 1. & 30. *Jo. Quintanus* Reper. in C. Novit. de judic. & 127. *Jo. de Selva* de Benefic. part 4. Q. 8. & 25. *Fran. Duarenus* de ſacris Eccleſ. Miniſt. lib. 1. cap. 4.

CHAP.

Chap. V.

1. *The Murther of* Conſtantine *the Fifth, Emperour of* Conſtantinople, *by his Mother* Irene.
2. *The miſerable and troubleſome Raign of the Emperour* Lewes le Debonnaire, *by the many Rebellions againſt him.*
3. *The Murther of* Michael, *Emperour of* Conſtantinople: *with Pope* Adrian *the Second his opinion of the Murtherer.*
4. *Several Inſolencies and Murders committed by the* Venetians *againſt ſome of their Dukes, about this time.*

Sect. 1.

The Murther of Conſtantine *the Fifth, Emperour of* Conſtantinople, *by his Mother* Irene.

WE have formerly ſeen a quarrel between the Emperour and Pope, about the worſhipping of Images; and now we ſhall perceive a giddy zeal make a Mother monſtrouſly unnatural.

Leo the Fourth Emperor of *Conſtantinople* being dead, his Son *Conſtantine* the Fifth ſucceeded; but being then young, his Mother *Irene* governed all: ſhe was very earneſt for the worſhipping of Images, and (which hugely gratified the Pope of *Rome*) ſhe had the uſe of them confirm'd by a Council at *Nice*: and though ſhe was a woman, and the handſomeſt of her time, yet ſhe wanted neither policie nor courage to ſway the Imperial Scepter; and for that time ſhe governed, ſhe was eſteemed by moſt.

But *Conſtantine* being now come to years, takes the Government upon himſelf, hath his Mother *Irene* to live by her ſelf, ſhews himſelf, as his Father and Grand-father had done before, zealous againſt Images, and willing that Prieſts ſhould marry; and commands *Stauratius*, an Infant of his Mothers, not to meddle any more with State-Affairs: though at laſt he let *Irene* have a great hand in the Empire.

But ſhe not content, unleſs ſhe had all, conſpires againſt her Son; and with the aſſiſtance of *Stauratius*, won the Army over to their Faction, and ſo violently ſeiſed upon the Emperour, (who endeavoured an eſcape, but could not) whoſe eyes ſhe unnaturally ordered to be pluck'd out; which was acted with ſuch violence upon him, that he dyed preſently after. And ſome Hiſtorians tell us (which muſt be left to every mans belief) that the (*a*) Sun, as diſdaining to ſhine upon thoſe who had wickedly pluck'd out the eyes of their So-

(*a*) *Chriſt. Beſold.* Synopſis Hiſt. Univerſ. p. 307.

700 Soveraign, vail'd himſelf up in blackneſs and mourning, that for ſeventeen days togerher there was no light upon the Earth.

As for *Irene*, there were ſome Overtures of a Marriage between her and *Charles* the Great, ſo to unite the Empires. But *Charlemaign*'s Ambaſſadors coming to *Conſtantinople*, found that deſign ſpoil'd by a great alteration: for one *Nicephorus* having made the Army ſure to him, beſiegeth *Irene*, takes her priſoner, is himſelf declared Emperour, giveth an Oath of Allegiance to the Army, baniſheth *Irene*, confining her to the Iſland *Lesbos*, where ſhe pines away with anguiſh and grief: and ſo *Nicephorus* ſtruck up a peace with *Charlemaign*, and the Empire's divided.

This *Charles* was the firſt that was Emperour of the Weſt or *Germany*, at whoſe Coronation the Pope did Adore him, as uſed to be done to ancient Emperours; that is, as (*b*) *Dupleix* ſaith, the Pope kneeling on the ground, humbled himſelf before him, acknowledging him to be Emperour of *Rome*.

a Alors le Pape (au report de nos Annales) adora *Charles* à la maniere des anciens Empereurs, c'eſt à dire, s'humilia devant luy les genoux à terre, le recognoiſſant comme Empereur *Romain*. *Scipion. Dupleix*, Tom 1. pag. 449. & 4.

The *French* and *Spaniard* are yet at diſpute concerning their Relation to this *Charlemaign* and the Empire; the *Caſtilian* affirming himſelf to have much of this *Charles* his bloud in him, being in part deſcended from him, and ſo hath more right to the Empire than the other; the Royal-line of *Charles* ending in *France*, by the coming in of *Hugh Capet*. This is as furiouſly oppoſed by the *French*; but being nothing to my purpoſe, I ſhall refer thoſe of the *Spaniſh* Intereſt to the Reaſons of (*b*) *Chifletius*; whilſt thoſe who ſtand for the *French* may conſult the Anſwers to them by *David Blondellus*, where the *Monſieur* may clog himſelf with a bad method, and multitude of Genealogies; with a Preface, as ſome ſay, of the Gate of *Myndus*, bigger than all the other work or Building. And almoſt an hundred years ago, *Matthæus Zampinus* wrote an Apology for *Hugh Capet*, as deſcended from the ancient *French* Kings, and related alſo to *Charles* the Great. But this by the by.

b Vindiciæ Hiſpan.

Sect. 2.

The miſerable and troubleſome Raign of the Emperour Lewes le Debonnaire, *by the many Rebellions againſt him.*

Charles le Maigne [or the Great] being dead, there ſucceeded him, as Emperour and King of *France*, his Son *Lewes le Debonnaire* [*i.e.* the Courteous or Affable] by the *Latines* call'd *Ludovicus Pius*; one, though very good-natured and religious, yet was his life nothing but trouble and miſery: I ſhall not ſay any thing of the Tumultuous *Saxons*, *Hunns*, *Normans*, and ſuchlike people; but tell you what oppoſitions he received from his own Kindred, and what Rebellions and Treaſons were waged againſt him by his own Sons.

Bernard, Son to *Pepin*, Son to *Charles* the Great, and ſo Nephew to

to this *Lewes le Debonnaire*, was call'd King of *Italy*, and there lived to keep thoſe people in ſubjection to the Empire: but by his inconſiderate Rebellion againſt his Uncle *Lewes*, he loſt both it, with his liberty, eyes, and life too 800

Lewes having made Laws to reſtrain the exceſs of ſome Biſhops, procured him the hatred of ſome of the proud Clergy; amongſt the reſt, three were moſt eminent in this Faction and Rebellion, *viz.* *Anſelmus Bilius* the Firſt, Archbiſhop of *Millan*; *Wolfeldus*, Biſhop of *Cremona* in *Italy*; and *Theodulphus*, Biſhop of *Orleans* in *France*: theſe ſob'd up *Bernard* with ſtrange hopes of ſucceſs, if he would war againſt his Uncle *Lewes*; and in ſeveral diſcourſes with him, play'd their Cards ſo well, that having at firſt breath'd into him diſcontent, to which his own proud humour perſwaded him; then hopes of carrying all, at laſt ingaged him to appear in open Hoſtility, titling of himſelf (*a*) King of *France*, which he alſo reſolved to ſeiſe upon; to which purpoſe he had got a ſtrong Army, and fortified the *Alpean* paſſages into *Italy*.

a P. Berthault Florus Francicus, pag. 118. *J. de Serres.*

The Emperour *Lewes* informed of this, imploys his whole care to provide himſelf with a ſufficient force; which having gathered together from ſeveral places, marched towards his Enemy. *Bernard* underſtanding the great ſtrength of *Lewes*, and his own Souldiers running away from him, whereby he knowing that he was not able to ſtand againſt him, having conſulted ſeveral ways for his own ſafety, he found none that were probable to ſucceed, but his ſubmiſſion; and knowing the Emperour of all men to be moſt merciful and good-natured, taking his opportunity, he goeth to *Lewes*, acknowledgeth his fault, and humbly begs his pardon; and ſo did others, the chief of this Rebellion; by which means a full diſcovery of the deſign was made: but that which incenſed moſt, was, that the Emperour by theſe confeſſions underſtood, that ſome of his own chief Councellors, and moſt intimate familiars, were privy to, and ingaged in the Treachery.

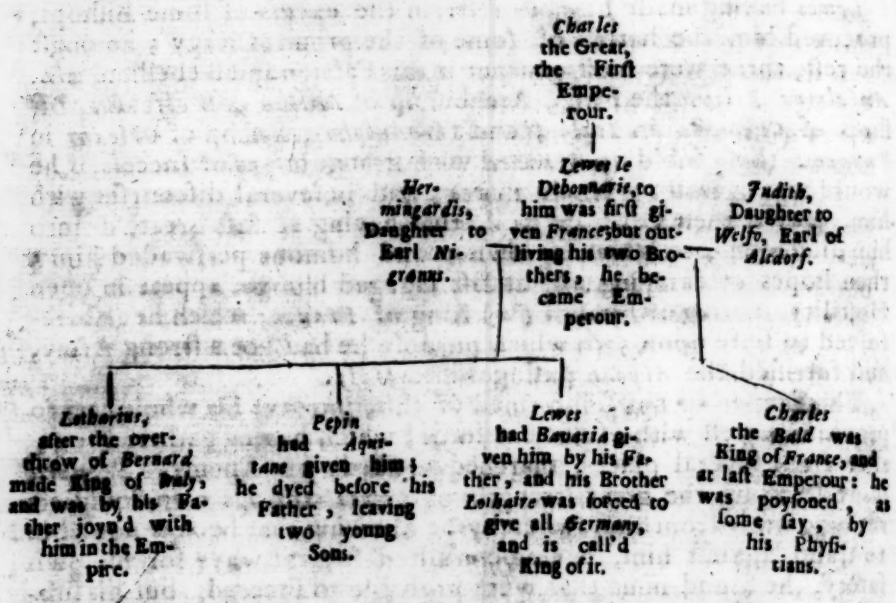
They are all impriſoned, and an Aſſembly being held at *Aken* in *Germany*, they are all there declared, according to their old Laws, guilty of High-Treaſon, and ſo the chief of them adjudged to death. The Emperour was very willing to ſpare *Bernard*, onely to have confined him to perpetual impriſonment. But the other Councellors about him ſo aggravated the pride, arrogancie, and this Treaſon of *Bernard*, that *Lewes*, though with grief, conſented that he ſhould have his (*b*) eyes pull'd out (it being the common puniſhment in thoſe times) which accordingly was (*c*) done; and the third day after he dyed for grief. The Biſhops, who were found guilty of this Treachery, were deprived of their Dignities, and thruſt into little Covents.

b Jo. de Buſſieres, Tom. 1. pag. 333.

c Giacop. Filip. da Bergamo in his old *Italian* Chronocle, (it may be, through a miſtake) declares the puniſhment thus: Bernardo *eſſendomenato in* Aquiſgrana *fu decapitate*, fol. 304. b.

As for the Emperour *Lewes*, he no ſooner heard of *Bernards* death, but he was hugely troubled, publickly repenting that he had conſented to ſuch counſel, openly confeſſing his cruelty, as he call'd it, and order'd all the Plotters to be ſet at liberty, and reſtored to their former Beings.

800 But now let us proceed to a more unnatural Rebellion; and firſt, for the better underſtanding of it, the Reader, if he pleaſe, for memory-ſake may glance upon this ſmall Scheme.



Some have indeavoured to declare the true grounds of this unnatural Rebellion, but others ſuppoſe that ambition was the real cauſe, whatever might be the pretence; one of them being this: *Lewes* fighting againſt the Moors in *Catalonia* (as his Father, Grandfather, and Great-grand-father had done before him) there was one (*a*) *Bernardo del Carpio*, Nephew to King *Alonſo*, who was ſo famous in thoſe Wars againſt the *Saracens* for his great prudence and ſucceſs, that the Emperour *Lewes* took a ſpecial liking to him; and being of ſuch great Birth, and Duke of *Barcenona*, he took him to him into *France*, making him a ſpecial favourite. At this promotion of a Stranger, the *French* took pet; and at laſt, by rumours and falſe news ſo increaſed the charge, that the crime alſo fell heavily upon the Empreſs *Juditha*, as one too familiar with the ſaid *Bernardo*, and as one that had ſo much poſſeſs'd the Emperours affection, that ſhe not onely ruled all, but intended alſo to get all for her Son *Charles*, from the Emperours other three Children.

a Imperial Hiſt. pag. 392.

But the truth is, theſe reports are by the Wiſeſt held to be falſe and impertinent; for the Emperour, to ſatisfie the world of the firſt, order'd *Bernardo* to depart from him; which accordingly he did, returning into *Spain*: and for any other crime lay'd to him, having beg'd leave, he publickly challenged (according to the cuſtom of thoſe times) any his accuſer, againſt whom he would clear his innocencie by Combat; but none appearing, he purged himſelf by Oath.

As for *Judith*, *Lewes* for peace-ſake had ſent her into a Nunnery; nor would he receive her again, till before her Enemies ſhe had clear'd her ſelf: And a late judicious (*b*) Hiſtorian ſheweth us, that the ancient Writers of thoſe times do confeſs, that the accuſations lay'd againſt *Judith* were all falſe and lyes. And their other

b Jo. Henr. Boecler. Comment. de rebus ſæculi IX & X pag. 65.

pretence

pretence, *viz.* the indeavours to have young *Charles* to over-top his Brothers, is very impertinent, conſidering how he had given to one a great part of *Germany*, to another a great command in *France*; and the Eldeſt, *viz. Lotharius*, he had had him crown'd Emperour (though himſelf then living) according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, the better to confirm his ſucceſſion in the Empire. 800

But were theſe pretences true, I ſee no Authority to warrant this Rebellion, which all Authors cry out againſt, and acknowledge the cauſe of all, to be meerly Ambition, Arrogancie, with hopes of domineering.

To this Rebellion, ſeveral of their proud Prelates had an itching humour, nouriſhing within themſelves an hatred againſt the Emperour, becauſe he had by Law reſtrained their Military Pomp, moſt of them then going habited, and acting like Souldiers, not troubling their thoughts with their Office as Biſhops, onely to ſweep up the Revenues. The chief of theſe were *Ebo* or *Ebbo*, Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, at firſt a beggerly fellow, but by the Emperours favour thus prefer'd. *Jeſſe*, Biſhop of *Amiens*, and ſuchlike; and ſome of the chief Nobility were great promoters of this villany, as *Hildnin*, *Hugo*, *Monfredus*, &c. *De Buſſieres*, Tom. 1. pag. 349.

And who muſt head theſe, but *Pepin* the Emperours Son? and ſo having got a conſiderable Army together, he marcheth againſt his Father, and in his way takes *Orleans*.

The Emperour upon notice of this, ſends his Empreſs for ſecurity or policie to a Nunnery at *Leon* in *Picardy*, himſelf going to *Compeigne* neerer *Paris*. *Pepin* hearing of this, ſends a party of his Confederates to *Laon*, where by force they take out *Juditha*, and carry her to their General; where ſhe is threatned with all manner of torments and deaths, unleſs ſhe will uſe all her Arguments and Intereſt to perſwade *Lewes* to become Monk, and reſign the Empire, and ſhe her ſelf to turn Nun. Upon this, ſhe is carryed to *Compeigne*, where ſhe privately perſwades the Emperour to be as cunning as poſſible in this great concern: and having diſcovered to him ſome other hints, ſhe returns to the Confederates, by whom ſhe is ſent to *Poictiers*, and there thruſt into the Abbey of (*a*) S. *Radegonde*, and there by force vailed as a Nun: *Pepin*, and his Confederates, publickly rejoycing at this fine act of theirs, thinking that now they had all at command, and as heart could wiſh. Anno. 830.

a De S. Croix.

Whilſt theſe Inſolencies were acted in *France*, *Lotharius* or *Lotaire*, the Eldeſt Brother, was in *Italy* at his command; but that he leaveth, and cometh to be an Actor with the reſt. At his firſt coming in, his Councils were divided; for though he declared againſt any incivility to be done to his Father, yet he puniſhed all *Don Bernardo*'s Relations he could met withal; one he baniſh'd, and another he commanded to have his eyes pull'd out, and then did as much as approve of all that had been hitherto done; and ſo the Emperour remain'd without any Power or Authority, excepting the bare Name.

Having gone thus far, 'twas at laſt ſuppoſed the moſt plauſible means to bring their deſigns about, to have a publick Meeting or Aſſembly held; where they did not queſtion, but their actions would be approved of, and the Emperour forced to reſign. Upon this, it behooves *Lewes* to play his Cards well now or never; and having conſulted all ways, at laſt he found none that had any hopes of

800 of ſecurity, but to truſt to his old Friends the *Germans*, where if he could procure the Aſſembly to be kept, he queſtion'd not but all would go well; for he thought that at this time he had little reaſon to confide in his Country-men the *French*, who had thus in time of ſuch need left him in the lurch.

And accordingly he behaved himſelf ſo cunningly, that he not only got the Parliament to be held in *Germany*, but alſo that none ſhould appear at this meeting in a Warlike poſture, and accompanied with no more than his own Family and Attendants. And having thus ſecured himſelf, he goeth to the place appointed with his Son *Lotharius*, where ſeeing himſelf ſtrengthned with the affection and aſſiſtance of a great many *Germans*, he pluck'd up his courage, and began to oppoſe the vapours of his Enemies; and in full Parliament, being informed that the two Lord Abbots, *Halduin* and *Walachus*, his main oppoſers, had come to the Meeting attended with Armed men, boldly ask'd them, how they durſt appear ſo accompanyed againſt the Edict? and to puniſh this their inſolencie, commanded both of them with their Souldiers to depart the place, confining the firſt to reſide and winter at *Paderborn* in *Weſtphalia*, and the other at *Corbie* in *Picardy*.

This action quite broke the hearts of the reſt of the Conſpirators, and put them to their wits ends; and ſcarce knowing which way to turn themſelves, the next night, the chief of them went to *Lotharius*, to conſult what ſhould be done: nor need this take up much time of conſideration; for they found but two ways, either preſently to put it to the venture of the Sword, or to withdraw themſelves from the Parliament, till they could increaſe their force, either to carry all *France*, which they doubted not of, or by ſome policie to get the Emperour out of the *Germans* protection; but by all means they perſwaded *Lotharius* never to comply with his Father; and having thus vented their wicked counſels, they returned to their Lodgings.

The Emperour *Lewes* was not idle all this while, but kept his Spies on foot, by whom he underſtood the deſign of this *Conventicle*: Upon which, next morning he ſends to his Son *Lothaire*, adviſing him not to be rul'd by ſuch wicked counſel; nor to truſt to ſuch falſe Friends, who had rebell'd againſt their Soveraign, and would in time, to advantage themſelves, deſert him too, for all their preſent fair promiſes; deſiring him to leave the Confederates, and to come to him, where he ſhould be lovingly received.

Lotharius at laſt thinks it beſt to obey his Fathers good advice, and accordingly goeth to him, where he was accepted with the deareſt affection of a Father. The Conſpirators inform'd of this, knew not what to do; but at laſt thought it beſt to perſwade the Vulgar to Sedition, and ſo preſently gave out that *Lotharius* was ſeis'd upon, cloſely clapt up in priſon, and by the appointment of his inraged Father was preſently to ſuffer, unleſs by violence he were releaſed. The people upon this hurry into Tumults, and ſo in a tumultuous manner reel towards the Palace, breathing forth nothing but deſtruction, and the relief of the ſuppoſed Priſoner; and in this fury fall upon the Emperours Life-guard, who loyally and valiantly, for preſervation of their Maſter, defend the Palace-gates, and keep off the inraged Rabble and Confederates. *Lewes* informed of this outrage and danger, reſolved to undeceive them

them; and taking with him *Lothaire*, ſhew'd themſelves to the in- 800
ſolent Rebels, whom he deſired his Son to ſatisfie and pacifie. *Lotharius* having commanded ſilence, and obtain'd it, informed the people of their miſtake; and in a large Speech declared the agreement and amity between his Father and himſelf.

The multitude by this means being pacified, the whole deſign of the Faction and Rebellion fell to the ground; by which means *Lewes* obtain'd ſo much courage and authority, that he had the chief of the Confederates ſeis'd upon, and in publick Parliament convicted of high-Treaſon, and ſo condemned to death. But ſuch was the mercie of the Emperour, that he onely had the Clergy-men deprived, and ſome of the Laity, for ſecurity ſake, confined to Monaſteries: And as for his Rebellious Son *Pepin*, forgetting all animoſity, he received him into the height of his paternal affection. And having thus eas'd himſelf of one Rebellion, he ſent for his Empreſs *Juditha* from the Abbey of *Poictiers*, whom yet he would not receive to his bed, till according to his Laws, ſhe had purged her ſelf from all the crimes and objections lay'd againſt her. And thus peace being made between him and his Children, he diſſolved the Parliament, ſending his Sons to their reſpective charges, *viz. Lotharius* to *Italy*, *Pepin* to *Aquitaine*, and *Lewes* to *Bavaria*. But not content with this favour and mercie, to compleat his Charity, after the holy Feaſt of *Eaſter* was finiſhed, he by a general Act of Oblivion pardoned all thoſe whom he had before puniſhed, deprived or confined, freely granting to every man the liberty of departing and injoying what they did formerly, according to their own humours and pleaſures.

Now we might ſuppoſe that all would be quiet, the chief of the Rebels, by the Emperours mercie, not onely being ſhamed, but obliged into loyalty: but we ſhall finde the contrary. For the aforeſaid *Bernardo*, having by his intreaty procured another Parliament to be held for the publick clearing of himſelf from all accuſations lay'd againſt him; accordingly he came, and according to the unjuſt and heatheniſh cuſtom of thoſe times, offer'd to prove his innocencie by Combat; but none appearing to fight him, by Oath he publickly prov'd himſelf unguilty. The Emperour to ſatisfie all parties, ſent to his Son *Pepin*, who ſeemed the greateſt Enemie, to be preſent at this meeting and purgation of *Bernardo*. But *Pepin* doth not preſently obey, but protracts the time till the Parliament was diſſolved, and all finiſhed; which affront ſo much incens'd *Lewes*, that he commanded *Pepin* to be ſeis'd upon, who at laſt giving his Keepers the ſlip, eſcaped and fled to *Aquitaine*, where (upon what account I know not) he got *Bernardo* to revolt from the Emperour, and joyn with him in the ſame Rebellion: But *Pepin* being ſeis'd upon again, was, to prevent his farther miſchief, carryed whence he had moſt ſway, and confined to *Trevers* in *Germany*: but from this reſtraint and judgement he alſo eſcaped; and being at liberty, made it his whole deſign to moleſt and oppoſe his Father, filling all places he could with Inſurrections; which ſo inceenſed *Lewes*, that (ſeeing by fair means he could not reclaim his Son) he deprived him of all juriſdiction over, and to *Aquitaine*, and whatever elſe he poſſeſt, giving the ſame to his Sons *Lotharius* and *Charles*.

Pepin ſeeing himſelf thus deprived of all, reſolved to make others

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800 as bad as himſelf; and firſt, he felt the pulſe of his Brother *Lothaire*, which with a little bad counſel, he moved to beat according to his own deſire; and in this humour, they both reſolved to renew the Rebellion, to depoſe their Father, and ſo rule all: and to this Treachery their (a) Prelates and Clergy were the main Trumpeters, by their preachments, ſcribling, and bad Example.

a Ipſiq; Antiſtites Buccinatores belli præ cæteris, voce, ſcripto, ope, & multo maxime exemplo factionem promovent. *Jo. de Buſſieri*, Hiſt. Franc. Tom 1. p. 359.

According to the plot, the Sons march'd againſt their Father: Pope *Gregory* the Fourth coming from *Italy* (ſome ſay with *Lotharius*) to the quarrel, but whether to end it, or foment it, I cannot ſwear; but the report went then ſtrong, that the Pope aſſiſted the Sons. By this time the Armies drew near one another in *Alſatia*, and were ready to joyn Battle in a large Field, call'd by the *Germans* (b) *Lugenfeld* [*i. e.* the Field of lyes or deceit] between *Baſel* and *Strasbourg*. But here the Pope ſeem'd to offer his aſſiſtance to a reconcilement.

a Campus Mendacii.

The Sons perceiving that the more they delay'd, the ſtronger they would grow, by the hourly coming over to them of ſome of the Emperours Army, deſired Pope *Gregory* to enter into a treaty with their Father; who accordingly goeth to *Lewes*, whom he found armed amongſt his Officers and Army. To be ſhort, time is thus delay'd for ſeveral days, and then conditions granted by the Emperour, with which *Gregory* returns to the Confederates. But this was the ruine of *Lewes*; for whilſt this deſign was cunningly driven on, the Sons by their *Agitators*, had ſo wrought with the Imperial Army, that the morning after *Gregory*'s return, they did not onely run away by piece-meal, but upon a ſign given, by whole Troops, Regiments and Squadrons, they baſely revolted, and march'd over to the Sons, leaving the poor Emperour onely attendant with a few of his faithful and loyal Servants: from which cheating and treacherous action the place hath ever ſince, to this day, been call'd, as aforeſaid, *Lugenfeld*.

The Emperour ſeeing himſelf thus left in the lurch by his perfidious Army, and ſo neer his Enemies, that there was no hope of eſcaping, and if he could, knew not whither to go; deſireth his Friends, then left with him, to depart and ſhift for themſelves, that ſo they might avoy'd the fury of their Rebellious Enemies, not willing that they ſhould ſuffer ruine for their fidelity and honeſty: and having thus perſwaded them, with tears and ſighs of both parties they ſtole away. And being thus left onely with his Wife, his young Son *Charles*, and a few Servants, he ſent to his Rebellious Sons, that he would deliver himſelf into their hands; provided they would take care that no affront or violence ſhould be done to him, and thoſe few with him: the Sons conſent to it, and command him to come to them; who forthwith mounting on Horſe-back, with his few Friends, rode to their Camp, where the Empreſs was taken from him, delivered to his Son *Lewes*, and by him ſent into *Italy*, and there thruſt into a Nunnery at *Tortona*, in the Dukedom of *Milan*; and the Emperour with the reſt of his Companions were alſo confin'd: And now they parted all amongſt them, and rewarded themſelves; *Pepin* was reſtored to *Aquitaine*; *Lewes* had *Bavaria*, with ſome other Additions; and *Lothaire* poſſeſt the Empire, and

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moſt of *France*; and ſo the other Brothers departed to their Dominions. 800

Lothaire had his Father in his cuſtody, whom he carryed to *Soiſſons*, and there thruſt him into the Abbey of St. *Medard*, and his Son *Charles* into another Monaſtery; and having appointed a Parliament (for the better colour to his Rebellion) to be held at *Compeigne*, at the time appointed they met, where the condition of the Emperour was conſidered, a company of lying accuſations brought in againſt him, invented crimes falſely lay'd to his charge, and what not? to make him odious to the people. *Hebo*, the Archbiſhop of *Rheimes*, and other Prelates (the Ring-leaders of the Rebellion) ſpoke and acted furiouſly againſt him. In the mean time they ſent to him, to ſee if he would quietly and freely reſign the Empire, which he abſolutely refuſed to do, declaring he would never part with his Authority; proteſting againſt them as no Judges over him, he being their Soveraign, and they onely his Subjects.

But this put not the leaſt ſtop to their villany; on the contrary, rather increaſing their inſolencie: and ſo in a formal way (like our bloudy High-Court of Juſtice) proceeding againſt him; whom, though not heard, nor permitted to approach or ſpeak for himſelf, they adjudged not worthy to Rule; and by their pretended authority, did there deprive him of all Right, Power, Juriſdiction, or intereſt he had to the Diadem; and ſo adjudged him to a Monaſtical life, never to meddle hereafter in any Buſineſs. Nor was this all, but, that the Action might carry the greater ſhew of Equity with it, they by ſome falſe Friends had ſo cunningly dealt with the Emperor underhand, that for all his former reſolution, for peace-ſake he was over-perſwaded or threatned to confeſs himſelf guilty, and that in the moſt publick and vileſt faſhion, to procure to themſelves the greateſt honour with the people, and moſt ignominy to himſelf. And the manner was thus:

Lewes was carryed to *Compeigne*, and then in the great Church of the Bleſſed Virgin, before the Parliament and People, he kneel'd down upon an Hair-cloth, and did publickly confeſs before them all, that he had done many things amiſs, whilſt he ſway'd the Scepter: But this they thought not ſufficient, and therefore the Biſhops commanded him to make a farther and fuller acknowledgement of his crimes and offences; to which purpoſe, they had aforehand drawn up a large writing, of a great company of ſins, abuſes and enormities, of all which he was there declared guilty. The forged Charge it ſelf being long, falſe, and imperfect, I ſhall refer you to (*a*) *Baronius*, and the excellent *French* Antiquary, (*b*) *Andrè du Cheſne*, to whoſe learned Collections his induſtrious Son *Francis*, five years after, added two other large (*c*) Volumes.

a An. 833.
b Hiſt. *Franc.* Scriptor. Tom. 2. pag. 331, 332, 333.
c Paris 1641.

This ſlanderous Paper being given into the Emperours hand, he was made to read it before them with a loud voice, and with trickling tears, to acknowledge himſelf guilty of all thoſe untruths; which done, the Prelates ſubſcribed their names as Witneſſes; and for a farther confirmation of it, 'twas then lay'd upon the High Altar, as a full and compleat Teſtimony againſt *Lewes*. Yet did not all this ſatisfie, for as yet the Emperour had not been diſpoſſeſt of his Imperial Badges; and ſo to finiſh their malice, firſt, they make him take off his Sword and Belt, both which were laid alſo

800 upon the Altar; then the Biſhops pull off his other Royal Robes, inſtead of which, firſt they put on him an Hair-ſhirt, then the other Weeds belonging to a Monk; ſo Maſs being ended, the people are diſmiſt, and poor *Lewes* thruſt into a Monaſtery, whence the Parliament being diſſolved, *Lotharius* leads him in that pittiful habit and condition to *Aken* (or *Aix*) in *Germany*.

Here have we ſeen a good, pious, and virtuous Emperour brought to the worſt of ignominies, by his own Rebellious Sons and Subjects; and now his unnatural Childe *Lotharie* ruled and ſway'd all according to his own pleaſure, which ſtir'd up diſcontent in many, whilſt the patience of the holy *Lewes*, at the long run, moved pitty and compaſſion in others. But not to dwell on this ſorrowful ſubject too long: to be ſhort, ſeveral conſult ſeriouſly about the buſineſs, reſolve to be eas'd from their bondage, determine the reſtauration of *Lewes*; to which purpoſe after ſome conſideration, ſome Grandees levy men, which at laſt, increaſe to a conſiderable ſtrength, and ſo ſend to *Lotharius* to have his Father reſtored; who replyeth, That none can grieve more than he for the hard dealings againſt his Father; but he being depoſed by the Decree of the Biſhops, he cannot be reſtored without their conſent; and deſires the preſence of ſome of thoſe Gentlemen to conſult with him. In the mean time he had departed from *Germany*, carrying his Father Priſoner with him to *Paris*, and thence to S. *Denis*. But perceiving himſelf not able to cope with his Enemies, who came too ſuddenly upon him, he withdrew into *Burgundy*, leaving his Father behinde him. In the mean time, thoſe who intended the Reſtauration of the Emperour, came to S. *Denis*, releaſe *Lewes*; to whom they offer their ſervice, and deſire him to take upon him the Empire again. This he denyeth, unleſs he were declared innocent, and reſtored by Biſhops, becauſe by them he had formerly been deprived. Upon this ſome Biſhops are got, who in the great Church at S. *Denis*, declare the former ſentence illegal, with their own hands take off him his Monkiſh Attire, inveſt him with the Soveraign Purple, gird his Sword and Belt to him again; and all this publickly before the people. And ſo we have him Emperour once again.

But his Son *Lotharius* was far from ſubmitting to, or acknowledging any legality in this action; and ſo having got a conſiderable Army, he ruineth all before him, making *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, and other places there, ſubmit to him; thence he returneth into *Burgundy*, where he taketh *Chalons* upon the great River *Soane*, which he deſtroyeth, and he headeth the two loyal Noblemen, *Goſſelinus* [or *Gotſelin*] and *Banila* [or *Banila*] and to highten his cruelty and Rebellion, takes the Lady *Gerberg* out of a Nunnery where ſhe profeſt, made her be put into a Wine-veſſel, and ſo thrown into the River *Soane*, where ſhe was drown'd; and thence proceeded in his fury to other places in *France*. But the patient Emperour ſent to his Son *Lotharie* a pardon, and took him into his favour again; the Son being the more willing to accept of it, becauſe he now found that he was not able to withſtand his Father.

And now we might think again that all would be quiet, and after ſo many pardonings and favours, they would let the good Emperour live in peace. But we finde quite contrary; for his Son *Lotharius* troubles him again in *Italy*: but this being pacified, his youngeſt Son *Lewes* rais'd forces and rebell'd in *Germany*; the news

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of which being brought to the good Emperour, ſo hugely troubled and perplext him, that it put him into a diſeaſe, which never left him till his dying day, which followed not long after; all which would be too tedious here to relate, the former action being ſatisfactory enough to any man, of the heinouſneſs of theſe unnatural Rebellions. 800 Anno 840.

We have formerly hinted of Pope *Gregory* the Fourth, coming from *Rome* into *France*, in the time of theſe late Rebellions; and how by his means, time was protracted at *Lugenfeldt*, to the ruine of the Emperours Cauſe, and his Dethronization: To which I ſhall add nothing, but onely this by the by, that ſome will not at all grant, that the Pope himſelf had any deſign againſt *Lewes*, but meerly came upon a good intent to make peace amongſt them: Againſt which Objection I ſhall not trouble my ſelf with a Reply, but onely refer the Readers to the Learned Collections of (*a*) *Henricum Boeeberus*, and the Lord (*b*) *du Pleſſis*, where they may finde, by ſome inſtances, that it was the opinion of the ancient Hiſtorians, and thoſe who lived too about the ſame time, that the Pope joyn'd with the Sons in Rebellion againſt the Father. However it be, 'tis confeſt by all parties, that in *France* the Pope left a very ill name behinde him, for his too much (as they thought) compliance with the Sons.

a De rebus ſeculi IX & X. pag 68.
b Myſt. Iniq; pag. 157.

The truth is, the Emperour might very well take ſome diſtaſte againſt *Rome*, for that noted ſedition there; in which *Theodore*, chief Secretary to the Church of *Rome*, and *Leo* the *Nomenclator*, had their Eyes pull'd out, and Noſes cut off, and ſo ſlain in the *Lateran* it ſelf; and no one crime objected againſt them, but their affection to the Emperour: Of which action Pope *Paſchal* the Firſt was accuſed by ſome; but he indeavour'd by his Agents to clear himſelf of this crime to the Emperour: but this not ſatisfying, and ſeeing *Lewes* farther reſolved to finde out the buſineſs, he by his own Oath declared himſelf guiltleſs; and yet at the ſame time ſo ſtout was *Paſchal*, that he would not permit thoſe who had ſlain them to be puniſhed, or to fall under any ſecular Judge; and the reaſon of all this was, becauſe they were people that belong'd to the Family of S. *Peter*. A pretty *Maxime*; yet were it worſe, it would be authentick enough in that houſhold. And *Jaques de Montholon* [a falſe name, I ſuppoſe, for I think the true Author was the great *French* Jeſuite *Pierre Cotton*] when in this caſe he makes it his deſign to make an Apology for his Society, handleth the Queſtion ſo ſlightly, cunningly, and with ſuch *Leger-de-main*, ſhifting himſelf (according to his other Writings) this way and that way, that every man may take him as he thinks fit, and ſo may be of any ſide, either accuſation or vindication. But this by the by.

Plaidoye pour les Peres Jeſuites, p. 403. &c.

'Tis true, Pope *Paſchal* did alſo declare thoſe who were ſlain to be guilty of death, and that they juſtly ſuffer'd; but this was ſo little ſatisfactory to *Lewes*, that he ſent ſome again to *Rome* to examine and try the buſineſs: but the death of the Pope, in the mean time, render'd that Journey uſeleſs. By this we ſee that the Emperours yet kept up their Juriſdiction over *Rome*; nay, and the Pope too, in relation to their Elections. For when *Gregory* the Fourth was choſen at *Rome*, he was not Conſecrated, nor acknowledged as full Pope, till the Emperour *Lewes* his Ambaſſadors had been at *Rome*, and throughly examin'd the Election, and informed the Emperour,

Hen. Boeclerus, pag. 84.

800 who conſenting, he was then Conſecrated. And (*a*) *Platina* himſelf confeſſeth ſomewhat to this purpoſe, *viz.* This *Gregory was of ſuch modeſty, that being choſen by the Clergy and people of* Rome, *he would not enter into the* Popedom, *till he had been confirmed by the Emperours Ambaſſadors, ſent for that intent to* Rome, *and who diligently examin'd the Election:* And the reaſon why *Lewes* did thus concern himſelf with the Popes Chair, was, as the ſame *Platina* ſaith, (*b*) *That he might not loſe the Rights and Priviledges of the Empire.* And ſome years after this, *Leo* the Fourth being choſen Pope, and Conſecrated, without acquainting the Emperour *Lotharius* with it, yet was this action winck'd at by the Emperour, upon a reaſonable and neceſſitating excuſe, *viz.* the *Saracens* raging up and down *Italy*, they could not conveniently ſend with the accuſtomed Grandeur information to *Lothaire*; and by reaſon of ſuch Pagan Enemies, the delay of having an authentick Biſhop was then dangerous. And their own (*c*) *Coeffeteau* doth make this Apology, confeſſing that otherwiſe they durſt not be Conſecrated without the Emperours approbation or confirmation.

a Vit. *Greg.* IV.

b Ne jura Imperii amitteret.

c Page 497. — Ils n' oſoient le Conſacrer ſans le Conſentement de l'Empereur, qui s'en eſtoit reſervé la Connoiſſance, & qui d'ailleurs vengeoit ſeverement le meſpris s'il n'y eſtoit appellé. Parmi cela c'eſtoit comme choſe impoſſible d'envoyer vers luy, tout le pais eſtant couvert de ces Infidelles.

To which we may add, that the people of *Rome* at theſe times, and by the Popes order or conſent, ſwore Allegiance to the Emperours. Theſe things (with ſome other (*d*) reaſons mentioned by others) well conſidered, may give a notable blow to that which they call the Donation of *Lewes* to the Popes [as for thoſe of *Pepin* and *Charles* the Great, they are talk'd of, but I have not ſeen them ſet down in ſet words.] And the vaſt (*e*) diſagreements in the Copies themſelves, and yet all held authentick, may add to its ſuſpition.

d *Du Pleſſis*, p. 154, 155.

e Fulmen Brutum, pag. 181, 182, 183.

But as this is not exactly the intent of my deſign, no more is the Hiſtory and Aſſertion of Pope *Joane*, who is ſaid to have flouriſh'd about this time. But to be free, as for thoſe who are reſolved to deny the ſtory and being of ſuch a Woman-Pope, they may ſtrengthen their Faith by the reading of (*f*) *Onuphrius*, (*g*) *Bellarmine*, (*h*) *Baronius*; (*i*) *Floromundus de Remond*, and of late (*k*) *David Blondell*, a *French* Proteſtant. As for thoſe who are willing to believe it, I ſhall refer them for more confirmation to (*l*) *du Pleſſis*, (*m*) *Hottingerus*, our learned Country-man (*n*) Mr. *Alexander Cooke*, with the two *French-men*, (*o*) *Samuel Mariſius*, and *Le Sieur* (*p*) *Congnard*. As for my own judgement, I ſhall wrap it up without partiality or paſſion in this, that I am ſo far from being ſatisfied with the reaſons brought againſt the being of ſuch a woman-Pope, that I may fancie thoſe who aſſert a Pope *Joane*, afford better Authority, Teſtimony, and Arguments, than thoſe who deny it: And as *Cooke* in Engliſh hath ſufficiently anſwered *Floromondus* and the reſt, ſo doth *Mariſius* in *Latine*, and *Congnard* in *French* abundantly confute *David Blondel*, though a man of great reading. But be it this way or that way, it ſhall never trouble me; and ſo let every man think as he pleaſeth, for ſo they muſt and will: Nor do I poſitively determine any thing here my ſelf. And ſo much for our Pope or No-Pope *Joane*, a ſtory that hath drawn forth to open *Battalia*, and ſiding, the greateſt Pens in *Europe*; ſome

f Annotat. in *Platin.*
g De Rom. Pont. lib. 3. cap. 14.
h An. 853.
i Fabula *Joannæ* Papiſſæ.
k Familier Eſclairciſſement de la Queſtion.
l Myſt. of Iniq. p. 167.
m Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. 1. cap. 9. p. 616, 617.
n Pope *Joane*, a Dialogue.
o *Joanna* Papiſſa reſtituta.
p Traité contre *D. Blondell.*

to

to vindicate, others to annihilate the ſitting of ſuch a Lady in the Porphyrie Chair, as Infallible Head of the *Romiſh* Church: nor to this day will either party give ground or yeild, but ſtill fight it out; and which is more, both ſinging *Victoria*, and triumphing as Conquerours: and thus it hath the happineſs or misfortune to fare, as ſome other Articles of the greateſt conſequence in Religion, never to want Friends and Enemies. 800

Thus have we ſeen the pious and victorious Emperour, *Lewes le Debonnaire*, miſerably banded to and fro by his own unnatural Children and rebellious Subjects, and by the conſent of the chief of his Clergy [and thoſe too, as Hiſtorians obſerve, whom himſelf or his Great Father had rais'd and prefer'd from the meaneſt condition to theſe chiefeſt places of Honour and Riches] uſed with all manner of reproach, villany, and ignominy; yet they farther obſerve, that ſevere judgements fell upon the chief of them, who within a year were taken away by a Plague or Peſtilence from Heaven. And as for the ſons themſelves [except *Pepin*, who dyed whilſt his Father lived] after the deceaſe of the Emperour *Lewes*, we may finde them all together by the ears, proſecuting one another with all manner of violence and fury. *Jo. de Buſſieres.* Tom. 1. p. 368.

But we ſhall conclude this Tragical ſtory of good *Lewes* with his Epitaph, as it is in the Monaſtery of St. *Arnulf* at *Metz* in *Lorraine*, which is according to the riming faſhion of thoſe times; by which we may judge the height of their Wit and Poetry: for 'tis to be ſuppos'd that ſuch a great Emperour had none of the worſt Poets of thoſe days to celebrate his fame and memory thus upon his Tomb [and yet we have had many worſe made ſince upon other Emperours and Kings.]

Imperii fulmen, Francorum *nobile culmen*,
Erutus à ſeclo conditur hoc tumulo.
Rex Lodowicus *pietatis tantus amicus*,
Quod Pius *à Populo dicitur & Tumulo.*
Heldegard *ſobiles* Karoli Magni *pia proles*,
In Pacis metas colligit hunc pietas
Rumelicum *villam*, *quicquidve refertur ad illam*,
Arnulfo *ſancto contulit*, *huicq; loco.*
Stirps à quo Procerum, *Regumq; vel Imperatorum*,
Quorum muneribus ſiſtitur ille locus.

After this *Lewes* ſucceeded in the Empire his Son *Lothaire*, who at laſt willingly reſigned [making himſelf a Monk] to his Son *Lewes* the Second; of whom I ſhall ſay nothing, but that in his time the Popes began by degrees to neglect to have their Elections confirm'd by the Emperours, whom by little and little they began to trample upon; the greateſt Monarchs being now, I know not how, fob'd into a ſervile reverence of thoſe, whoſe Predeceſſors had formerly been their Inferiours, of which this *Lewes* the Second may ſerve for an Example.

Nicholas the Firſt being choſen and Conſecrated, this Emperour being then at *Rome*; one time the Pope in great State attended with all the chief of the City, went to give *Lewes* the Second a viſit; who hearing of it, reſolv'd to meet his Holineſs; and being met, the Emperour alights from his Horſe, and on foot with great humility *Anaſtaſ.* vit. *Nichol.* I. *Platina.*

800 humility like a Foot-boy led the Popes Horſe by the Bridle, and at his departure did the ſame; though certainly it might have been commendable in *Nicholas*, not to have permitted ſo ignoble an action, if not manners to have deſcended too, and gone aſoot with the Emperour: but with the Proverb, When Humility vamps on foot, Pride may ride on cock-horſe.

Sect. 3.

The Murther of Michael, *Emperour of* Conſtantinople: *with Pope* Adrian *the Second his opinion of the Murtherer.*

BUt as this Chapter begins with bloud, ſo let it end: And firſt, we have about this time *Michael* [one whoſe life and rule I ſhall not commend] Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, murder'd in his Chamber by *Baſilius*, one whom *Michael* had rais'd from the baſeſt condition, to the higheſt preferment; from a common Horſe-courſer, to the greateſt Authority; and had declared him the next Emperour, as now he made himſelf by the Murther of his Maſter and Soveraign. But *Photius*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* [made ſo by *Michael*, *Ignatius* being turn'd out] deny'd to give him the Sacrament, as guilty of ſuch an abominable crime; and yet they declare this *Baſilius* to be (*a*) *Pious and Orthodox*, which we may *Engliſh*, a *good Roman Catholick*. And the truth is, no ſooner was the murther done, but Pope *Adrian* the Second congratulates him by his (*b*) Letters, calling of *Michael* a Tyrant; but as for *Baſilius*, thus he ſalutes him: *Thou art in our time as another peaceful* Salomon, *who haſt hearkned to the words of God thy father, and haſt not forſaken the Law of thy Mother*; that is, as they ſay, the Church. Which words put me in minde of *Richard Baxter* [that motly of Presbytery] who call'd his friend and name-ſake *Dick Cromwell*, the *wiſe* Salomon, *and ſon of a valiant* David.

a Baſilius vero pius Orthodoxus. *Cogneus* Antimorn. tom. 1. pag. 455.

b Apud *Bin.* Concil. General.

Baſilius, and his friend *Adrian* the Second, agree to have a Council at *Conſtantinople*, in which *Photius* is turn'd out and curs'd, and *Ignatius* reſtored: and here things were ſo carryed, that the Pope by the Power of *Baſilius* had what he could deſire. (*c*) Images [which the former Emperours of the Eaſt always withſtood] are now declared to be held in equal honour with the Goſpel, or Word of God. (*d*) That the Church of *Rome* is above other Patriarchſhips; that none might ſpeak or write againſt the Pope under pain of *Anathema*. That (*e*) Biſhops ſhould not go forth to meet Princes, and if chance to meet, not to alight from their Mules or Horſes, or kneel before them upon the ſcore of reverence. That Biſhops may be equal to Kings or Emperours. That theſe (*f*) ſecular Monarchs ſhould not intereſt themſelves in the promotion or election of Biſhops: Nor is it fitting that they ſhould be preſent in their (*g*) Synods, unleſs they be General Councils. And thus *Baſilius* and Pope *Adrian* gratifie one another. And this they call the (*h*) Eighth General Council, though the *Greeks* ſince that will ſcarce acknowledge it ſo, but rather that held (ſome hundred years ſince this) at (*i*) *Florence*.

c Can. 3. *ex quo honore cum libro ſanctorum Evangeliorum.*

d Can. 21.

e Can. 14.

f Can. 22.

g Can. 17.

h An. 869.

i An. 1435.

Other

Other Histories might here be inlarged upon, which hapned about these times, as that of *Donald* the Fifth, King of *Scotland*, one vicious enough, who was close imprisoned by his own Subjects; which so troubled him, that (as most Writers confess) he became his own Executioner, and (*a*) kill'd himself. And here I might speak also of *Ethus*, King of the same Nation, who was also put in prison by his Subjects, and within three days (*b*) dyed of grief. This *Ethus* is sirnamed the *Swift* or *Light-foot*; for that, they say, he could run as fast as a Buck or Hare. 800

a An. 859.

b An. 875.

Sect. 4.

Several Insolencies and Murders committed by the Venetians *against some of their Dukes, about this time.*

And from these might I turn to a people held in those times more civilized, and whose Government and Prudence hath been held, not onely the wonder of the World, but by some the Bulwark of Christendom, *viz.* the *Venetians*, of whom I might at large relate; they being weary of their popular Government, declared themselves a Bastard Monarchy, by their (*c*) *Ducal*: And here I might tell how they slew their third Duke (*d*) *Orso Hypato*, and so changed their Government again to an annual Master or Consulship: the first being *Dominico Leone*. 2. *Felix Cornicula*, or *Cornaccbino*. 3. *Deodato*, Son to the former *Orso*. 4. *Juliano Ypato* or *Cepario*. And the fifth and last *Zianus Fabritius*, or *Giovanni Fabritiaco*, whose eyes the people put out, and so turned him out of his Office, and agreed to be govern'd by Dukes again; (*e*) electing to that purpose the fore-named *Deodato*, Son to their former Duke *Orso*; and having ruled thirteen years, they put out his (*f*) eyes too. Then was *Galla* the Fifth Duke, whose eyes they also (*g*) put out. After him they appointed to be Duke *Dominico Monegario*, or *Menicaccio*, whose eyes they also (*h*) put out: After succeeded *Mauritio*; then his Son *Giovanni*, whom they (*i*) banish'd: To him succeeded *Obelerio*, whom the people (*k*) cut in pieces, drew his guts about the streets, and slew his Wife of the Bloud-royal of *France*. The next Duke was *Angelo Partitiato*; then *Justinian*; then his Brother *Giovanni Partitiatio*, who going to prayers to St. *Peters* Church, was seis'd upon, disrobed, and his beard and head being shaven, was (*l*) thrust into a Monastery in *Grada*. And after him was elected Duke *Pietro Tradenico*, or *Gradenico*, who was (*m*) murther'd as he came from St. *Zacharies* Church. And so for this time I take my leave of the City *Venice*.

Petr. Marcel. de vit. Princip. *Venet. Tho. de Fougasses. Ja. Howel* Hist. of *Venice. Will. Thomas* Hist. of *Italy*.

c An. 697.

d An. 737.

e An. 742.

f An. 755.

g An. 756.

h An. 764.

i An. 804.

k An. 809.

l An. 836.

m An. 864.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

1. *The depoſing of the Emperour* Charles *the Third, ſirnamed the* Groſs.
2. *The jumbling of Emperours, by the obſtinacie of the Pope; all which are made more plain by an exact Chronology.*
3. *The hurly-burly amongſt the Popes themſelves, whereby their perſonal Succeſſion is ſhaken.*

Sect. 1.

The depoſing of the Emperour Charles *the Third, ſirnamed the* Groſs.

NOw began the Popes Authority to increaſe to a wonder; and every man thought himſelf cock-ſure, if he had but that Biſhop of his party, who now in all Countries, and over the greateſt Monarchs, held himſelf an Infallible Judge; and if not ſubmitted to, had the ſtrength of his Coercive Power, and the terrible vertue of his Cenſures and Paper-thunder-bolts, vapor'd and prattl'd up by his Hirelings, to affright an ignorant and poor deluded people.

And to make this his Prerogative more formidable, and ſo to gain an eaſier paſſage, and firmer ſettlement into peoples belief; their Prieſts daily made uſe of pretty ſtories of Gods Miracles and Judgements [imitated by our late Puritans and Phanaticks] ſometimes in Purgatory, and ſometimes God knows where: and this ſtaple-cheat of reverence and aw was had up on every occaſion. Are Images to be worſhip'd? then what ſtrange (*a*) ſtories have they againſt thoſe who reject them! Is the *Roman* Church to be Supreme? then they have pretty (*b*) Tales to confirm it. Muſt not Kings and Emperours meddle with Church-affairs? they will tell you ſtrange (*c*) wonders to prove it. And if any man queſtion the Popes going to Heaven, they will aſſure you how Pope (*d*) *Pius* the Second flew up thither, not onely cloath'd in white, but with his triple Crown on his head too: and with ſuchlike fopperies as uſed the ancient Monks and Fryars to ſtuff their Preachments, to the terrifying of old women, and ſeducement of the wiſer. And well might thoſe ignorant times give credit to ſuch fancies, when of late days the chief of their Writers, ſuch as *Baronius, Nierembergius, Gononus, Daunoltius, Waddingus, Surius, &c.* fill up their voluminous Pages with ſuch lying trifles.

a Gononus ſec. 7, 8. *Daunoult.* c. 3. Tit. 67. *b Daunoult.* c. 4. Tit. 17. *c* Id. ib. Tit. 18. *d* Id. cap. 8. Tit. 32. & 3.

And that which made the way more eaſie for the Popes now to riſe to their greatneſs, and over-top all ſecular juriſdiction, was the groſs ignorance of the times of which we now ſpeak; inſomuch, that the

the Ninth Age is ignominiouſly branded by all parties, for the *unhappy and ignorant* Century, in which we can ſcarce finde any thoughts of good Literature, learning being in a manner quite forgot. Thus ſtagger'd the Temporal Juriſdiction; the greateſt Monarchs themſelves, either by eaſineſs, or bad counſellors, neglecting their own Authority; and ſometimes led by a zealous fear, other times by policie, or intereſt, were willing to think, and eaſily perſwaded, that the Pope had a greater power than St. *Peter* ever exerciſed, or any of his ancienter and honeſter Predeceſſors ever thought they had, in relation to a Coercive Authority over Temporal Princes. And what they have once got or made, the people believe [right or wrong:] for the firſt they will never part with; and the ſecond, they will make an Article of Faith. 800

And the truth of this may be teſtified by approved Hiſtory. The Emperour *Lewes* the Second (of whom we formerly hinted) dying without Sons, a diſpute aroſe about the Succeſſion: but *Charles* the *Bald*, King of *France*, obtain'd it of Pope *John* the Ninth, as ſome call him, and that, as ſome ſay, according to the confeſſion of their [*a*] *Mexia*, by gifts and Bribery: But after this, *Charles le Chaune* being [*b*] poyſoned at *Mantoa*, by his Phyſitian *Zedechias* a Jew, the canvas began again.

a Vite di gl' Imperadori, fol. 326. b.
b An. 877.

Pope *John* was reſolved for *Lewes* the Third, King of *France*; but many of the *Italians* were for *Charles* the Fat of *Germany:* and in this reſolution both parties were ſo ſtubborn, that the chief of the *Romans* took Arms, ſeis'd upon the Pope, and impriſoned him; from whence he getting free, fled into *France*, where he beſtow'd the [*c*] Empire upon *Lewes* the Third, the [*d*] Stammerer or Stutterer. But this humour laſteth not long; for a little after, the Pope being aſſiſted by *Charles* againſt the *Moors*, then invading *Italy*, diſanull'd the Coronation of the ſaid *Lewes* the Third, and declared and Crown'd for [*e*] Emperour this *Charles*, ſirnamed the *Groſſe* or *Fat*. Though I wonder what honeſt man gave the Pope this power or right of diſpoſing Kingdoms. But as the Proverb ſaith of Dogs, we may juſtly affirm, that whilſt two ſtrive for a Temporal Title, the Pope is ſure to gain, if not the Thing, yet the eſteem or honour to diſpoſe of it, a fooliſh Zeal or Intereſt being the conveyers.

c An. 878.
d Balbus, le Begue.
e An. 880.

Yet was the end of this *Charles* the *Fat* deplorable enough; for having been Emperour eight years, and by reaſon of his exceſſive fatneſs, growing very dull and lazie, he was [*f*] forſaken by all his Subjects; who having cunningly order'd their plots, elected into the Government *Arnulph* his Nephew, baſtard to *Carloman*, Son to *Lewes* the Second. Thus was *Charles* the *Groſs*, one of the greateſt ſway then in the world, being Emperour of *Germany*, King of *France*, and other Territories, ſuddenly thrown down from his Glory: and though a man [*g*] noted in Hiſtory for his fortitude, piety, and liberality; yet thus in a moment was he depoſed, neglected of all men, inſomuch, that within three days he had not one to aſſiſt him, or take care of him: he that had commanded ſo many Dominions and Armies, hath not a boy to wait upon him; and he that had fed ſo many, had now ſcarce a bit of bread to put in his mouth, onely what Biſhop *Lintbert* of *Mentz*, through meer charity and pity did ſometimes afford him; and, ſome ſay, that after *Arnulph*, upon his Supplication and Petition, granted him a little

f An. 887.
g *Nic. Serarius*, Hiſt. *Mogunt.* l. 4. p. 664, 665.

800 allowance. And thus being depoſed at a Convention at *Fribur* neer *Mentz* in *Germany*, he went into a poor Village in *Swaben*, where, ſome ſay, he lived in great want and miſery, and ſo poorly dyed.

Grimſton Imp. Hiſt. p. 404.

'Tis not unworthy the obſervation, that this *Charles* the *Groſs* was the firſt that dated his Letters and Patents with the year of *Chriſt*, which hath ſince been uſed by Chriſtians: Whereas, the Eaſtern Princes, even until the Council of *Baſil*, as (*a*) *Roſſe* ſaith, uſed no other Computation in their Subſcriptions, but that of the world, according to *Euſebius* his account, which, as ſome think, is erroneous enough; yet two to one, that amongſt ſuch variety and learned Chronologers, we ſhall finde never a Computation true from the Worlds Original.

Heur. *Boecler.* pag. 189.

a Continuat. of Sir *W. Ral.* p. 138.

And thus much for the unfortunate *Charles* the *Groſs*, of whom they tell a ſtrange ſtory of a Viſion he had, by which he ſaw many Princes and Biſhops tormented in Hell or Purgatory, for their factious humours, and fomenting of wars; of which I ſhall oblige no man to credit any more but this, that as the Dream might be true, ſo the puniſhment there declared might poſſibly be a reward for ſuch bloud-zealous Inſtruments.

Wil. Malmesbur. de geſt. Reg. *Angl.* l. 1. c. 2.

Sect. 2.

The jumbling of Emperours, by the obſtinacie of the Pope; all which are made more plain by an exact Chronology.

THe depoſing and death of *Charles* the *Fat* being known, the Empire fell out into great diviſions; for the *Italians* had formerly began to grumble, that the Emperours, for ſo long time, had not been elected within their Country, affirming *Italy* to be the true Seat of the Empire: On the contrary, the *Germans* ſtood as ſtiff for their ſoyl, declaring that by *Charles* the Great, the Empire was tranſlated thither, and there it muſt remain; and ſo accordingly they chuſe *Arnolph* for Emperour, and acknowledge none other. In the mean time, the Popes (now alſo divided into Factions) and *Italians* crown other men for Emperours; and ſo for almoſt LXXX years did each Nation live under their reſpective Emperors or Kings. And to this day, ſo reſolved are moſt of the Writers of both Countries, that the *Germans* acknowledge none for Emperours, but who were choſen in their Country; whom, on the other ſide, the *Italians* reject as onely inferiour perſons, and write onely thoſe to be *Caſars*, who were elected on their ſide the Alpes. And herein, *Baronius* is very zealous for his Popes and Country (*viz. Italy*) daſhing out all along thoſe of the *German* Elections; for which doing, he gives you this thundring reaſon, (*b*) *Becauſe one cannot be truely Emperour, unleſs the Pope confer it upon him.*

b Eo quod nefas eſſet Imperatoris nomen aſſumere, niſi illud eſſet ab Apoſtolica ſede collatum. *Baron.* an. 887. § 3.

But the better to underſtand this jumbling of Emperours, take this following Chronology, in which I ſhall time the affairs according to *Baronius*, *Panvinius*, or other their chiefeſt Hiſtorians.

CHARLES

CHARLES the GROSSE depoſed.

Germany.	*A.D.*	*A.D.*	*Italy.*
Arnolph, Son to *Carloman*, Son to *Lewes* the Second, was choſen Emperour of *Germany* at *Tribur*, upon the depoſing of *Charles le Groſſe*.	887	888	*Berengarius*, Duke of *Friuli*, and *Guido* Duke of *Spoleto*, upon the voyding of *Charles* the Fat, call'd themſelves Kings of *Italy*, which by their factions was miſerably divided, making fierce Wars againſt each other. But *Guido* was more ſtrong, being countenanced by the Pope *Sergius*; yet *Berengarius* counterfeited to Arm for *Arnolfus*.
In *Italy* at this time was a great Faction about the Popedom; ſome ſtood for *Formoſus*, others were as fierce for one *Sergius*: but by this means *Rome* it ſelf was Ruled by force, the friends of *Sergius* being there more powerful. *Formoſus* to get himſelf eas'd of theſe troubles and enemies, ſends privately to *Arnulfe*, and invites him to his aſſiſtance.		892	*Guido* or *Wido*, Duke of *Spoleto*, in *Rome* is crown'd Emperour by Pope *Formoſus*: for which he confirmed thoſe *Donations*, pretended to have been formerly given to *Rome*.
Arnulphus having rais'd a potent Army, marcheth into *Italy*, and at laſt gets before *Rome* it ſelf; which he ſummoned to yeild, but they refuſe: upon this layeth ſiege to it, and ſeveral times attempted to take it, but to no purpoſe, being ſtill beaten off: At laſt he became Maſter of it by an unexpected accident, which was thus:		893	*Lambert*, Son to *Guido*, (his Father yet living) was alſo declared Emperour by the ſame Pope. [a] But *Baronius*, though he doth confeſs this, yet will not let him begin his Empire, till after the death of *Lewes* the Fourth, Son to *Boſon*, *viz.* *An.*904. But upon what account he doth this, I know not. But [b] *Onuphrius* makes him the ſole Emperour after the death of his Father *Guido*, *viz.* 894. But in another [c] place he will not let him be Emperour till 896, and then Crown'd by Pope *Stephanus*.
A [d] Leveret or young Hare being one time got neer the Army, and affrighted with the noiſe of Souldiers, ran towards the City; a		894	*Guido* or *Wido* dyeth in *Italy*.

a An.904.

b Vid. *Jo. Gualt.* Chron. Chronicorum, tom. 2. pag. 163.

c De Regn. *Ital.* An. 896.

d Lepuſculus. *Car. Sigon.* de Regno *Italiæ*, an. 896.

Germany.	*A.D.*	*A.D.*	*Italy.*
a party of the Souldiers in a frolick ran after her: the *Roman* Watch ſeeing them run ſo fiercely towards the City, and not knowing the cauſe, thought they came to aſſault the City, and ran away. The *Germans* ſeeing this opportunity, made up to the Walls, which ſome of them preſently ſcal'd, whilſt other with a *Ram* batter'd down the Gate: And thus they enter'd the [a] *Vatican*, and ſo took the City: *Sergius* fled, but all his partakers, who oppoſed *Arnulfus*, were ſlain without mercy.			
Arnulphus, being conquerour, had himſelf Crown'd Emperour with a great deal of pomp in St. *Peters* Church, by Pope *Formoſus*; and the *Romans* take this Oath of Allegiance to him.	896	899	[b] *Carolus Sigonius* ſaith, that in this year *Lambert* was anoynted Emperour by Pope *Stephanus* the Sixth, having declared the Coronation of *Arnulph* to be voyd and null.
[c] *I profeſs before God and all the Saints, and ſwear by the holy Sacraments, to be a true Subject to the Emperor Arnulf, ſo long as I live; and never to favour the party of Lambert, or his* [d] *Mother,*			

a *Urbs Leonina*, ſo call'd by *Leo* the Fourth, who compaſſed it about with a Wall, that it might not lye open to all Invaſions, *An.* 848. *Platina* vit. *Leonis* the Fourth.

b De Regno *Italiæ.*

c *Teſtor Deum omnesq; Devot. & per. Divina Myſteria juro, me quoad vivam, fore in poteſtate Imperatoris Arnulfis, neq; Lamberti aut Matris ejus rebus fauturum, neq; ut dignitatem aliquam adipiſcantur, aut hanc urbem ſervitute premant, operam daturam. Sigonius* de Regno *Italiæ. An.* 896.

d *Ageſtruda, Adelterudis*, or *Engultrude.*

And

Germany.	*A.D.*	*A.D.*	*Italy.*
ther, or to assist them to the obtaining of any dignity, or to their bringing this little City into Bondage. This done, *Arnulf* quits *Rome*, and Pope *Formosus* dyeth; after whom *Bonifacius* the Sixth sits a few days; and then *Stephanus* the Sixth, who was an Enemy to *Formosus*, and all his actions; wherefore, they say, he presently calls *Lambert* to *Rome*, whom he creates Emperour, and declares the Coronation of *Arnulf* by *Formosus* to be voyd. *Sigonius* loco cit.		898	And for the better confirmation of *Lambert* in the Empire, as about this time, we are told how Pope (*a*) *John* the Tenth, (or the Ninth) call'd a Synod of LXXIV Bishops (*Lambert* himself being also there) at *Ravenna*. In which, amongst other things, *Arnulph* is declar'd no Emperour, and *Lambert* held for the onely *Cæsar*: and if so, then it must be either in 898, or the next year, as is probable from the sitting of this Pope *John*, according to *Onuphrius*.
About this time *Arnulphus* quitted this world.		899	
Lewes the Fourth, Son to the Emperour *Arnulph* (his Father being dead) was solemnly elected by the *Germans* at *Forchaim* (in the Bishoprick of *Bamberg* in *Frankenlandt*) he was but very young, and so had Governours or Tutors appointed for him; and he was Crown'd at *Aix* by *Hatto* (the Tenth) Archbishop of *Mentz*.	900	900	*Lewes* the Fourth, Son to *Boson*, Earl or King of *Province*, was call'd into *Italy* to oppose *Berengarius* (of whom formerly) and by Pope *Benedict* the Fourth was declared Emperour.
Historians		An. 904.	*Berengarius* and he had some fighting; but at last *Berengarius* cunningly (as some say) seis'd upon him at *Verona*, pluck'd out his Eyes, of which he dyed presently

(*a*) *Coqueus* Antimorn. tom. 1. pag. 477, 478.

Germany.	*A.D.*	*A.D.*	*Italy.*
Hiſtorians do now and then mightily miſtake theſe two *Leweſes* one for another; and ſometimes by their grand errours about theſe other divided Emperours, the Hiſtory of theſe times are very obſcure.			preſently after, *viz.* 904. (*a*) *Baronius* tells us, that this *Berengarius* enter'd *Rome* with a great Army, and commanded Pope *John* to Crown him Emperour, which accordingly was done; but no ſooner was he gone from *Rome*, but the Pope deſireth *Lambert* to come thither, whom he publickly Crown'd for Emperour: and having call'd a Synod at *Rome*, and the buſineſs propoſed, the Coronation of *Berengarius* was declared void, but that of *Lambert* was pronounced legal, and ſo they held him for Emperour.
By the by, take one ſtory of Equivocation: *Adelbert* or *Albert*, Earl of (*b*) *Bamberg* in *Franconia*, rebell'd againſt the Emperour; and in this broyl ſlew *Earle Conrade*. *Lewes* beſiegeth him in *Bamberg*; but after many attempts, found no probability of taking it, or him. Upon this, the aforeſaid *Hatto*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, perſwades to policie, and undertakes the plot. *Hatto* goeth to *Albert* in his ſtrong Caſtle of *Bamberg*, promiſeth his pardon; however, to reſtore him ſafe again to his Caſtle. *Albert* goeth out with him towards *Lewes*; but being gone no farther than the next Village *Theurſtat*, *Hatto* pretends the conveniency of dining: Upon this, they return to *Bamberg*, dine, and then go to ask pardon of *Lewes*; whither being come, as a Traytor he is condemn'd to death. *Albert* challengeth *Hatto* of his promiſe, who replyeth, That he had kept it, becauſe he had once return'd him ſafe and ſound to his Caſtle: And ſo *Albert* was beheaded; but how *Hatto* dyed Authors will not agree.		904	*Lambert*, Son to *Guido*, though he had formerly been declared Emperour, yet *Baronius* will not let him begin to Rule as Emperour till this year, being juſt after the death of *Lewes* the Fourth, Son to *Boſon*.
		910	*Lambert* was ſlain by *Hugo*, Earl of *Milan*, as he was hunting.
Lewes the Fourth of *Germany* dyed at *Ratisbone* (or	921		

(*a*) Anno 904. §. 2.

(*b*) By ſome old Authors *Babenberg*.

Serar. Hiſt. *Mogunt.* p. 671. *Roſſe* p. 140.

Berengarius

Germany.	*A.D.*	*A.D.*	*Italy.*	
(or *Regenſpurg*) in *December.*				
Conrade, Duke of *Franconia*, came thus to the Empire: After the death of *Lewes*, the Nobily met, and elected *Otto* or *Otho*, Duke of *Saxony*; but he being old, deſired to be excuſed, and ſo recommended this *Conrade* to their choice, and ſo was accordingly Crown'd at *Aix* by *Hatto*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz.*	912			
This *Conrade* (*Otho* dying a year after this Election) was very jealous of *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, Son to the ſaid *Otto*, who got him the Empire; and upon this ſuſpition endeavour'd his ruine ſeveral times, both privately and openly; for which ſome cenſure him of ingratitude. But at the laſt he made amends for all, appointing this *Henry*, his ſuppoſed Enemy, to ſucceed him in the Empire.		915	*Berengarius* formerly mentioned, was now again declared and anoynted for lawful Emperour, by Pope *John* the Eleventh (or Tenth) and ſo (*a*) *Baronius* before this year will not acknowledge him for a lawful Emperour; with which exception I ſhall not trouble my ſelf, but let him and others like it as they pleaſe.	*a* ℣ 3.
Henry the firſt, ſirnamed *Auceps*, or the *Fowler*, for his love of (*b*) Birding, Son to *Otto* Duke of *Saxony*, thus got the Empire: *Conrade* his enemy, finding himſelf ſick and neer his end, throws by all his jealouſie and intereſt, aſſembled the Nobility together	920			

b Vid. *Boecler.* p. 244.

Rodulph

Germany.	*A.D.*	*A.D.*	*Italy.*
gether, and made a long Speech to them in commendation of this *Henry*, whom he deſired them to accept for Emperour after his death: they conſented to it; onely *Everard*, Brother to *Conrade*, grieved a little that he was not the man: but *Conrade* perſwaded him to Patience. Then cauſing the Sword, Scepter, Robes, and the other Imperial Enſigns to be brought him, he order'd his Brother *Everard* to carry them to *Henry*; which he obey'd, and lived a faithful Subject to *Henry*.			
This Emperour *Henry* uſed alſo an excellent piece of moderation. *Arnold*, Duke of *Bavaria*, having by his many Rebellions much troubled the Empire, *Henry* rais'd a great Army againſt him; and both parties being ready to joyn battle, *Henry*, though half certain of a Conqueſt, deſired to ſpeak with him; and then to *Arnold* ſo laid open the wickedneſs of Rebellion, with a promiſe of pardon and favour, that *Arnold* preſently ſubmitted himſelf to him, and lived ever after a faithful Subject to him.		923	*Rodulph*, Duke of *Burgondy*, was call'd into *Italy* againſt *Berengarius*; he went thither with a great Army, and call'd himſelf King of *Italy*: ſome call him Emperour.
		924	*Berengarius* was overcome by *Rodolf*; and being in the City of *Verona*, the onely place then left him, he was murther'd by the treachery of one *Flanbert*, whom this *Berengarius* had prefer'd. (a) *Baronius* ſaith, that *Berengarius* was deſervedly kill'd. However, *Flambert* was hanged for it by one *Melo*, friend to *Berengarius*.
Henry			*Hugo*

(a) An. 924. § 1.

Germany.	*A.D.*	*A.D.*	*Italy.*
		926	*Hugo*, Earl of *Arles* in *Province*, was call'd into *Italy* by the Nobility against *Rodulph*, and at *Pavia* was saluted King of *Italy*. Upon which, *Rodolph* left *Italy*, and return'd into *Burgondy*, of which he is call'd King.
		932	*Arnold*, Duke of *Bavaria*, intended to make himself King of *Italy*; but *Hugo* in fight overcame him, and so that design fail'd. *Lotharius*, Son to *Hugo*, was by his Father at *Pavia* declared King of *Italy*, and so they both ruled together.
Henry the Emperour perceiving himself neer death, he commended his Son *Otho* to their choice.			
Otto or *Otho*, sirnamed the Great, the first of that name, as they (*a*) commonly say, and so we shall take him: upon the death of his Father, *Henry* was declared Emperour, and accordingly Crown'd at *Aken*, or *Aix*, by *Hiltibert* or *Hildebert*, (by *Pedro Mexia*, corruptly call'd *Olderick*:) a Narrative of all the Ceremonies of that great solemnity, you may read in (*b*) *Nicholas Serarius*.	936		
Yet though thus he was declared, acknowledged, and Crowned for Emperour in *Germany*; (*c*) *Baronius* will not allow him		937	*Rodulph* dyed in *Burgondy*.

a Otherwise the Second, if you reckon from *Julius Cæsar*: the Eighth *Roman* Emperour being call'd *Marcus Silvius Otho*.

b Mogunt. pag. 677, 678, & vid. *Boecler.* p. 282, 283, 290, 291.

c Anno 962. § 1.

Germany.	*A.D.*	*A.D.*	*Italy.*
him that Title or Honour, till above twenty years after, that he had got his Conſecration from, or by the Pope, *viz.* 962. *Henry* his Brother rebell'd againſt him, by the bad counſel of diſcontented (a) *Everard*, and others; and though he was ſeveral times pardoned, yet he as often rebell'd; but, ſome ſay, that at laſt ſubmitted himſelf, and acknowledged his fault, and ſo obtain'd a full pardon. *Luidolphus*, Eldeſt Son to *Otto*, rebell'd alſo, which was the occaſion of great miſchief; but at laſt, he alſo ſubmitted: the Emperour being on hunting, *Luidolph* came to him bare-headed, bare-footed, kneel'd before him, and with abundance of tears confeſſing his fault, deſired pardon; which moved *Otto* ſo much, that he commanded him to ariſe; and with tears of joy forgave and reſtored him to all his former honours, and ſo he continued obedient till his death, ſome few years after.		946	*Hugo* dyed in *Province*.
But the moſt implacable and diſſembling enemy that the Emperour *Otto* had, was *Frederick*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*.		949	*Lotharius*, Son to *Hugo*, call'd King of *Italy*, dyed in *Italy*.
		950	*Berengarius* the Second was call'd King of *Italy*. *Albert* or *Adelbert*, Son to *Berengarius*, was call'd King of *Italy* with his Father.
Of			Againſt

a *Eberard.*

Of *Otto's* particular actions in *Italy*, at his several times being there, I shall not here inlarge.

OTTO. 962 Against these two the Emperour *Otto* march'd into *Italy*, and made them flee or submit.

Otto, that had formerly been call'd Emperour of *Germany*, was in this year Crown'd and Consecrated Emperour in St. *Peters* Church at *Rome*, by Pope *John* the Twelfth: And thus he is acknowledged Emperour by both parties. *Baronius* and others being so zealous, that they will let the West want an Emperour for many years, if not consecrated by his Holiness.

Thus we see the pretty whims and variations of Time and Pride, by the too much easiness and credulity of the one side, with the cheat of a terrible zeal on the other: that whereas formerly a Pope could not be without the Emperours approbation, the case is alter'd, and forsooth, a *Cæsar* cannot Rule without the Popes Consecration. As for *Berengarius* and his Son, they were forced to yeild up their interest to (*a*) *Otho*. Though the (*b*) next year after, *Adelbert* or *Albert* the Son, with the assistance of the *Lombards*, made some opposition against the Emperour, and for some three years held up his head by War. In the mean time his Father *Berengarius* the Second (*b*) dyeth in *Germany*, and was buried at *Bamberg*. After which, *Albert* was over-power'd by *Otho*, had his Authority and Title taken from him, and not long after he (*d*) dyed. And thus much in brief, for the better understanding the jumbling and crossing of Emperours.

a An. 964.
b An. 965.
c An. 966.
d An. 968.

Sect. 3.

The hurly-burly amongst the Popes themselves, whereby their personal Succession is shaken.

And now methinks it will not be amiss (by the by) somewhat to take a view of the tossings, tumblings, and hurly-burlies of the Popes, whilst these Politicks were acting, which may afford some farther light to the former story: Though I shall not here undertake to give you an exact series of the Popes for this time, not knowing where certainly to finde or have it, the chief of their own Authors not

in this agreeing, and yet every day we hear the meaneſt of their Tribe brag that they can ſhew a continued and uninterrupted Succeſſion; but many talk of Archery, who never ſaw *Robin Hoods* Bow, and ſome may talk of ſucceſſion, who never undertook to compare their Hiſtorians or Chronologers. And he who in this, and the timing of their Popes, ſhall make their chiefeſt Authors agree, not onely thoſe who have diligently read over the ancient Writers, but alſo with ſweat and pains view'd and compar'd their Monuments and Originals (as they call them) in the *Vatican* it ſelf, ſhall do more than *Baronius*, or any other that have done to this day.

But to the buſineſs in hand: We heard formerly how Pope *John* the Ninth (or Eighth) was impriſoned by the *Romans* for favouring the Empire of *Lewes* the Third; and how after this, unconſtrain'd, on his own head he took upon him the Whim of nulling the Coronation of *Lewes*, and crowning *Charles* the *Groſſe* for Emperour.

a An. 882. After this *John*, we have (a) *Martinus*, or *Marinus*, ſome calling him one way, ſome another: if the firſt, you may call him *Martinus* the Second; if the other, then *Marinus* the Firſt, of whom there is nothing obſervable, but that he obtain'd the Popedom by (b) indirect and unlawful means. After him we have (c) *Adrian* the Third, who was of ſo (d) *great a ſpirit*, as *Platina* ſaith, that he made a Law, *that in creating of Popes, the authority of the Emperour ſhould not be expected or required*: but we ſhall not finde this always obſerved. After him followed (e) *Stephanus* the Fifth (or Sixth) who is ſaid to make this Decree, (f) *Whatſoever the Church of* Rome *doth ordain or appoint, muſt be obſerved by all.*

b Malis artibus pontificatum adeptus. *Platina*

c An. 884.

d Tanti animi fuit.

e An. 885.

f Dist. 19. c. 4. *Coeſ.* pag. 575.

And now we come to the beginning of ſome notable garboyls and croſs-grain'd actions, upon the ſcore of the Election of *Formoſus* Pope after the death of *Stephanus*; of which thus briefly: *Formoſus* (before his Popedom) was Biſhop of *Porto*; from which Pope *John* the Ninth (or Eighth) had depoſed him, Excommunicated him, and degraded him to a meer Lay-man; who departed the City, having ſworn never to return, or to be Biſhop again. After this, Pope *Martin*, or *Marin*, abſolves him from his Oath, and reſtores him to his dignities. After the death of *Stephanus*, the people of

g An. 891. *Rome* fell into Factions, one party chuſing this (g) *Formoſus* for Pope, the other elected one *Sergius*, of a powerful acquaintance, related to the Marquiſs of *Tuſcane*, then chief of the *Tuſculans*: But *Formoſus* kept the Chair, though the great *Guido* or *Wido* alſo favour'd *Sergius*: Yet at laſt, not able to withſtand ſuch oppoſition, he calls in to his aſſiſtance *Arnulph* the *German* Emperour, who takes *Rome*, beats away *Formoſus* his Enemies, and is by him Crown'd Emperour, of which formerly; and at laſt *Formoſus* dyeth.

h An. 896. Upon the death of *Formoſus*, (h) *Boniface* the Sixth, Son to *Adrian* the Biſhop, is choſen. *Platina*, (i) *da Bergamo*, and ſome others, make him lawfully elected, and ſpeak nothing againſt him; but (k) *Coeffeteau* will have him to come in by Faction, and one that had been formerly for his wickedneſs degraded by a Synod at *Rome*, of his Deaconſhip and Prieſt-hood: let them agree about it, and if they can, of the years of his Popedom.

i Chron. fol. 301.

k Pag. 576.

After him we have Pope *Stephanus* the Sixth, Son of a Cardinal Prieſt; he was of the Faction of *Sergius*, and ſo grand an Enemy

to

to Pope *Formoſus* (though they ſay *Formoſus* made him Biſhop, and gave him the See of *Anagni*) that he did not onely abrogate and null all his Orders, reſcind all that he had done; but, which was moſt inhumane, he commanded (and that publickly in a [a] Council) his body to be dig'd out of the grave, and his rotten carkaſs, adorned with Prieſtly Garments, to be placed in the Popes Chair; and then gravely examin'd him, why he durſt take upon him to be Biſhop of *Rome*? and this formality of tryal being finiſhed, and the Corps condemn'd, he had him diſrobed of his Veſtments, and commanded his [b] three or [c] two fingers, wherewith he uſed to bleſs the people, to be cut off, and thrown into the River *Tiber*; and the reſt of his body, as [d] *Baronius* and *Platina* ſaith, was buried amongſt the ſimple and vileſt Lay-men. Nor was this all, but he alſo degraded whom *Formoſus* had Ordain'd, and himſelf gave them new Orders: And which was moſt of all, he had all theſe actions confirm'd by a Synod at *Rome*, as their own [e] *Coquæus* doth confeſs. And all this, becauſe he thought *Formoſus* no true Pope, [f] being elected againſt his former Oath. And this he confirmed by a Council or Synod.

a Habito Concilio *Platin. Luitprand.* l. 1. c. 8. *Sigonius*, de Regno *Ital.* l. 6.

b *Coquæus*, tom. 1. pag. 477.

c *Platina.*

d Il teſto del corpo fece ſepillire nella ſepoltura de ſecolari ſimplici & villi.

e Tom. 1. p 477.

f Publicè in Concilio Epiſcoparum decernit *Formoſum* nunquam fuiſſe legitimum Pontificem. *Bellarm.* de Pont. Rom. l. 4. c. 12.

[g] *Onuphrius*, at the inhumanity of this action, ſeemeth ſo much troubled, that he will not take it for any thing, but to be a meer fable and lye: but in this caſe one Swallow makes no Summer, eſpecially when *Platina*, *Coquæus*, *Bellarmine*, *Baronius* and the whole body of their Hiſtorians, both before and after *Onuphrius* and *Platina*, tells us, that in his time *Pius* the Second being dead, by the *Conclave* was elected for Pope [h] *Pietro Barbo*, a *Venetian*, who being a comely and proper perſon, intended to take upon him the name of *Formoſus*; but ſome Cardinals well verſed in Hiſtory, perſwaded him from it, by ſetting this *Formoſus*, as a bad man, before him; upon which he call'd himſelf *Paul* the Second. Nor need we trouble our ſelves any farther, for the proof of this ſacrilegious ſtory againſt *Onuphrius*; their *French* Champion, [i] *Nicholas Coeffeteau*, of his own accord quitting of us from this labour.

g Addit. ad *Platin*

h An. 1464.

i Il n'eſt donc point beſoin d'amaſſer les Teſmoignages des Autheurs, pour exaggere l'enormité de cette action, puiſque nous avoüons ingenuement que c'a eſté un horrible *Sacrilege*, digne d'eſtre bruſlé du feu du Ciel. Et encor qu' *Onuphre* remette en doubte cette Hiſtoire, elle eſt neantmoins receüe par la Commune voix de tous les Eſcrivains. *Coeffet* Reſponſe au *Mornay*, pag. 576.

As for Pope *Stephanus*, they ſay he was at laſt impriſoned by his Enemies, and there ſtrangled; yet ſome onely ſay, in the common phraſe, he dyed. To him ſucceeded [k] *Romanus*, being choſen by a prevailing Faction of the *Romans* (as [l] *Coquæus* ſaith) againſt *Albert*, Marquiſs of *Tuſcany*: this obliged *Romanus*, as an Enemy to *Sergius* and his party, to favour *Formoſus*, whom in a Synod he vindicated, condemning all that *Stephanus* had done againſt him; ſo did his Succeſſor [m] *Theodorus* the Second. After him there was great ſtrivings to have the former *Sergius* ſetled in the Popedom; but the contrary party carryed it, who elected *John* the Tenth (or Ninth:) his intereſt alſo lay for *Formoſus*, whoſe actions he preſently began to vindicate; but in this a great number of *Romans* oppoſing him, the Seditions and Tumults roſe to ſuch an hight, that both parties

Baron. Coeffet.

k An. 897.

l Pag. 477.

m An. 898.

Platina.

parties had like to have gone together by the Ears, and fought it out: but to carry his business more clearly, *John* leaveth *Rome*, goeth to *Ravenna*, where he gets LXXIV Bishops together, with whom he condemns the proceedings of *Stephanus* against *Formosus*, and declar'd as sacrilegious those who had taken his body out of its Grave, and cut off his Fingers; and yet at the same time call'd *Stephanus*, a Pope of (a) *holy and blessed memory*. And something he also did here in Temporals, according as his interest led him; for though he loved one, and hated the other Pope never so much, yet self-ends perswaded him to reject and approve at his own liking; for here he null'd the Coronation of *Arnulph* for Emperour as illegal, though it was done by his Friend *Formosus*; and on the contrary, received and declared as authentick that of *Lamberti*, though crown'd by his Foe *Stephanus*: the truth is, he loved not the *German* greatness to have too much countenance neer him, for which cause he desired *Lambert* to be present at this Synod, for a farther confirmation of his honour. And having now a King or Emperour according to his hearts wish, the better to confirm the Popedom to his own associates or party, he establish'd by Decree, or renew'd the ancient Laws, *viz.* (b) *That from that time forward, the Popes should not be Consecrated, but in the presence of the Ambassadors, or Deputies of the Emperour*: Thus was *Adrian* the Third his Constitution (contrary to this) null'd. And so much for this *John*, who is branded by *Platina*, as a Renewer or Reviver of the former broyls and seditions, which were almost neglected or forgot.

Sigonius, an. 898.

Coef p. 577.

a Id. p. 582. *Stephanum* piæ recordationis. *Baron.* an. 904. § 4.

b *Coef.* pag. 577.

After *John* succeeds *Benedict* the Fourth, elected by the *Tusculan* interest, and Consecrated according to (c) *Sigonius against the Law, wanting the Royal or Imperial Authority*. Next to him we have *Leo* the Fourth, neither humane nor divine Law being then observed; and he was one neither wise nor fit for affairs, as the same (d) Historian observeth. *Christopher* his Chaplain, taking opportunity by *Leo*'s weakness, assisted with other his Companions, seis'd upon and imprisoned him, and setled himself in the Popedom: but ungrateful *Christopher* remain'd not long in this glory.

c Contra Legem, sine authoritate Regia. *Sigon.* anno 899.

d *Sigon.* an. 904.

900

For (e) *Sergius* the Third, who had formerly twice attempted the Papal Chair, and as oft thrust by, did now play his part so well, that he obtain'd his desire, seis'd upon *Christopher*, shut him up in a Monastery, and after into close imprisonment, where he miserably dyed.

e An. 906.

This *Sergius* the Third again stirs up the dispute about *Formosus*, and was so zealous an Enemy against him, that he not onely thwarted all that had been done in vindication of *Formosus* by other Popes, by his nulling and abrogating all that *Formosus* had decreed or done, having all those re-ordained, who had formerly received Orders of *Formosus*: but not content with this, he had his body (f) dig'd out of its Grave again, and beheaded as a Malefactor, and so thrown into the River *Tiber*, as unworthy of Christian burial; and (g) *Baleus* saith, that the rest of his Fingers left on his right hand, were now also cut off.

f *Platina da Bergamo*, fol. 311. *Genebrard*, pag. 811. *Carranza*, pag. 786. *Naucler.* Generat. 31. pag. 656. *Volaterran.* lib. 22. fol. 252. *Ant. Coc. Sabellic.* Ennead. 9. lib. 2. fol. 309. *La Chronique Martiniane*, fol. 103.

g Acta Rom. Pont. pag. 129.

But

But ſome I finde of late to be very willing to have this inhumanity of *Sergius* towards *Formoſus* his Carkaſs, ſomewhat ſuſpected or doubted, becauſe they tell us, that Hiſtorians might miſtake, though in this we finde them very poſitive. However, if this will not be granted them, yet if any queſtion the innocencie or Religion of *Formoſus*, they have a Miracle at hand to help bravely at a dead-lift, *viz.* that it chanced upon a time, that ſome Fiſher men found this body of *Formoſus*, which they carryed to St. *Peters* Church, which whilſt they were burying, all the Images there, did reverence to the Carkaſs: and if this be not good proof of his Infallibility, I know not where I can ſatisfie, or better my ſelf. 900

And here I finde (*a*) *Bellarmine*, (*b*) *Coeffeteau*, (*c*) *Coquæus*, and ſome others in a peck of troubles how to quit theſe contradictory Popes, aſſiſted by their contradictory Councils or Synods, from Fallibility, or being erronious. But here they onely beat about the Buſh; and let them toyl never ſo much, they will ſcare quit theſe infallible Popes from two Fundamental Errors, not onely of Fact, but of Judgement and Doctrine, *viz.* the acknowledging, or not acknowledging of the true Pope; and the re-ordaining thoſe who had formerly, rightly, and legally received Orders, as if they had been but meer (*d*) Laymen, for all their former Ordination; ſince they themſelves confeſs, that an Epiſcopal Character is indelible, though he were never ſo wicked, otherwiſe they would make the vertue of the Sacrament depend upon the ſanctity or wickedneſs of the Prieſt. Yet rather than grant *Fallibility*, their great (*e*) Cardinal would gladly inſinuate into us, that *Stephanus* might either not know, or not believe, that *Martin* had abſolved *Formoſus* from his Oath of never being Biſhop, and ſo might judge him not to be capable of the Popedom. Very pretty indeed, that *Stephanus* an intimate acquaintance of *Formoſus*, who gave him the Biſhoprick of *Anagni*, ſhould not know this as well as *Bellarmine* and others after him. But I knew a merry old Gentleman, who in 1645, being ask'd by ſome Troupers, whether he was for King or Parliament, cunningly ſeem'd ſo far from underſtanding their meaning, that he ſaid, he never heard that they were falſen out, and deſired to be inform'd of their worſhips, who let him alone as a mad-man or fool. And I think they would perſwade us to believe Pope *Stephanus* to have uſed the ſame Art or Policie.

a De Rom. Pont. lib. 4. cap. 12.
b Pag. 579, 580. *&c.*
c Tom. 1. pag. 479.
d Tanquam nihil ab illo accepiſſent. *Bellarm.* de Rom. Pont. l. 4 c. 12.
e *Bell.* ib.

But to proceed, paſſing by *Anaſtaſius* the Third and *Lando*, we have in the next place (*f*) *John* the Eleventh (or Tenth) whoſe ſtory take thus in ſhort: *Theodora*, Mother-in-law to *Albert*, Marquiſs of *Tuſcany*, ruled all in *Rome* as ſhe pleaſed; and being one who chuſed her own recreation, ſhe caſt her affection upon this *John*, when onely a Prieſt, whom ſhe got *Lando* to make Biſhop of *Bologne*, and then procured him the Archbiſhoprick of *Ravenna*. Here the people had no good wiſhes for him, yet *Theodora* had, not liking this diſtance (*Ravenna* being about 200 Miles from *Rome*) reſolved to have her Friend in a corner nearer her; ſo getting of him to *Rome*, after the death of *Lando*, ſhe had him made Pope, (*g*) without obſervation *of any law or voices of the Clergy*, *but bribery*, *and the riches* or power of her Son *Albert*. Thus have we ſeen his beginning, and now to his *exit*.

f An. 916.
Luitprand lib. 2. cap. 13. *Sigon.* lib. 6.
g Nihil ex legibus autem eſt--neq; cleri ſuffragiis, ſed propriis opibus. *Sigon.* anno 913.

This *Theodora* had two Daughters, *Marozia* and *Theodora*; the firſt ſhe married to *Albert*, Marquiſs of *Tuſcany* (and ſo ſhe became his

900 his Mother-in-law;) *Albert* dying, *Marozia* was then married to *Guido* or *Guy*, Marquiſs of *Tuſcany*: theſe two reſolved to rule all; but Pope *John* a little thwarting this deſign, they plotted againſt him, and taking opportunity, ſeis'd upon the *Lateran* Palace, ſlew *Peter*, Brother to *John*; and for the Pope himſelf, they caſt him into priſon, and choak'd or ſmother'd him with a Pillow or Cuſhion.

Platina ſaith, that after him another *John* ſucceeded, who was thruſt out again; and the ſame is affirm'd by the ancient [a] *Cronique Martiniane*: but I finde ſome others in this ſilent. After him we have a *Leo*; then a *Stephanus*; then *John* the Twelfth, a baſtard begotten by Pope *Sergius* the Third and the aforeſaid *Mareza*, as all their own Authors confeſs, onely [b] *la Cronique Martiniane* makes the former *John* (Paramour to *Theodora*, and who ſucceeded *Lando*) to be baſtard to *Sergius*; and it would be pretty if they ſhould both be true. This *John* was thruſt out, and with his Mother *Marozia* clapt up in [c] Priſon by *Alberick*, Son to her and Marquiſs *Albert*. Then comes *Leo* the Seventh, after him *Stephanus* the Eighth (or Seventh) a *German*: *Alberick*, Son to *Marozia*, liked not this Election; and the *Romans* fell upon the Pope, beat him ſo grievouſly, that he was after that aſhamed to appear in publick, by reaſon of his wounds and ſores, and ſo dyed with grief. After him ſits *Martin*, or *Marin*; then *Agapetus*, who was followed by *John*.

a Fol. 104. b.

b Fol. 104. a.

c *Cognatus*, pag. 483.

Conf. p. 589.

This *John* the Thirteenth (or Twelfth) (a Youth of [d] eighteen years old (if ſo much) when he was made Pope) was Son to the former *Alberick*, Marquiſs of *Tuſcany*, by whoſe power and greatneſs he obtain'd that Chair: A man given over to all manner of wickedneſs, but eſpecially women pleas'd him moſt. Thus as *Rome* was ruled by women, ſo was all *Italy* troubled with *Berengarius*; againſt theſe, *Otto* the Firſt the *German* Emperour was call'd, and was nobly received at *Rome*, he ſwearing to defend the honor of St. *Peter*, and Pope *John* never to aſſiſt *Berengarius*, or his Son *Adelbert*. But upon *Otho*'s departure, *John* forgets his Oath, leagues himſelf with *Berengarius*, and ſo plots againſt the Emperour. *Otho* is troubled at this, but the Pope confeſſeth his fault, and pleads his youth; yet again, runs into the ſame error, and joyns with *Adelbert*. The *Romans* inform *Otho* of this, and deſire his aſſiſtance; they in the mean time riſe up, and ſeiſe the Caſtle of St. *Paul*. The Pope and *Adelbert* perceiving themſelves not able to oppoſe, flee for't; and *Otho* is received into the City, the people ſwearing Allegiance to him; and, which was more, by expreſs Oath add farther, that they would never chuſe or ordain any Pope without the conſent and election of the Emperour *Otho* and his Son.

d *Baron.* an. 955. & 964.

Then was a Synod held of many Clergy, wherein the Pope was accuſed of many crimes, as, *That he had celebrated Maſs, and never Communicated: That he gave Orders to a Deacon in a Stable amongſt Horſes: That he had made Biſhops for money: That he had made one of ten years old Biſhop of* Todi: *That he was guilty of Sacriledge and Adultery: That he put out the eyes of* Benedict *his Confeſſor: That he ſlew Cardinal* John, *after he had gelt him: That he uſed to drink an health to the Devil: That playing at Dice, he uſed to call upon the name of* Jupiter, *and* Venus, *and all the Devils to help him, &c.* Theſe crimes they ſent to him, and deſired him to come and purge

purge himſelf. This he refuſeth, and expreſly Excommunicates them all, if they proceed any farther againſt him: but they ſlighted his threatnings; and as one not fit to be Pope, by an unanimous conſent, with the approbation of the Emperour they depoſe him. 900

This *John*, before he was Pope, was call'd *Octavian*; and not thinking that Heatheniſh name fitting for St. *Peters* Succeſſor, was the firſt of the Popes (as [a] *Onuphrius* ſaith) that changed his name; but *Platina* ſaith, that it was *Sergius* the Second, by reaſon of his ugly name, being firſt call'd [b] *Swines-face*: But this the Learned [c] Dr. *Brown* placeth amongſt his Vulgar errours.

a Annotat. in *Platin.*
b Bocca di Porco.
c Lib. 7 c. 16.

John being thus thruſt out, they elected for Pope *Leo* the Third, who with the Emperour call'd another Synod, where amongſt other things the Emperour is declared *Patricius*, and that for the future no Pope ſhall be choſen, but by the conſent of *Otho* or his Succeſſors; the Decree it ſelf you may ſee at large in [d] *Sigonius*, and the [e] *Canon-law*.

d Lib. 7.
e Diſt. 63. c. *In Synodo.*

The Emperour departing, *John* returns to *Rome*, where the women were active for his cauſe; he calls another Synod, depoſeth *Leo*, and degrades thoſe whom *Leo* had Ordain'd, and was very fierce againſt the Imperialiſts, cutting off the hand of one, the tongue, fingers and noſe of another: but this triumph laſted not long; for one night lying with another mans wife, he was ſlain, ſome ſay by the [f] Devil, others by the Womans [g] Huſband.

f Coef. pag. 596.
g Jo. Marius de ſchiſm. part 3. cap. 3.

Upon this depoſition of *John*, [h] *Theodorick à Niem*, who lived two hundred years ago, and was Secretary to ſeveral Popes, is very zealous in vindication of the Imperial Authority, and indeavours at large to prove that Emperours have Authority to depoſe Popes.

h De ſchiſmate, lib. 3. cap. 9, 10, 11.

John being dead, the *Romans* choſe *Benedict* the Fifth, without the conſent of *Otho*, contrary to their Oaths; which ſo troubled the Emperour, that he marcht againſt the City, beſiegeth it, and takes it; depoſeth *Benedict*, degradeth him of his Prieſtly Orders, and reſettles *Leo*. And here I finde the *Romaniſts* in a grand buſsle to preſerve their Succeſſion, not being able to agree about the lawful Pope. [i] *Baronius*, [k] *Sanderus*, and ſome others, will have *Benedict* to be a true Pope. But *Onuphrius* rejects him as a [l] Schiſmatick, and in plain terms calls him an [m] *Anti-pope*, and will acknowledge none but *Leo* the Eighth to be authentick; yet him *Baronius* will not place amongſt the legal Popes: and [n] *Genebrard* confeſſeth, that their Hiſtorians in this cannot agree: [o] *Coquæus* for the honour of his Church would gladly reconcile all; yet I know not when they will all pitch upon the Infallible Pontif.

i An. 963. ſect. 38.
k De viſib. Monarch. l. 7. ſect. 687.
l Annot. in *Plat.* vit. *Benedict.* V.
m Epit. Pontif.

Nor is it in this caſe alone, that they are nonpluſt to make good their perſonal Succeſſion, and point you out the true Vicar; for they are in this to ſeek in ſeveral other perſons, as their own [p] *Sanderus* is forced to confeſs.

n Cron. pag. 827.
o Tom. 1. pag. 486.
p De viſib. Mon. l. 7. ſect. 692.

But to return: *Leo* the Eighth being dead, the *Romans* ſent to *Otho* to know his advice about the next election; who ſent to *Rome* the Biſhops of *Spire* and *Cremona*, in whoſe preſence was elected *John* the Fourteenth (or Thirteenth) Son of a Biſhop; yet the tumultuous *Romans* impriſoned him alſo in the Caſtle St. *Angelo*; upon which the Emperour returns to *Rome*, and ſeverely puniſh'd the Au-

900 thors of these garboyls. After his death, their Authors are again at odds about the Order of the next Vicars; with which I shall not trouble my self, but follow *Platina*. After *John* comes *Benedict* the Sixth, who by the advice of Cardinal *Bonifacius*, was also imprisoned in the Castle St. *Angelo*, and there strangled or famish'd: Then followeth (a) *Donus*, or *Domnus* the Second; after him *Boniface* the Seventh, who occasioned the murther of *Benedict* the Sixth [some will not reckon this *Boniface* amongst the true Popes.] But *Benedict* the Seventh thrusts this *Boniface* out of the Church, who rich with the robbing of Churches, fled to *Constantinople*. *Benedict* dying, *John* the Fifteenth (or Fourteenth) succeeds; which being known to *Boniface* the Eighth, he returns, imprisons *John*, who is starved; and *Boniface* once again is Pope; after whose death, *John* the Sixteenth (or Fifteenth) is Pope: he was the Son of *Leo* a Priest, and, they say, begot in (b) lawful Matrimony.

a *Onuphrius* in his *Pontifices Maximi* set out by *Jo. Gualter* in his *Cron. Cronicorum*, doth not name any such Pope.

b *Coquaus*, pag. 488.

After him there is another *John*, who was forced to leave *Rome* for fear of *Crescentius*, a powerful Citizen there. But the people being informed, that *John* had desired the assistance of the Emperour *Otho* the Third, desired him to return to *Rome*, and all should be quiet: *John* consents, and is honourably received there; *Crescentius*, and the chief Authors of these troubles, confessing their faults, and kissing his Feet. Yet *Crescentius* grew haughty; *Otho* marcheth into *Italy*. Pope *John* dying, the Emperour at *Ravenna* appointed to be Pope his Cousin *Bruno*, a *German*, who call'd himself *Gregory* the Fifth: And this (c) *Coeffeteau* confesseth was done to the satisfaction and content of all men; and this may be one Argument of the Imperial Power.

Platina.

c L'Empereur au contentement de tout le monde establit, en sa place son Nepuen *Bruno*, qui depuis fut nomme *Gregorie* Cinquiesme. *Coef.* pag. 601.

But yet we have not peace: for *Otho* the Third being no sooner return'd, but *Crescentius*, who was made *Consul* by the *Romans*, oppose the *Germans* interest; so that *Gregory* was forced to flee into *Germany* for assistance. In the mean time, the *Romans* chose for Pope, the Bishop of *Placentia*, who calls himself *John* the Eighteenth. Upon news of this, *Otho* returns into *Italy*, takes *Rome*, and besiegeth *Crescentius* in the Castle St. *Angelo*: at last *Crescentius* yeilds, upon hope of pardon, and is slain; and as for this Pope *John*, he had his hands, nose and ears cut off, his eyes pluckt out; then set upon an Asses back with his face towards the Tail, and so led about the City. And thus was *Gregory* the Fifth restored.

Platina saith, that this Pope *Gregory* the Fifth granted the *Germans* liberty of chusing their own Emperours by the *Electors*; but *Onuphrius* affirmeth it to have been done first by *Gregory* the Tenth. Another dispute ariseth about the Papal Authority in this case; and (d) *Bellarmine* is zealous for his Patrons: but for answer to him, I shall refer you to (e) *Hermannus Conringius*, who can tell you of others.

d De Translat. Imp.

e De Imper. Germanici Republica, p. 106, &c.

We need not question the misery of the *Romish* Church; which as we have here seen, hath been govern'd for so many years, onely with an high-hand. The Popes themselves being given to all manner of corruption and wickedness, not he that was the best, but he who was the strongest, sitting in the Infallible Chair; a thing that

Baron. an 912. § 5.

their

their own Authors do much complain of, and declare their wicked ſtories with grief: inſomuch, that (*a*) *Genebrard* himſelf doth declare, that for almoſt an hundred and fifty years, there ruled in *Rome* neer fifty Popes, wicked people, being rather Apoſtates than Apoſtolical. But yet he would gladly quit the *Romans* from the blame, all which he throweth upon *German* Emperours; but how deſervedly, let any judge, the *Otto*'s being commended in ſtory for their affection to the *Roman* See; nor did they uſe to trouble *Rome* with their company, but when they were call'd thither to quell the Tumults and Seditions. But this, by the way, may be enough to ſee that *Rome* it ſelf is as capable of Treaſon, Rebellions, Murders and Seditions, as other places, by them made incapable of Salvation. But before I end this, I muſt obſerve, that ſometimes, as *John* the Eleventh (or Tenth) *John* the Thirteenth (or Twelfth) to ſerve their turns, they will grant one to be a true Pope, though illegally elected; and at other times, for their own ends, will deny one to be a true Pope, meerly for ſome fault in his Election: nor can they always agree, who was the true Pope; and yet the Succeſſion of their Popes is infallible.

900

a Hoc vero uno infelix, quod per annos fere 150. Pontifices circiter 50 -- a virtute majorum prorſus deceſſerint, Apoſtatici Apoſtaticive potius quam Apoſtolici, *Cron.* p. 807.

Cogne. pag. 482,483.

Chap. VII.

1. *The depoſing of* Charles *the Third* le ſimple, *King of* France.
2. *The Murder of* Edmund, *and* Edward *the Martyr*, *Kings of* England.
3. *The Murders of* Malcolme, *of* Duffe, *of* Culene, *of* Kenneth *the Third*, *Kings of* Scotland.

Sect. 1.

The depoſing of Charles *the Third* le ſimple, *King of* France.

BUt now leaving off the quarrels and ſeditions amongſt the Popes themſelves at *Rome*, let us move a little *Northwards*, and ſee what Loyalty and Obedience we can finde towards Temporal Princes: and *France* in the firſt place offers it ſelf, where paſſing by ſome troubles, we behold (*b*) *Charles le ſimple* in the Throne; a well meaning King, and Religious. *b* An. 892.

But againſt him *Robert*, brother to *Eudes*, and *Major-domo*, and

900 Grand-father to *Hugh Capet*, gets a party, and hath himſelf Crown'd King of *Rheims* by *Merivee*, Archbiſhop of that City: *Charles* informed of this, marcheth againſt him; both the Armies meet neer *Soiſſons*, fight, in which *Robert* is ſlain, ſome ſay by *Charles* himſelf, who ran his Lance into his mouth, and through his tongue. However, though *Charles* here remain'd victorious; yet by negligence, or too much fear or confidence, he loſt all; for inſtead of proſecuting his Victory, he deſired peace and aſſiſtance of (*a*) *Hebert*, Earl of *Vermandois* (or St. *Quentin*) his enemy, and Couſin to *Robert*.

D. Buſſieres, tom. 1. pag. 477.

a Or *Heribert*.

b An. 923. (*b*) *Heribert* glad of this, deſires *Charles* to come to St. *Quentin*, that they might the better conſult about his ſafety: *Charles* thinking all promiſes to be true, conſents, and freely goeth thither. *Herbert* perceiving him now in his power, ſeiſeth upon him, and tells him that *France* muſt now conſult for a wiſer King; ſo he is carryed to the Caſtle of *Thierry*, thence to *Soiſſons*, where the Parliament being call'd, according to *Heberts* humour, the innocent King is depoſed, and *Rodulph* [by the *French* call'd *Raoul*] Duke of *Burgondy* (of whom we have formerly heard as King of *Italy*,) is declared and Crown'd King of *France* by *Seulfus*, Archbiſhop of *Rheims*; which Prelate was (*c*) poyſoned after by *Hebert*.

Chaſteau-Thierry, a Town in *la Haute Campagne*.

c *Jo. Chenu*, Hiſt. Archiepiſc. *Gall.* pag. 270.

As for poor *Charles*, ſometimes he was favour'd by a little liberty; but at laſt, he was clapt up cloſe priſoner in *Perone* Caſtle in *Picardy*, where (having thus, for the ſpace of five years, been hurried from priſon to priſon) he (*d*) dyed, being overwhelm'd with grief, and the naſtineſs of his Goal.

d An. 928.

But before I end this ſtory, it may be the Reader will not take it amiſs, if we tell him what device and policie was uſed by *Lewes*, Son to *Charles* the ſimple, to make *Hebert* ſuffer by his own judgement, for his Treaſon againſt his Soveraign.

Eguina the Third, Daughter to *Edward*, ſirnamed the *Elder*, King of *England*, and Siſter to *Ethelſtan*, or *Adelſtan*, King alſo of *England*, was married to this *Charles* the Third, ſirnamed the ſimple, by whom ſhe had *Lewes* the Fourth. She perceiving the miſery of her Husband and King; to eſcape the ſame danger, with her Son *Lewes*, ſhe takes her opportunity, and ſlips into *England*; where they ſtay with her Brother *Athelſtan*, till the people weary of Rebellion, and other opportunities, ſettle him in the Throne of *France*; and from his thus living beyond Seas here in *England*, his Country-men call'd him (*e*) *D'oultremer*.

e Ultramarinus, *or* Tranſmarinus.

Lewes, ſirnamed *D'oultremer*, being thus reſtored, was reſolved to be revenged on *Heribert*, Count of St. *Quentin*, for the depoſing and impriſonment of his Father, *Charles le ſimple*: and having as he thought ſufficiently ſecured himſelf with his Nobility and People, he held a Parliament at *Laon*, compoſed of his ſure Friends; and thither, as to adviſe about the good of the Nation, *Hebert* came alſo amongſt the reſt. In the mean time, King *Lewes* had provided a truſty fellow, to whom he gave a Letter written by himſelf, with expreſs Orders to the fellow, to put himſelf into an *Engliſh* Habit; and when the Aſſembly met, to come in and bring the Letter, as if from the King of *England*.

Accordingly the fellow cometh in, delivers the Letter, which was read whiſperingly to the King; and whilſt the Secretary was thus reading it, the King ſmiled: the Nobles at this thinking it to be ſome jeſting buſineſs, deſired of his Majeſty the reaſon: *Well*, quoth

quoth the King, *now I perceive the* Engliſh *are not ſo wiſe, as I took them to be; for my Couſin, the King of* England, *writes to me, that in his Country, a labouring man inviting his Landlord or Maſter to dinner at his houſe, cauſed him to be ſlain: and now, my lords, he deſires your advice, what puniſhment this fellow deſerves, and what he ſhould undergo.* Upon which, they with *Hebert* unanimouſly declared their Opinions, that he ſhould be hang'd, that death being moſt ignominious. Whereupon, the King turning to *Heribert*, ſaid, *And thou, O* Hebert! *art this falſe ſervant, who by impriſonment murder'd in the Caſtle of* Perone *thy Lord and Maſter, King* Charles *my father; and ſo receive thy reward according to thine own judgement.* At this, the Kings Officers provided on purpoſe come in, ſeiſe upon *Hebert*, carry him out to a Mountain cloſe by, where he was hang'd or ſtrangled: from which action, they ſay, the Hill is to this day call'd *Mont-Hebert*. 900

(*a*) *Dupleix* will have *Heribert* to dye a natural death, and is very angry with *de Serres* for aſſerting this ſtory; though I can aſſure him that *Serres* was neither the firſt nor onely Author of this Paſſage; for before him (*b*) *du Haillan* hath it, and long before him again we have it told at large by (*c*) *Robertus Gaguinus*: but however it be, there is no ſtreſs of any buſineſs lyeth upon it.

a Tom. 1. p. 693. & 9, 10.
b De l'eſtat. de *France*, l. 1. fol. 56.
c De geſtis *Franc.* l. 5. fol. 40.

Sect. 2.

The Murder of Edmund, *and* Edward *the Martyr, Kings of* England.

BUt now let us look a little neerer home, where we finde *Edmund*, Brother to *Ethelſtan*, raigning in *England*, and commended for his good Government and Laws; yet was he murder'd, but how, Authors will not agree: ſome ſay, that being at his Mannor of *Puclekirks* in *Gloceſterſhire*, ſeeing one of his Servants in danger at a quarrel, ſtepping in to ſave his Servant, was himſelf (*d*) ſlain. Others will have it, that at the ſame place keeping a Feaſt upon St. *Auguſtine* (Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) his day, and ſeeing one *Leof* (whom for his miſdemeanors he had formerly baniſhed the land, and now return'd without licenſe) ſitting at Table neer him, was ſo inraged to ſee ſuch an Outlaw in his preſence, that he ſuddenly roſe from the Table, fell upon *Leof*, took him by the hair, and threw him to the ground: but the Villan having faſt hold on the King, pull'd him down alſo; and then with his Knife ript up the Kings belly, that his bowels fell out, and there he dyed: As for the Outlaw, the Servants there fell upon him; but before they could diſpatch him, he ſlew and wounded divers of them. *John Harding*, who flouriſhed above two hundred years ago, ſaith it was done at *Canterbury*: And thus relates the ſtory acccording to the Poetry of thoſe times.

Hollinſhead. lib. c. 21. *Speed*, l. 7. c. 39. *Jo. Treviſa*, l. 6. fol. 290.
d An. 946.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

This Kyng Edmond *was ſlain by a Felon,*
Whiche of Malice and his falſe Treaſon, Fol. 115.

That

900 *That forfet had, and dampned was to dye,*
For his forfet, and for his felony.

At Caunterbury, *as the Kyng him ſaw on a day,*
For yre on him, he ranne and ſore him wound;
For whiche he ſtroke the Kyng for ay,
So they both two, there in that ſtound,
Eche of them, of his mortal wounde:
Which to a Prince, accorded in no wiſe
To put himſelf in drede, where law may chaſtiſe.

After this Murther, we have another more execrable: *Edgar*, ſirnamed the *Peaceable* being dead, his Eldeſt Son *Edward*, ſirnamed
a An. 975. the *Martyr*, was (*a*) Crown'd King at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, by St. *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; of whom they tell ſo many pretty Miracles, to the great content and ſtrengthning of Children and old Women.

Of this Kings vertues, there need not much be ſaid, becauſe all Hiſtorians do ſound forth his commendations; and ſo paſſing by the grand Controverſie about this time, *viz.* whether Prieſts might have Wives; and the Monkiſh ſtory, how this diſpute was decided by the ſpeaking of a Crucifix in the *Rood* at *Winchester*, and the falling down of the Floor of the Chamber at *Calne* in *Wiltſhire*, onely St. *Dunſtan*, forſooth, remain'd dapperly perking up. We will come to the ſad ſtory of his Murther.

King *Edgar* had two Wives, { 1. *Elthelfled*, her Son was *Edward*. 2. *Elfrida*, her Son *Ethelred*.

Edward as Eldeſt, and of the firſt Wife (though ſome here
b But *Harpſfield* is for him, pag. 188. make a (*b*) doubt) is King; *Elfrida*, his Mother-in-law, at this is troubled, wiſhing that the Crown were ſet on her ſon *Ethelred*'s head: but this ſhe kept cunningly to her ſelf, nor had good King *Edward* any ſuſpition of her deſigns.

It chanced that King *Edward* hunting in the Iſland *Purbeck* in *Dorſetſhire*, either by chance or deſign was ſeparated from his company; and perceiving himſelf neer *Corfe*-Caſtle, where his Mother-in-law *Elfrida*, and her ſon *Ethelred* then lived, to both which perſons he bare a great affection; he reſolved to go ſee them, and accordingly rides up to the Gate. His Stepdame comes to him with a cheerful countenance, ſeeming very glad of his viſit and kindneſs, and deſired him to alight; but this he excuſed, pleading haſte, and that he onely ſlipt from his company at that time, and then to his company again, juſt to ſee her, and his Brother; and ſo deſired a cup of Wine to drink to them, who might be troubled by a long miſſing of him, they not knowing the occaſion.

She perceiving that ſhe could not bring her deſigns about within doors, reſolves to do it without: ſo ſhe appointed one of her ſervants to ſtab him there. To be ſhort, Wine is brought, given him; and he no ſooner had the cup at his mouth, but the fellow ſtruck him with a knife into the back. The King perceiving himſelf ſore wounded, ſet ſpurs to his Horſe, thinking to gallop away, for his preſervation, to his more faithful Friends; but the wounds being great, and he fainting through loſs of blood, fell from his horſe, one of his

his feet being intangled in the Stirrop, by reaſon whereof his Horſe drag'd him up and down through Woods and Lands: And thus was that good King *Edward* (*a*) murder'd, and was ſirnamed the Martyr; though (*b*) *Harpsfield*, or ſomebody elſe for him, will not ſtand upon it, that he ought in ſtrictneſs to be call'd ſo, being not murther'd for his Religion, but his Kingdom. 900

a An. 979.
b Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 188. in the Margin.

After this murther, they go on, and tell a great many ſtories of him; as how his Step-mother *Elfritha* (for ſo ſome call her) had his body drag'd into a little houſe hard by, and there cover'd over with ſtraw for the preſent neceſſity, that it might not be found; but a poor woman, who was born blind living there, by miracle had that night her ſight given her: *Elfrida* troubled at this, fearing that by this diſcovery the body might be found, had it taken thence and thrown into the Mariſhes: but this would not do neither; for a year after God reveal'd to ſome men that the body was in thoſe Waters; but the certain place could not be found out, till a fiery Pillar was pleas'd to point them to it, whence it was carryed and buryed at *Warham*, and having laid there ſome years uncorrupted, 'twas thence with great ſolemnity tranſlated to *Shaftsbury*, neer the borders of *Wiltſhire*.

L. Surius, March. 18. *Zach. Lipell. Guil. Garet.*

And here might I tell the ſtrange Miracles wrought by the vertue of this holy *Edward*, of blind receiving ſight, deaf hearing, the lame and ſick their limbs and health; but that I cannot oblige the Readers belief. As for the murthering *Elfrida*, although, they ſay, that at firſt ſhe was puniſhed by Miracles, as deſiring to ſee the Tomb of her Son-in-law, the Horſe on which he rode would by no means carry her thither; and though ſhe tryed ſeveral, yet we finde all commanded by the ſame ſtubbornneſs, which making her more keen, ſhe reſolved to go on foot; yet though her will was never ſo ſtrong, they ſay, ſhe could not poſſibly do it. However, at laſt, we need not queſtion *Elfrida*'s Religion and pardon, ſince to quit and expiate her from the guilt of this horrid murther, ſhe built two Nunneries, (*c*) *Almesbury* in *Wiltſhire*, and *Warwell* in *Hampſhire*. An eaſie way of recompence for rich people, to eaſe themſelves of the moſt crying ſins: And though I am not obliged either to cenſure one, or vindicate the other; yet ſome may juſtly fancie, that ſeveral of thoſe ancient buildings being thus founded upon blood and rapine, might as by a judgement call a deſtroying hand upon them. But far be it from me to oppoſe Monuments of Charity, which without queſtion may hugely advance the glory of God upon Earth, and ſmooth the Founders way to Heaven: And I could wiſh that thoſe ancient Monuments of Piety (for without doubt many of them were really ſo) nobly ſpread about by our Fore-fathers liberality, had either continued as good Examples, or been better imploy'd at their Diſſolutions. But this by the way.

c Ambreſbury.

900

Sect. 3.

The Murders of Malcolme, *of* Duffe, *of* Culene, *of* Kenneth *the Third, Kings of* Scotland.

AND now let us croſs the *Tweed*, and take notice of what obedience we finde there; and here we meet with *Conſtantine* the
a An.937. Third, King of *Scotland*, who being troubled at the great (*a*) Victory the *Engliſh* had over him, where moſt of his Nobility were ſlain, withdrew himſelf from the rule of his Kingdom, and became a *Canon* in the Abbey of St *Andrews*, where he lived ſome years, and then dyed. In the mean time, *Malcolme*, formerly declared Heir apparent, had the Government alotted to him, and upon the death
b An.943. of the other was (*b*) King, and commended for a good one; of whoſe actions we ſhall ſay nothing, but that being exact in the Execution of juſtice upon Offenders, procured to himſelf ſome Enemies, who conſpired againſt him, and taking their opportunity, at *Ulrande* a
c An.952. Village in *Murreyland* (*c*) murder'd him.

After him ſucceeded *Indulph*, who in battle having beaten the *Danes*, through miſtake chanced amongſt ſome of them, and was
d An.962. ſlain; and then was (*d*) *Duffe* King of *Scotland*, who ſeverely puniſhed all Thieves and Vagabonds, and made all people that had nothing to live on, to learn ſome Trade, that by their rapine and villanies, they might not oppreſs the Commons and honeſt labourers. This amongſt the wicked got him a great many Enemies; and, which might ſeem more ſtrange, ſeveral of the Nobles alſo hated him, becauſe thus they were kept from their Tyranny and Oppreſſion; many of their younger Sons having little to live upon, but theſe villanies; and moſt of them grumbled that Gentlemen, forſooth, ſhould thus be hindred from rapine, and forced to get their livings by honeſt Imployments. But the chief murmuring was in *Murreyland*, who at laſt fell from words to blows, and ſlew the Kings Officers.

And that which moſt imbolden'd them to theſe Rebellions, was their knowledge of the Kings grievous ſickneſs, whereby himſelf was diſabled from proſecuting them; nor indeed would his Phyſitians let him know of their inſolencies, leſt trouble and perplexity might haſten his end.

As for the Diſeaſe it ſelf, I ſhall not determine any thing; but becauſe the ſtory of it is ſomewhat ſtrange and unuſual to be equal'd in Chronicles, take it as I finde it in *Hector Boetius*, *Holinſhed*, and ſome other Hiſtorians, upon whoſe credit let the truth of the ſtory lye.

The Nobles of *Murreyland* being, as aforeſaid, incenſed againſt the good King, imploy'd Witches to bewitch the King to death. The King falls ſick, and that into ſuch a languiſhing Diſeaſe, that his Phyſitians could not tell what to make of it, ſo that all their Skill and Medicines was to ſmall purpoſe. At laſt, no man knoweth how, or by whom, a report and rumour went amongſt the people that the King was bewitch'd, and that by ſome of the Town call'd *Fores* in *Murrey*: In which Town was a Caſtle, the Captain of which

which was one *Donwald*, who had been faithful to the King amongſt the Rebels. 900

Duffe informed of this flying rumour of Witches, ſends ſome privately to *Donald* to inquire out the buſineſs: It chanced that one of the Souldiers of the Caſtle kept a young Wench of the Town as his Lemmon; which being Daughter to one of the Witches, knew their actions, and in part diſcovered it to the Souldier, who upon this inquiry told it to *Donald*; who ſending for the Wench, then in the Caſtle, made her by threats, and other means, confeſs all ſhe knew: whereupon, learning by her in what houſe theſe actions were done, he ſent ſome Souldiers forth about midnight, who breaking into the houſe, found the Witches roaſting by a gentle fire an Image of Wax, reſembling the King, made, as they thought, by the Devil; and by it a Woman ſate reciting certain words of Inchantment, baſting the Image with a certain liquor.

The Souldiers upon this ſeis'd upon them, and with the Image led them to the Caſtle; where, upon examination they confeſt, that their deſign was to make away the King: That the Nobles in *Murreyland* had hired them to do it: That as the Image waſted, ſo would the King: That their canting words kept them from ſleeping, *&c.* Upon this, the ſtanders by immediately broak the Image of the King, and had the Witches burnt to death; and 'tis ſaid, that at the ſame time, the King was delivered from languor, and ſhortly reſtored to preſent health again. But however the ſtory be, no ſooner was the King well again, but he marched into *Murrey* againſt the Rebels, whom he forced to flee: as for them whom he took, he had them hang'd up, without reſpect of perſon or quality.

But if witchcraft fail in the Kings deſtruction, his own intimates under the viſage of friendſhip will bring it about. In this Rebellion *Donwald* or *Donald* had ſome of his own Relations, for whom he beg'd his Majeſties pardon, but 'twas denyed, and ſo they with the reſt were executed; which moved a great diſcontent in *Donald*, which boyld in him ſo much, that his Wife perceived him troubled, nor would ſhe let him alone till ſhe underſtood the cauſe of his diſpleaſure: ſhe added fuel to his malice, and ſo thruſt him on to revenge, that he was willing to make the King away; which, at laſt, by her evil perſwaſions, he reſolves on; which was eaſie enough for them to accompliſh, the King putting ſo great a confidence in *Donald*, that when he was in thoſe parts, he uſed to lye in the ſaid Caſtle of *Forres*.

At laſt they laid the plot, and pitch'd upon the night; which coming, and the King being in the Caſtle, they made all things ready. At the ſame night, the King ſuſpecting nothing, thank'd all thoſe who had aſſiſted him againſt the Rebels, and gave them honourable gifts; and amongſt the reſt *Donald* was one: But for all this reward, he proceeds in his wicked deſign. And that night two of his Chamberlains having got him to bed, left him there, and went to *Donald* and his Wife, who had provided a noble Collation for them, where they plyed their cups ſo well, that being drunk, they were carryed to reſt.

Donald having thus made all ſecure, call'd four of his Servants, whom before he had fee'd to this wickedneſs, who ſecretly enter the Kings Chamber, (*a*) cut his throat, convey'd the body out of *a* An. 966.

900 the Caſtle by a Poſtern-gate, threw it upon an Horſe provided for that purpoſe; but whither they carryed it, Authors do not agree.

The common opinion is, that they carryed it two Miles from the Caſtle, where being a little Brook, they got certain Labourers to turn the Courſe of it; then dig a deep hole in the Channel, in which they buryed the body, ramming it up ſo cloſely with ſtones and gravel, that turning the water again into its right courſe, nothing of digging was perceived: And this, they ſay, they did upon the Vulgar opinion, leſt the body being found, the Murderer might be diſcovered by its bleeding at their preſence. As for the Labourers whom they gat to turn the water, no ſooner was the work finiſhed, but they ſlew them, leſt they ſhould tell tales; and then the four Villains fled into *Orkny*.

But *Buchanan* rejects this ſtory as improbable, but rather that they buryed it in ſome obſcure place under a Bridge, which might be cover'd over with Turf, to hinder the appearance of their freſh delvings. And Mr. (*a*) *Cambden* tells us the place was *Kinloſs*, and that the body was found there; at which time and place Flowers did miraculouſly ſpring up, whence at firſt it was call'd (*b*) *Kill-flos*, but by corruption *Kinloſs* or *Killoſs*, where was formerly a famous Monaſtery belonging to the *Ciſtercians*, founded by St. *David* King of *Scotland*.

a Scotia, ſo Murray.

b i.e. The Kirk or Church of Flowers.

As for *Donald*, to prevent ſuſpition, about the time of the Murther, he went amongſt thoſe who kept the watch, as he had been careful of the Kings preſervation, and there he continued till morning; but when noiſe was raiſed that the King was murder'd, and his body not to be found (for they had taken ſpecial care that no bloud ſhould be ſeen out of the Chamber; but his bed was all bloudy) he, as if amazed, and ignorant of ſuch a thing, ran ſuddenly to the Chamber, where finding the Chamberlains he ſlew them, as guilty of that heinous murther; and running up and down every place, as if to diſcover, finding the Poſtern-gate open, he threw the fault upon the Chamberlains, whom before he had ſlain, affirming them to have had the Keys of the Gates committed to their keeping all that night: And the truth is, he made himſelf ſo ſtrangely buſie in the diſcovery, that ſeveral began to miſtruſt him, though at that time they durſt not ſpeak of it. At this horrid murther, their Authors tell us, that for ſix Moneths after, neither Sun nor Moon appear'd in that Kingdom; but they had enough of ſtrange tempeſts and thunders, which put the people out of their little Wits.

After this horrid Murther, *Culene* was King, who made it his buſineſs to finde out and puniſh the Murderers of King *Duffe*, which within half a year he accompliſhed, found and took up the body of the King; which, they ſay, was no ſooner done, but the Air cleared, and the Sun appeared glorioufly again. The body was by order buryed in the little (*c*) Weſtern Iſland of *Scotland*, call'd *Colmekill*, or *Columbkill*, from the (*d*) *Scotch* Apoſtle St. *Columba*, who ſometimes lived there (ſome think it the ſame with the Iſland *Iona*.) In which Iſland was a famous Abbey or Monaſtery, built by King *Fergus* the Second, which for many years was the burying place of the Kings of *Scotland*.

c Amongſt the *Hebrides*.

d The *Iriſh* ſay he was their Countryman.

As for King *Culene*, he gave himſelf wholly over to ſenſuality and negligence,

negligence, which made the Nobles reſolve to depoſe him; to which purpoſe they ſummoned a Parliament at *Scone* (the place where the *Scottiſh* Kings were Crown'd:) *Culene* informed of this, and knowing himſelf not ſtrong enough to oppoſe, reſolves to go thither alſo; but being on his journey, he was (*a*) murder'd at *Meffen*-Caſtle, by one *Radard* or *Cadhard*, Lord or Governour thereof, whoſe Daughter the King had raviſhed. 900

a An. 971.

Upon this Murther, *Kenneth* the Third is King at *Scone*, one hugely commended for all manner of Kingly vertues; nor had he any thing to blemiſh that great Reputation he had juſtly deſerved and got, but one wicked crime, *viz.* the poyſoning of his Couſin *Malcolme*, Governour of *Cumberland*; which heinous fault, though no man ſuſpected him, yet his own Conſcience accuſing him, he confeſt it himſelf, and did really repent of that crime. But leaving this, let us ſee the manner of his end.

Cruthnet, Son to *Fenella* (of whom hereafter) the Chief Governour of *Merres*, having been the occaſion of great troubles, fewds and murders, was at laſt with his Companions taken, whom with the other chief Actors were executed by the Kings command; the poorer ſort, as a people ignorant and miſled, were pardoned, and let go to their reſpective habitations; which Juſtice and Mercy was much commended in his Majeſty.

It chanced that the King having been at *Fordon*, a Town in *Mernes*, to viſit the Reliques of St. *Palladius* (a holy *Grecian*, who came into *Scotland* about the year 431) which, they ſay, lay here in a little Church, to this day corruptly call'd from him *Padiekirk*, went for curioſity to ſee the Caſtle of *Fettercarne*; then pleaſantly ſeated in a Forreſt, well ſtored with wilde Beaſts, though now no ſuch pleaſantneſs about it. The Lady of this Caſtle was the forenamed *Fenalla*, or *Finabella*, as ſome call her, who received the King with a great deal of ſeeming kindneſs and nobleneſs.

Yet ſhe reſolved upon his Murther, being incenſed againſt the King, for executing her Son *Cruthnet*; and what ſhe intended, ſhe brought to paſs, but by what means I cannot poſitively conclude. Some there are that tell a pretty ſtory of rare inventions and contrivances to intice the King to his own ruine; as, that ſhe knowing the King to delight much in buildings and rare curioſities, had provided a place in the Caſtle richly hung with Tapeſtry and rich Arras; and in it a noble braſen Image, holding in one of his hands a fair golden Apple, ſet full of precious Stones: all which was framed with that Art and Cunning, that if any one took the Apple out of its hand, ſeveral Arrows from artificial Croſs-bows placed ſo cunningly, would fly out and kill him. The King after dinner was led into this Chamber by *Fenella*: *Kenneth* was preſently delighted with the glorious Furniture, but above all with the Image; and asking the meaning of it, was anſwer'd by the Lady, that that rich Apple was placed there, as a poor gift, for himſelf. At length, after ſome looking and admiration, he went to remove the Apple, and preſently the Croſs-bows diſcharged their Darts, by which the King was (*b*) kill'd.

b An. 994.

This ſtory, though related by ſeveral old Chronicles, *George Buchanan* doth not think worthy of belief; nor indeed is it probable that ſuch great riches as their ſtories here ſpeak of, ſuch Art and ſuch Workmanſhip, ſhould meet together under the power of

900 ſuch a Lady, in ſuch a part of the World, ſo long ago, and in ſuch a little while. Whereupon he rather agrees with ſome other Writers, that he was murther'd by four Horſe-men, laid purpoſely for that wickedneſs in ambuſh, by the ſaid *Finabella*; and his body was afterwards buryed at *Colmkill*.

a An. 987. I ſhall not here queſtion by what Right or Title (*a*) *Hugh Capet* came to be King of *France* (becauſe the preſent powers of that Kingdom may think themſelves concerned in that diſpute) onely 'tis confeſt of all hands, that *Charles* of *Lorraine* was the true

b Pag. 495. Heir; and (*b*) *Jean de Buſſieres* could even the other day, and that by publick Authority, call *Capet* an Invadour. And this was the beginning of the *Capevingien* Family, which yet continues; and the end of the *Carlovingiens* in *France*, that Imperial Line having before this ended in *Germany*.

The end of the third Book.

A CON-

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A CONTINUATION OF THE REBELLIONS AND Treaſonable Practiſes Of the ROMANISTS,

In Depoſing and Murthering of their Emperours and Kings:

From the Year M, to the Year MCC.

Book IV.

Chap. I.

1. *The Murther of* Edmund *Ironſide, King of* England.
2. *The Murther of* Malcolme *the Second, and of* Duncan, *Kings of* Scotland.
3. *The claſhing of Popes, and the Emperours power over them at Elections.*

Sect. I.

The Murther of Edmund *Ironſide, King of* England.

HAving now paſt over the *Millenary* year, we ſhall proceed, and with grief begin at home, where we ſhall finde a Noble Kingdom ruined by Treachery, and betray'd to Forraigners by an abominable Murder.

And for the better underſtanding of which ſad ſtory, we may know, that the *Danes* for ſome time made it their buſineſs to poſſeſs theſe flouriſhing Nations: and what by diſſentions at home, and their multitudes, joyn'd with the terrour of their Cruelty and

1000 and Heatheniſm, they bid fair for the carrying of the whole; but were ſtill manfully oppoſed, and might for ever have loſt their deſigns, if Treaſon had not been a better gameſter than Valour.

Here lived in *England* one *Edrike*, Son to *Egilricus*, a man of a low Kindred; but what he wanted in birth, he ſupplyed by knavery and a fluent tongue. [*a*] *Stow* calls him *Edrike* of *Straton*: [*b*] *Speed* ſaith he was ſirnamed *Streton*, or *Streattane*, or [*c*] *Streona*, for his covetouſneſs: This fellow by his cunning rais'd himſelf to ſuch an eſteem, that King [*d*] *Ethelred* created him Duke of *Mercia*, and gave him his ſecond Daughter *Edgith* in Marriage; yet could not all his favours keep him from Treachery; but perceiving the *Danes* to be very powerful in *England*, to raiſe himſelf alſo by them, he betray'd not onely the Kings Council, but his Armies and Country to thoſe *Daniſh* Invadors. But here paſſing by his many Treaſons, and his as oftentimes receiving again into favour; I ſhall haſten to his murthering of his Soveraign *Edmund*.

This *Edmund* was Son to King *Ethelred*; and for his ſtrength, valour and hardneſs, was ſirnamed *Ironſide*. He had pardoned this *Edrike*, Duke of *Mercia*, many faults, and winked at ſeveral of his treacherous actions, ſtill receiving him into favour; and this too much lenity, they ſay, proved his own ruine: for this *Edrike* thinking to make himſelf more beloved and truſted by the *Danes*, took the opportuuity, and one time when King *Edmund* was [*e*] eaſing himſelf, he procured him to be thruſt from underneath into his body, with a Spear or Spit; which being done, *Edrike de Streona* cut off his head, and preſented it to *Canute*, King of the *Danes*, with this fawing ſalutation—— *All hail, thou now ſole Monarch of* England; *for here behold the head of thy Copartner, which for thy ſake I have adventured to cut off.*——

Canute amazed at this ſo diſloyal an action, and thinking that he who had thus murder'd his own Soveraign, might in time betray him; diſſembling his intent, replyed, and vowed, That—— *in reward of that ſervice, the bringers own head ſhould be advanced above all the Peers of his Kingdom.*—— Which words hugely contented *Edrike*, who for ſome time thought himſelf in great favour; but at laſt, *Kanute* made his words good, by commanding *Edrike*'s head to be cut off, and placed upon the higheſt gate in *London*.

I ſhall not here enter into a diſpute with thoſe who queſtion the manner of the death, both of King *Edmund*, and the Traytor *Edrike*, ſeeing Authors will not in this caſe exactly agree amongſt themſelves: but be it as it will, I ſhall look a little farther North.

a Pag. 90.
b L. 7. c. 44. & 17. & 49.
c *Holinſhed*, l. 7. c. 10, 11.
d Or *Egelred*, or *Etheldred*.
An 1017.
e Thus alſo was ſlain *Godfrey*, Duke of *Lorraine*. *Baron.* an. 1076. & 38.

Sect. 2.

The Murther of Malcolme *the Second, and of* Duncan, *Kings of* Scotland.

IN *Scotland* we ſhall finde ruling *Malcolme* the Second, famous for his ſeveral Victories againſt the *Danes*, and his other excellent Vertues and Laws for the benefit of his Dominions. And having raigned ſeveral years with great prudence and liberality; at laſt

laſt, in his old age he grew very covetous (a vice commonly incident to ſuch doting years:) upon which, ſeveral conſpired againſt him; and being at *Glammys* in *Anguis*, ſeveral of the Plotters were convey'd into his Lodging, by his own faithleſs ſervants, where they murder'd him. Then thinking to eſcape on good Horſes laid for them, the Snow then covering the earth, they miſs'd their way, rid to the *Lough* of *Forfair*, then frozen over, which having rid ſome part, the Ice broke, and they were all drowned; and upon the thaw their bodies found. 1000 Anno 1034.

This is the common opinion; others tell it another way; yet all agree that he was Murther'd.

The next that ſucceeded in *Scotland* was *Duncan*, who having raigned a few years, was [a] murder'd at *Ennerneſs* by one *Mackbeth*, who ſeiſed upon the Kingdom, and was Crown'd at *Scone*; and having Governed ſeventeen years, was alſo [b] ſlain by one *Mackduff*. a An. 1040. b An. 1057.

Here I might recreate the Reader with ſome pretty ſtories about theſe times: As how three Weirds, Witches or Fairies told *Mackbeth*, as he was going to *Forres* ([c] others ſay, 'twas a Viſion or Dream by night) that he ſhould be King, but be ſlain: And *Banquho*, or *Bancho*, that though he ſhould not be King himſelf, yet that from him ſhould proceed thoſe who ſhould continue Kings. And that *Mackbeth* was told that he ſhould not be ſlain, till *Birnam*-Wood ſhould be brought to *Dunſinan* Caſtle in *Perth-ſhire*; nor by a man that was born of a woman. And how that King *Malcolme* the Third fulfill'd the firſt, by making every one of his Souldiers carry a bough of that Wood to the Caſtle; and how *Makduff* accompliſhed the latter, by being ript out of his Mothers belly, and killing of *Mackbeth*. But I ſhall leave ſuch Tales as theſe to the Miracle-mongers; which being as pretty as moſt they make uſe of, I marvel *Baronius* (who, upon every occaſion ſtuffs up his Voluminous Annals with ſuch thwacking wonders) paſſeth by this jeſt in ſilence. But poſſibly the Cardinal was not skill'd enough in the *Caledonian* Hiſtories; for had he been as diligent in it, as he was in idle Miracles, he would never have ſo much inlarged himſelf upon *Marianus Scotus*, as to make us believe, that at this time a King of *Scotland* ſhould go in Devotion to *Rome*, the name of the King being [d] *Machetad*; whereas 'tis well known there was never any ſuch King, unleſs by miſtake we may take *Mackbeth*, who ruled in *Scotland* at the ſame time, but never went ſo far for Devotion. Be it as 'twill, it ſerved his turn to promote a greatneſs and reverence in *Rome*; yet [e] *Leſlæus* hath a fancie that *Marianus* meant *Malcolme* the Third, though *Scotus* his words may well enough be underſtood, that the King had his liberality diſtributed by others, and not himſelf at *Rome*; and ſo the knot is untyed. As for the ſtories of theſe Elves, Witches or Hobgoblins, they may conſult [f] *Hector Boetius*, or from him our *Holinſhed*. Anno 1050. c. 15. d *Machethad*, Mar. Scot. MS. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. e Pag. 207. f Hiſt. Scot. lib. 12.

I ſhall ſay nothing here to the killing of *Duncan* by *Makpender*, Earl of *Mercia*; nor of the impriſonment of *Donald*, the putting out of his eyes, and miſerable death in priſon, becauſe their Titles may be queſtioned. Nor ſhall I travel more Northward, and inlarge upon the [g] Murder of King *Canute* of *Denmark* whilſt he was at his Devotions; nor enter upon the more frozen parts g An. 1088.

1000 parts, to inſiſt upon the treacherous end of *Ingo* the Fourth, King of *Scotland*, becauſe Religion was not there in a ſetled condition.

Sect. 3.

The claſhing of Popes, and the Emperours power over them at Elections.

BUt if I would trouble my ſelf at the very Fountain of their Religion, *viz. Rome*, we might here ſhew that obedience yeilds place to ſedition, and how troubled their Champions are to finde out an Infallible and true Vicar.

Here might I tell at large how *Platina* and ſome others declare Pope *Sylveſter* the Second to be a *Magician*, and to have kept correſpondence with the Devil; though others at large Apologize for him; nor ſhall I intereſt my ſelf in the diſpute. Here could I amuze the honeſt *Roman* Catholick, by telling him that *Benedict* the Ninth was once held for the Infallible Head of their Church, and yet was but a (*a*) boy of ten or twelve years old: And here might we puzzle their Succeſſion, and make them pump and invent Reaſons for a true Pope, when at the ſame time this *Benedict* ſaid he was Pope, *Sylveſter* the Third aſſured the World, that he was Chriſt's Vicar: and alſo one *John* affirm'd, that he was the onely man that was S. *Peters* true Succeſſor; and every one of theſe Popes had many Followers. And to make up the wonder and number, *Gregory* the Sixth with money hired theſe men to lay down the Cudgels, and ſo made himſelf Pope alſo; which Title and Honour he was over-perſwaded to yeild up by a (*b*) Council; and yet this man muſt be a true Pope, and no way tainted with Simony: and to him by the conſent of the Emperour ſucceeded *Clement* the Second, who being poyſoned, *Benedict* the Ninth the third time entred into the Papal Chair: but the Emperour hearing of theſe troubles, ſent *Poppo*, Biſhop of *Breſcia*, to *Rome*, who was choſen, and ſucceeded as Pope, though his Raign was but ſhort.

a Baron. an. 1033. §. 6.

b Genebrard, Cron. p. 865.

But be it ſhort or long, their Authors are here in open War about the legality of his Rule. (*c*) *Baronius*, and ſome others, making him legally elected, and ſo a true Pope. On the other hand, *Platina*, (*d*) *Genebrard*, and ſome others, declare him to be an intruder, and ſo no true Pope. And what muſt be the foundation of his crime, but becauſe the Emperour had an intereſt in his promotion? though if this Argument will hold any water, they will quite break to pieces the Line of their Succeſſion, by throwing aſide many Popes formerly elected or confirmed by Emperours, and other ſecular Potentates. But fight Dog, fight Bear, I ſhall not trouble my ſelf to reconcile them.

c An. 1048. §. 1.

d Pag. 867.

Yet though they now ſeem ſo dapperly againſt the Temporal Authority, it is not unworth the notice, that no ſooner was this *Damaſus* (firſt call'd *Poppo*) dead, but the Cardinals, and other *Romans*, ſent into *Germany* to the Emperour, to deſire him to appoint

point them a new Pope, who accordingly ſent them *Leo* the Ninth: and whatſoever they tell for excuſe of *Leo*'s changing his Opinion, at the perſwaſion of *Hildebrand*, is not much to the purpoſe, ſince it appears that they durſt not refuſe him; and *Hildebrand's* policy (if true) was but a meer trick and juggle. 1000

And this practice will better appear by the next Vicar; for no ſooner was *Leo* dead, but the Clergy, and others of *Rome*, ſent *Hildebrand* into *Germany* to the Emperour, to deſire him to give them a Pope; who accordingly yeilded to grant them *Victor* the Second, who by the Imperial Order was elected at *Mentz*, and thence ſent to *Rome*. And thus humbly they behaved themſelves to the Emperour, that they might not offend him, nor break their Oaths and Duty, which they had made to him. And ſomething to this purpoſe we finde a little after; for this *Victor* the Second, and *Stephanus* the Ninth being dead, ſome at *Rome* elected and declared for Pope *Benedict* the Tenth. But the Chief of the *Romans* ſent preſently an excuſe to the Emperour; proteſting that for their parts they would keep their Allegiance, and not acknowledge any for Pope, but whom he approved of; and therefore deſired him to ſend to *Rome* for Pope whom he pleaſed, who accordingly ſent them *Nicholas* the Second; and ſo *Benedict* the Tenth was thruſt from the Chair, as not capable of that honour, becauſe he had intruded himſelf into that Dignity (*a*) without the approbation of the Emperour and other Princes.

Platina.

Baron. an. 1054. & 53.

Coeffeteau, p. 644, 645.

(*a*) Qui ſine juſſu Regis & Principum. *Lamb. Schafnaburg.* Hiſt. *Germ.* an. 1059. Edict. *Francof.* 1583. —— Qui injuſſu Regis, *&c.* Edict. *Tubing.* 1533.

But we need not trouble our ſelves here with many Examples of the ſecular Authority in the Popes Election, having formerly in ſeveral other places, as they fell in my way, hinted at the practice: and beſides all, at this very time they cannot but confeſs, that the very *Romans* yeilded up their intereſt in the Election of Popes, and gave it to the Emperour; and, which is more, both in *Gregory* the Sixth's time, and *Clement* the Second his time, ingaged themſelves by Oath to the Emperour, never to chuſe or conſecrate any for Pope, but whom he ſhould approve of, and conſent to.

Genebrard, pag. 866. *Cognatus*, p. 505. *Sigebert.* an. 1046.

1000

Chap. II.

The troubles and depoſing of the Emperour Henry *the Fourth, by the pride of Pope* Gregory *the Seventh, and other Incendiaries.*

SHould I trouble my ſelf to reconcile all the exceptions that might belong to this Chapter, I ſhould be Voluminous to a wonder, and poſſibly not ſatisfie the Reader. But to leave ſuch Diſputes, in ſhort, the queſtion is betwixt the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth, and Pope *Gregory* the Seventh; which of them was in the right, and which to blame: though one may affirm without offence, that both of them had their faults; yet *Goldaſtus* (and from him of late Father (*a*) *Caron*) hath taken a great deal of pains to vindicate the Emperour, whilſt *Gretſerus* is as large in his ſeveral Apologies for the Pope; whither I ſhall refer the curious for farther ſatisfaction.

a Remonſt. *Hybern.* part 2. p. 89, 90, &c. part 3. p. 1, 2, &c.

And it was no ſmall miſery to Chriſtendom, that the Emperour being very young, the Popes acted what they pleas'd without controul; though at laſt they drive on ſo furiouſly, that inſtead of making the Empire happy by tranquillity, they procured its ruine by fomenting new troubles and rebellions. For, whereas formerly the Emperours had the main hand in making Popes, and the power of nominating Biſhops in his own Territories, whom he left to be Conſecrated by others; Now, on the contrary, the Pope would take all power into his own hands, allowing no man to be Biſhop, of what Country ſoever, but whom he pleas'd; by which means he would wreſt all favours from the Temporal juriſdiction to himſelf.

And whereas formerly Clergy-men were commonly marryed, and their (*b*) *Canon-law* it ſelf grants them ſome favour in this caſe; Now the Pope proceeds ſeverely againſt the married Clergy by Excommunication; and ſo in a manner deprived them of their Beings; which was the cauſe of great troubles in *Germany*. Nor was this all, but alſo *Gregory* the Seventh thruſt himſelf up above all Dominions and Authorities in the world, by the aſſiſtance of a puny Synod at *Rome*, thus declaring his Prerogative, — *viz.*——

b Diſt. 28. c. *ſi quis docuerit.* c. *ſi quis diſcernit.* diſt. 31. c. *Omnino conſitemur.* c. *Quoniam Romani.* c. *Aliter ſe orient.*

Baron. an. 1076. & 31, 32, 33.

That onely the Pope of Rome *can depoſe Biſhops.*
That his Legat *muſt take place of all other Biſhops in a Council, which* Legat *hath power to depoſe other Biſhops.*
That the Pope can depoſe thoſe who are abſent.
That it is lawful for the Pope *onely, according to the neceſſity of the Time, to make new Laws,* &c.
That the Pope *onely may uſe the Imperial Enſigns.*
That all Princes are to kiſs the feet of the Pope *onely.*

That

That his name is onely to be recited or mentioned in Churches. 1000
That he hath Authority to depoſe Emperours.
That he onely can tranſlate Biſhops.
That no General Synod ought to be call'd without his command.
That no Book is Canonical without his Authority.
That his ſentence ought not to be revoked by any body.
That no man ought to be Cenſured for Appealing to Rome.
That all Cauſes of great Importance, of what Church ſoever, muſt be referred to him.
That the Roman *Church neither ever did or can err.*
That there is but one onely name in the World, i. e. *the* Pope.
That the Pope *of* Rome, *if he be Canonically Ordain'd, is undoubtedly made Holy by the merits of St.* Peter. And ſome other ſuch-like *Priviledges* as theſe were alſo then concluded upon.

Thus by little and little did the *Roman* Biſhops dwindle the Temporal Authority to nothing, by making themſelves ſo great and powerful. *Alexander* the Second had null'd all Lay-Patronage, by making it unlawful to receive any Benefice from a ſecular Authority, which then they call'd *Simony* (though gave [*a*] nothing for it) as [*b*] *Genebrard* ſaith. And a little before this, *Leo* the Ninth ſeemed to eaſe the Papal See from the Imperial juriſdiction; but to no purpoſe, that Chair falling after into the Imperial Nomination, as it did alſo in him. But *Gregory* the Seventh, by a particular [*c*] *Canon*, null'd and voided all *Inveſtitures* that ſhould be made to Biſhops, *&c.* by the Emperour, or the ſecular Prince: Though we are told that his Maſter, [*d*] *Gregory* the Sixth, mainly commended this way of nominating or deſigning Biſhops by a *Paſtoral Staff* and *Ring*, by the Temporal Prince, whereby the other Biſhops might with more Authority, and leſs prejudice, Conſecrate him; and that this had alſo [*e*] formerly been the practice, cannot be denyed: and the power of Nomination is yet uſed by all Chriſtian Princes within their reſpective Dominions.

a *Coquæus*, p. 513.
b Pag. 874, 875. Id. pag. 868.
c 26. Q. 7. *Quoniam Inveſtituras*, *Baron.* an. 1078. & 26.
d *S. Hen. Spelman.* Gloſſ. v. *Inveſtur.*
e *G. Carleton*'s juriſdiction, pag. 137, 138, 139, &c.

Suchlike actions as theſe procured ſome heart-burnings betwixt the Emperour and Popes, which at laſt fell to open diviſions and animoſity; to which the troubleſome *Saxons* were not the leaſt Authors, who had for ſome time born a ſpite againſt the Emperour; from whoſe Authority and Protection they had ſeveral thoughts and conſultations of withdrawing themſelves. To prevent this, *Henry* had built ſeveral ſtrong Caſtles and Forts amongſt them, which incenſed them more; inſomuch, that they did not onely fortifie and defend themſelves, but ſent to *Rome* complaints againſt the Emperour of Oppreſſion and Simony (which, *Urſpergenſis* ſaith, were [*f*] falſe accuſations.) *Alexander* the Second, then Pope, upon this took the confidence to ſend to *Henry*, commanding him to appear at *Rome*, to anſwer before him ſuch complaints as were laid to his charge; but the Pope [*g*] dying preſently after, this Tryal fell to the ground for a time.

f Accuſationes blaſphemas & inauditas.
g An. 1072.

After him was Pope *Gregory* the Seventh, who was firſt call'd *Hildebrand*, and under that name commonly met withal in Hiſtory; but the *Germans*, who above all things hated him, for jeſt-ſake uſed to call him *Hellebrand*, i. e. *a Firebrand from Hell*; they looking upon him to be the cauſe of all their misfortunes, whilſt ſome others magnifie him no leſs than a Saint.

1000 *Gregory* had not been above a year Pope, but he ſent his Legats into *Germany*, who, though they behaved themſelves ſtoutly to the Emperour, yet could not procure the Priviledge of having a Synod held there by them, the native Biſhops not being willing to ſubmit to ſuch Maſters; the chief of the Oppoſers being *Liemarus*, Archbiſhop of *Breme*, whom they undertook to ſuſpend; and the Pope afterwards thought he had completed it; and at laſt, (*a*) excommunicated ſeveral Biſhops, who adher'd to the Emperour. And not long after, ſent an expreſs ſummons to *Henry* himſelf to appear before him at *Rome*; and that if he were not there by ſuch a day, he ſhould be forthwith excommunicated.

a An. 1075.

The ſtrangeneſs and boldneſs of this Papal ſummons moved the Emperour ſo much, that he not onely ſent away the *Legats* with ſcorn, but ſent forth Orders to all Biſhops and Abbots to meet him at *Worms*, there to hold a Council; who accordingly appear'd in a very great (*b*) number; where having drawn up many Accuſations and Crimes againſt *Gregory*, they adjudge him not fit to be Pope; declare his Election void; whatever he ſhall do as Pope after that day, to be null and of no effect; and ſo deprive him from the Popedom: And to this having ſubſcribed, they ſent *Rowland* of *Parma* to declare the ſame at *Rome*.

b Ampliſſimo numero. *Lam. Schaf-nab.* anno 1076.

In the mean time *Gregory* had call'd a Synod at *Rome*; which being met, *Rowland* appears amongſt them, and there boldly declares to the Popes face how the Emperour, and the Biſhops of *Italy*, *Germany* and *France*, in a Council had deprived the ſaid Pope. But *Gregory* to requite this kindneſs, the next day, excommunicates and deprives the chief of the Biſhops who were at *Worms*; and for the reſt, he appoints a ſet time for them to repent and ſubmit to him; which if they did not obey, then were they alſo partakers of the ſame ſauce. Nor doth he forget the Emperour, but very dapperly excommunicates and deprives him of his Dominions and Authority: The chief part of which *Depoſition* runs thus:

Beate Petre *Apoſtolorum Princeps, inclina, quæſumus, pias aures tuas, & audi me ſervum tuum, quem ab infantia nutriſti, & uſq; ad hunc diem de manu iniquorum liberaſti, qui me pro tua fidelitate oderunt & odiunt: tu mihi teſtes es, & Domina mea Mater Dei, & B.* Paulus *frater tuus*

——*Pro Eccleſiæ tuæ honore, & defenſione, ex parte Omnipotentis Dei Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, per tuam Poteſtatem & Authoritatem,* Henrico *Regi filio* Henrici *Imperatoris, qui contra tuam Eccleſiam inaudita ſuperbia inſurrexit, totius Regni* Teutonicorum *& Italiæ gubernacula contradico, & omnes Chriſtianos a vinculo Juramenti, quod ſibi fecere &*

O Bleſſed *Peter*, Prince of the Apoſtles, incline, I pray, your pious ears, and hear me, your ſervant, whom thou haſt nouriſhed from his infancie, and till this day haſt delivered from the hands of wicked men, who hate me for my truſting in thee: Thou art my Witneſs, and our Lady the Mother of God, and your Brother St. *Paul* —— that,

—— For the honour and defence of thy Church, on the part of Almighty God the Father, Son and holy Ghoſt, by thy Power and Authority, I deprive from any Government and Rule of all *Germany* and *Italy* King *Henry*, Son to the Emperour *Henry*, who with an unheard-of pride hath oppoſed

facient, abſolvo; & ut nullus ei ſicut Regi ſerviat, interdico.

oppoſed and riſe againſt thy Church: And I abſolve all Chriſtians from the Oaths of Obedience which they have or ſhall make; and do here interdict and forbid any to ſerve him as a King. 1000

In this I follow (*a*) *Baronius*, which is worded otherwiſe than that ſet down by (*b*) *Platina*: the reaſon of which difference and variations, let thoſe look to it, who boaſt of Originals in the *Vatican*; though in this we may make one ſerve to interpret the other.

a An. 1076. & 25, 26.
b Pag. 177.

Preſently after this, *Gregory* ſends to the *Germans* to know whether *Henry* would ſubmit himſelf, and acknowledge his offences againſt St. *Peters* Church; but if he would not, that then another King might be choſen, who would be obedient to the *Roman* See, and he would confirm the Election. Upon this, the Chief met at *Tribur* neer *Mentz*.

The Emperour perceiving his caſe to be but bad, many of his chief friends forſaking him, and others for fear durſt not ſeem for him, [ſo apt were the ſimple people then to be gull'd and terrified by thoſe *Roman* bibble-babbles, or the ſeditious Nobles] was in a peck of troubles, ſeeing himſelf ſo neglected. And thus finding few friends, and no remedy, he ſends to thoſe who met at *Tribur*, deſiring their favours and pardon for what he had formerly done amiſs, and promiſeth amendment, if they would onely look upon him as a Monarch: all this they refuſe, pretending his Excommunication and Depoſition by *Gregory*, and ſeveral other ſuchlike trifling excuſes.

Henry thus ſeeing all hopes loſt in *Germany*, reſolves to ſubmit himſelf to the Pope: to effect which, he deſigned a journey into *Italy*. The factious *Germans* informed of this, reſolve to waylay him, and if they could poſſibly intrap him, and get him into their clutches; but by making the fartheſt about, the neereſt way to his journies end, he eſcapes all their Ambuſhments and Malice. Yet was his journey moſt difficult and hazardous, by reaſon of the extremity of the Froſt, which put him ſeveral times in great danger, in his paſſage over the Alpes. Having entred *Lumbardy*, many *Italian* Biſhops and Nobles wait upon him, entertain him with all reſpect, complain to him of the Popes actions, and wiſh that he had friends and ſtrength enough to depoſe *Gregory*, of whoſe Popedom they were really weary.

Yet did not this much better the Emperours poor condition: For thoſe who had been his friends and well-wiſhers in *Germany*, and other places, ſeeing *Henry* himſelf brought ſo low, as to drudge for pardon, thought it their ſecureſt way to do ſo too; and ſo they alſo gad to *Italy*, and bare-footed, without any linnen about them, humbly beg abſolution of the Pope; which after ſome hardſhip and waiting they obtain, with an injunction never to acknowledge *Henry*, till he had asked pardon of, and ſatisfied his Holineſs. Anno 1077.

Henry thus ſeeing his condition grow worſe and worſe, thought it wiſeſt to make the beſt he could of a bad Market; and unwilling to

1000 to looſe the Empire, reſolves to ſatisfie the Pope, if any thing can do it; and being informed that *Gregory* was at *Canoſſa*, a ſtrong place in the Territory of *Reggio*, in the Dukedom of *Modena*; thither he goeth to ſupplicate for pardon and reſtoration. This Caſtle of *Canoſſa* was compaſs'd about with three Walls, and belonged to *Mathilda*, or *Maude*, a Lady of great Revenues, and intimately acquainted with the Pope, ſeldom parting from him. 'Twas now the depth of Winter, nor had the memory of man known a ſeverer Froſt; yet doth *Henry* (ſome ſay alſo with his (*a*) Empreſs and little Son) without any Princely Attire, or Linnen; and which was more, without Shooes, or Stockings, or Hat; thus bare-footed, bare-leg'd, and (*b*) bare-headed; ſome ſay, with a (*c*) pair of Sizzers and a ſcourge in his hands, (intimating that he was there ready to be polled and whipt) trudge it to *Canoſſa*, hoping to be let in to the ſpeech and favour of his Holyneſs: to which purpoſe, he thought he had made way by ſome of the Popes friends; but here he found himſelf deceived: yet we may ſuppoſe he had ſome favour, being permitted to enter within the ſecond Wall, where in this pittiful plight, he waited to be let in all day long faſting; but the Popes ſpirit would not yet come down. The night comes, the Froſt continueth, and his ſtomach might well think his throat cut; yet doth he not ſtir, but with this cold comfort expects compaſſion.

a *Fox* Acts and Mon. vol. 1. pag. 232, 233.
b *Blondus Ital.* Illuſt. de *Lombard.* pag. 357.
c *Mornay*, pag. 253.

Blondus Hiſt. Decad. 2. lib. 3. pag. 200.

Having thus with pain, cold and hunger paſt over the tedious night, two to one but next morning he might hope for better ſucceſs; but he was ſerved with the ſame ſauce as the day before: And thus he paſt over three days and three nights, enough to get deſperation, if not death, in a better man than Pope *Gregory*, who thus deſpiſed the birth, dignity, and patience of ſo great an Empeperour. But the fourth day, ſome others with *Mathilda*, as if aſhamed of the arrogancie of *Gregory*, and the unparallell'd humility of *Henry*, with much ado perſwaded *Hildebrand* to allow the Emperour his preſence: but yet before this was done, *Henry* was *to deliver up his Crown, and the reſt of his Royal Badges and Enſigns to the Pope, and acknowledge himſelf not fit or worthy to Rule.* And having gone thus far on his knees, he humbly begs Abſolution; which, after a great deal of clutter, was granted, though the remedy was as bad as the diſeaſe, by the hard conditions and proviſo's it was clog'd withal; As, that *he ſhall ſubmit himſelf to anſwer in the Aſſembly of the* German *Princes, to ſuch accuſations as ſhould be laid to his charge. That he ſhould ſubmit to the judgement there given; inſomuch, that though he ſhould there be deprived or depoſed of all ſway, that he ſhould not take it as an injury done to him. That in the mean time, he ſhould not uſe any Royal Ornaments or Enſigns. That he ſhould not concern himſelf with the Government, nor command, or determine any thing as a Ruler. That all people, who had ſworn him Allegiance, ſhould remain abſolved and free from obedience. That thoſe, who had been his chief Councellors and Friends, ſhould be removed from him. And that, if at laſt, upon tryal and favour, he ſhould be reſtored again to his Government or Empire, that he ſhould not onely be a Defender of the* Roman *Church, but obedient to it.* And (*d*) *Genebrard* mainly commends *Gregory* for his making the Emperour thus to dance attendance to him, in that naked poſture and frozen weather.

Baron. an. 1077. n. 9, 10, 11. *Coeffeteau*, pag. 687.

d Chro. tom. 2. pag. 880.

History

History tells us, that *Alexander* the Fifth dying, the Cardinals then at *Bologna*, thought upon several as fit to succeed; but none of them would please *Balthasar Cossa*, Cardinal and Legat there; insomuch, that seeing no remedy, they desired him to nominate: upon which, quoth *Cossa*, *Give me St.* Peters *Cloak, and I will give it to him who is to be Pope.* The Mantle being given him, he puts it on his own shoulders, and said to them, *I am Pope.* Nor durst they oppose that Election, since it was the will of *Cossa*, who call'd himself *John* XXIII. 1000

No man can be but satisfied, when he hath the power or liberty of setting down his own conditions, as *Cossa* had his hearts-wish when he had the Popedom; so could *Gregory* the Seventh desire or expect no more, than thus forcing the great Emperour to submit to his will and pleasure. Now he might suppose he had the world in a string, and had shewn a fair president to make Temporal Monarchs obedient; and the truth is, he had rais'd up his Seat many degrees above any of his Predecessors; though after-stories will shew this equal'd, if not out-thrown some bar-lengths.

But having now seen the disrespect of *Gregory*, with the humility and absolution of *Henry*; let us cast a glance on the actions in *Germany*. We gave an hint before of some heart-burnings between the Emperour and *Saxons*; which upon the Popes Excommunicaon, and ridiculous Deposition, they advanced to more formality, thinking then they had sufficient right and authority to renounce their Soveraign; and in his absence in *Italy*, about his absolution, they struck the nail on the head, quite renouncing their obedience to *Henry*, and chusing for their King or Emperour *Rodolphus*, Earl of *Reinfeldt*, and Duke of *Schwaben*, by some Historians curruptly call'd Duke of *Saxony*. No sooner was this done and known, but both *Henry* and *Rodolph* desire the Popes assistance. *Gregory* gave good words, commanded them both to appear before his Legats in *Germany*, where they should have justice done them: And to his Legats, he gave expres command, to reject him that seem'd refractory, but to confirm him that was obedient as King.

How they behaved themselves I know not, but (*a*) *Sigebert*, a diligent Chronologer, who lived in *Germany* at this time, tells us that this year the Pope sent to *Rodolph* an Imperial Crown with this Inscription:

a An. 1077. and *Matt. Paris*, anno 1077. *Guil. Barclay*, de potest. Papæ, pag. 40, 41.

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus *Diadema* Rodolpho.

The Rock did give this Crown to Peter,
And Peter *sends't to* Ralfe *as meeter.*

But (*b*) *Helmoldus* affords us another Verse, though not much differing in the sence or purpose.

b Chron. *Sclavorum* cap. 28, lib. 1.

Petra dedit Romam Petro, *tibi Papa Coronam.*

The Rock gave Peter *th'* Roman *Town,*
And th' Pope doth give to thee this Crown.

And here methinks 'tis pretty to see what a clutter they make,

to

1000 to prove the *Rock* not to be the confeſſion of, but *Peter* himſelf; the better thereby to intail Infallibility upon his Vicars; and yet here a great Pope makes them different things. But waving this, I wonder who gave *Peter* a Crown or *Rome!* or by what right he came to poſſeſs any Lands or Temporal Juriſdiction in *Italy*; not denying but that people may give away their own (provided they do not thereby begger and ruine themſelves, Children and Families) but putting no truſt or truth in that common ſaying, That *Dominion is founded in Grace or Saintſhip*; ſeeing without doubt, an Heathen hath as much right to what is his, as a Chriſtian, were he St. *Peter* himſelf, to what is his.

As for the firſt Verſe, *Baronius* will not have it to be ſent to *Rodolph* this year, but three years after, *viz.* 1080; but for this he ſhews no Authority, onely his own conjecture, not enough to weigh down the Teſtimony of *Sigebert*, living at the ſame time, and of old *Matthew Paris*. But I ſhall not trouble my ſelf with the timing of theſe Verſes, nor with a Narrative of every Battle and Victory betwixt *Henry* and *Rodolph*: For now were they hard at it; *Henry* no ſooner hearing of *Rodolph*'s Election and Coronation by the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* (once his great friend,) but he raiſeth what force he can, haſtes for *Germany*, and doth his utmoſt to regain his Empire: but paſſing by the bloudſhed, which continued ſometime with eagerneſs of both ſides, let us ſee what *Gregory* doth at *Rome*.

An. 1080. Where we finde him in a Synod, curſing with Bell, Book and Candle all Emperours, Kings, Dukes, *&c.* who ſhall give any *Inveſtitures*, *i. e.* nominate (as all Kings do now) any man to avoid Biſhoprick, or other Eccleſiaſtical Livings or Benefices, within their own Dominions or Juriſdictions, becauſe (forſooth) he could have all thoſe Donations to belong to him and his Succeſſors; for which you may ſuppoſe, they good men deſired no Politick Benefit, either the inriching of their Pockets, and the beggering of all other Countries by making all their Angels flee to *Rome*: Or, by thus having all the Clergy of the World at their Devotion, they might with more facility raiſe Rebellions at pleaſure, and make the Temporal Juriſdiction but a meer ſhadow; the Kings themſelves to be depoſed, when their Holyneſſes pleas'd to withdraw their favours.

And this Council will afford us a good inſtance to this purpoſe, and that concerning our Emperour *Henry*. For here we have him again Excommunicated, and deprived, with the ſalvation of all his Enemies. The form it ſelf is long; but that which moſt concerns us is this.

Beate Petre, *Princeps Apoſtolorum*, *& tu beate* Paule *doctor Gentium*, *dignamini quaſo aures veſtras ad me inclinare*, *meq; clementer exaudire.*——

O Bleſſed *Peter*, Prince of the Apoſtles, and O thou Bleſſed *Paul*, Doctor of the Gentiles, vouchſafe, I pray you, to bow down your ears, and favourably hear me.——

And

1000

And then he tells to theſe Apoſtles a long tale in vindication of himſelf.

Quapropter confidens de judicio & miſericordia Dei, ejuſq; piiſſimæ Matris ſemper Virginis Mariæ, *fultus veſtra authoritate; Sæpe nominatum* Henricum, *quem Regem dicunt, omneſq; fautores ejus, excommunicationi ſubjicio, & anathematis vinculis alligo. Et iterum Regum* Teutonicorum & Italiæ, *ex parte omnipotentis Dei, & veſtra, interdicens ei, omnem poteſtatem & dignitatem illi regiam tollo; & ut nullus Chriſtianorum ei ſicut Regi obediat, interdico: omneſq; qui ei juraverunt, vel jurabunt de Regni dominatione, a juramenti promiſſione abſolvo.*

Wherefore truſting in the judgement and Mercy of God, and his holy Mother the Virgin *Mary*, back'd by your Authority; I do hereby excommunicate and curſe the ſaid *Henry*, whom they call King, and all his favourers and partakers. And I do again, in the Name of God Almighty and you, interdict the ſaid *Henry* the Kingdom of *Germany* and *Italy*, and take from him all Royal Power and Dignity; and command that no Chriſtian ſhall obey him as a King: and all who have or will ſwear obedience to him, I abſolve them from the ſaid Oaths.

Ipſe autem Henricus *cum ſuis fautoribus, in omni congreſſione belli nulla vires, nullamque in vita ſua Victoriam obtineat. Ut autem* Rudolphus *regnum* Teutonicorum *regat & defendat, quem* Teutonici *elegerunt ſibi in Regem. Ad veſtram fidelitatem ex parte veſtra, dono, largior & concedo omnibus ſibi fideliter adherentibus abſolutionem omnium peccatorum, veſtramq; benedictionem in hac vita, & in futura, veſtra fretus fiducia largior. Sicut enim* Henricus *pro ſua ſuperbia, inobedientia & falſitate, a Regni dignitate juſtè abjicitur; ita* Rudolpho *pro ſuo humilitate, obedientia & veritate, poteſtas & dignitas conceditur.*

As for *Henry* and his partakers, let them neither have ſtrength or force in any Battle, nor ever gain Victory: But for *Rodulph*, choſen King, let him govern and defend his Kingdom of (a) *Germany*. And in your names I do give, beſtow, and grant to all thoſe who ſhall adhere faithfully to the ſaid *Rodolph*, abſolution of all their ſins, and your Benediction in this life, and in that to come. For as *Henry* for his pride, diſobedience and falſity, is juſtly depoſed from his Royal Dignity; ſo is the ſame Royal Power and Dignity given to *Rodolph* for his humility, obedience and honeſty.

a It ſeems the Pope would keep *Italy* to himſelf.

(b) *Agite nunc quæſo, Patres & Principes ſanctiſſimi, ut omnis mundus intelligat, & cognoſcat, quia ſi poteſtis in Cœlo legare & abſolvere, poteſtis in Terra Imperia, Regna, Principatus, Ducatus, Marchias, Comitatus & omnium hominum poſſeſſiones pro meritis tollere unicuiq; & concedere,* &c.

Go on therefore, and aſſiſt, moſt holy Fathers and Princes of the Apoſtles, that all the World may underſtand and know, that you who can binde and looſe in Heaven, can alſo on Earth take away Empires, Kingdoms, Principalities, Dukedoms, Marqueſſdoms, Earldoms, & all mens Poſſeſſions, and give them to any other, *&c.*

b Agite igitur Apoſtolorum ſanctiſſimi Principes, & quod dixi veſtra authoritate interpoſita confirmate, ut omnes nunc demum intelligant, ſi poteſtas in Cœlo ligare & ſolvere, in Terra quoq; Imperia, Regna, Principatus & quicquid habere mortales poſſunt auferre & dare, nos dare poſſe, &c. *Platina* vit. Pont.

1000 *Platina*, here again, much differing from *Baronius*; I have placed the latter part of *Platina* in the Margent, that one may give a light and addition to the other.

The Emperour informed of this harsh dealing against him, calls a Synod at *Brixen* in the County of *Tirol* in *Germany*, next the Territories of the *Venetians*, where several Bishops of *Germany*, *Italy*, and *France* met, who declare the Pope *Gregory* guilty of *Simony*, *Usurpation*, *Persecution*, *Perjury*, *Homicide*, *Negromancy* or *Conjuring*, and other crimes; for which they depose him by Vote, and elect into his place as Pope (a) *Guibert*, Archbishop of *Ravenna*, who call'd himself *Clement* the Third.

a *Wibert*, or *Gilbert*, or *Wicbertus*, or *Gibertus*, or *Wigbert*.

This done, the Emperour *Henry* marcheth against *Rodolph*; both Armies meet in *Misnia*, not far from *Geraw*, where they contend valiantly for an Empire: But at last, *Rodolph* having the misfortune to have his right-hand cut off, he was carryed to *Mersburh* for ease and cure, but there he dyed. Some (b) Authors report, that, perceiving himself neer his end, by the great effusion of bloud, to some Bishops then about him, he shew'd the cut-off right-hand, confessing it to be a just judgement, because by that he had formerly sworn his Allegiance to *Henry*. Before this Battle hapned, (c) *Sigebert*, an Author then living, tells us, that the same year *Gregory* undertook to Prophesie, that *this year the false King must dye*, meaning *Henry*; but it seems his Friend and Champion *Rodolph* proved to be the man. *Rodolph* thus dying, was buryed very nobly; of which magnificent Funeral, when some ask'd the Emperour, Why he would permit such pomp to a Rebel? *Henry* replyed ingeniously——*I wish all mine Enemies were as honourably buryed.*

b *H. Mutius*, lib. 15. pag. 130. *Jo. Naucler.* gen. 37. p. 708. *Helmold.* Hist. *Sclav.* c. 28, 29, 30.

c An. 1080.

An. 1081. *Rodolph* being thus slain, *Germany* began to submit; so *Henry* perceiving not much work there to do, resolves for *Italy*, to perfect what he had begun; and thitherward he marcheth with his *Clement* the Third: but by the hardness of the Winter he could not be there as soon as intended; yet at last he enters *Italy*, marcheth against *Rome*, layeth siege to it, which was famous for the many skirmishes and length, it continuing three years. In the mean time, the unruly *Germans* elect against *Henry* one *Herman*; but he wanted strength to make any great Opposition. The next year *Henry* took the (d) *Vatican*, and *Clement* the Third was Inthronized as Pope; and the (e) year after this, he took the City it self. But *Hildebrand* with his Cardinals, and some other friends, had withdrawn themselves, for security, into the strong Castle St. *Angelo*, where all the Imperial Force could not reach them, or make them submit, knowing they should be relieved.

An. 1082.

d Civitas *Leoniana*.

e An. 1084.

In the mean time, *Henry* and his Wife *Bertha* are Crown'd Emperour and Empress by *Clement* in the *Lateran*: From which time *Baronius* begins to reckon this *Henry* for an Emperour, though he had Ruled twenty seven years before; all which time he acknowledgeth to be no Emperour, and so makes a vacancy for so many years; and all this nullity, because he was not Crown'd by a Pope: And this is the humour of many *Roman* Historians, though others account without any such Papal Ceremony.

Gregory perceiving himself at a loss, had formerly sent to *Robert Guiscard*, Chief of the *Normans*, and Lord of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, to beg his help at a dead-lift; who, though then in Wars against the *Grecian*

Grecian Emperour *Alexius*, ſends him ſufficient relief, who deliver him from Caſtle St. *Angelo*; thence they convey him to *Salerno* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, where he (*a*) dyed. *Sigebert*, and lately Father (*b*) *Caron* tells us, that being neer his death, he confeſs'd that he had ſtirr'd up all theſe troubles by the ſuggeſtion of the Devil, *&c.* But the Popes Champions would not have us to believe this; but, on the contray, that he is a Saint: for more confirmation of which, they have placed his name in their (*c*) Calendar; and if we look for Miracles to prove it, we might begin at his Infancie, where we finde him, being the Son of a Carpenter (which (*d*) *Baronius* thinks a good hint) ſtrangely to foretell by his Fathers Chips, his own Dominion over the World from Sea to Sea. And if we take him towards his latter end, leſt his actions (which ſo many queſtion) ſhould be held as illegal, or any what amiſs; we are told pretty ſtories, how they were all approved of, and declared authentick from Heaven by the holy Ghoſt. And thus much for *Gregory* the Seventh, or *Hildebrand*, after whom his partakers in *Italy* choſe *Victor* the Third, who followed the ſteps of his Predeceſſor *Gregory*; by which diviſions *Italy* and *Germany* were pittifully haraſs'd, eſpecially *Rome*, having daily wars and fightings in her very ſtreets, between the Souldiers of the two Popes, *Clement* and *Victor*; but the latter lived not long, dying the ſecond year of his Popedom. 1000

a An. 1085. *Baron.* anno 1098. ſ. 13.

b Remonſtrantia *Hibernorum*, part 5. p. 2.

c 25 May.

d An. 1073. ſ. 16.

Baron. an. 1084. ſ. 10, 11, 12.

After whom the Anti-Imperialiſts choſe *Urban* the Second, by ſome jeeringly call'd *Turbanus*, who alſo ſhew'd himſelf a fierce Enemy againſt the Emperour; which broyls were no ſmall detriment to Chriſtendom, *Clement* and *Urban* curſing one another and their adherents to the purpoſe; inſomuch, that between them, there were few Chriſtians in *Germany* and *Italy* left uncurſt or damn'd, and bleſt and ſaved again at the ſame time. But that which greatly ſtrengthned *Urban*, was the revolt of *Conrade*, Eldeſt Son to *Henry*, whom the Emperour leaving in *Italy* in his abſence, he rebell'd againſt his Father, and took part with *Urban*, who acknowledged him to be King of *Italy*, and accordingly was Crown'd ſo at *Millan*; and to make him more ſure, they had him marryed to the Daughter of *Roger*, Duke of *Sicily*; beſides this, they had taught this their young King ſo much obedience to the See of *Rome*, as to hold the Popes (*e*) Stirrop. And this revolt or unnatural rebellion loſt *Henry* all his intereſt in *Italy*; many of his old Friends adoring the riſing Sun, not thinking but *Conrade* would be Emperour. An. 1088. An. 1093.

e *Baron.* an. 1095. ſ. 8.

But death ſpoils many a deſign, for *Conrade* dyed before his Father, and ſo did *Urban* and *Clement*: Upon which, ſeveral pretended to the Chair of St. *Peter*; but *Paſchal* the Second got the ſureſt footing, between whom and the Emperour was no more agreement than with thoſe gone before: This *Paſchal* confirming all the thundring Excommunications and Deprivations againſt *Henry*, who was now fallen into a great trouble. 1100

For his now Eldeſt Son *Henry* (*Conrade* being dead) was perſwaded by wicked counſel, that it was beſt to look about him, and take the Government upon him, his Father having no right to Rule by reaſon of the *Roman* Decree againſt him. And many fine words did they tell him of St. *Peter*, of Chriſts Vicar, of the power of the Church, *&c.* And thus under the pretence of piety, was he

1100 perſwaded to rebel againſt his Father. This being known, *Germany* was divided; ſome ſtanding for the Father, others for the Son; and both parties behaved themſelves ſo carefully, that both their Armies were powerful, and between them much bloud was ſhed:
An. 1105. but at laſt, the Marqueſs of *Auſtria* and the Duke of *Bohemia* turn'd tail, and fled over to the Son, baſely leaving the old Emperour in the lurch; which ſo leſned his Force, that he was conſtrain'd to take advice, and ſhift for himſelf, with a few truſty Friends.

Being thus down the winde, there were ſmall hopes of recruting, every one now running over to the Conqueror. To be ſhort, a meeting is appointed at *Mentz*, where meet many Biſhops and Nobles, and truſty cards for young *Henry*; and to carry more Authority, *Paſchal* had ſent thither his two Legats; and to make all ſure, young *Henry* himſelf was there, who made pretty canting Speeches to the people, telling them, that he intended no harme to his Father, neither deſired his depoſition, onely took care for the Glory of God, and the honour of St. *Peter*, and Chriſt's Vicar, *&c.* which hony-words pleas'd the ſeditious people exceedingly; ſo that here they conclude the old Emperour not fit to Rule, and that his Son ought to be the man and Governour.

Having gone thus far, it was not now for them to look back; and ſo they very fairly go and have him depoſed: The ſtory it ſelf being ſomewhat lamentable, take as followeth out of their own approved Authors.

Car. Sigonius de Regno *Ital.* anno 1106. *Helmoldus* Hiſt. *Sclavorum*, c. 32. *Alb. Krantzius* Hiſt. *Saxon.* lib. 5. c. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

The Biſhops of *Mentz*, *Colen*, and *Worms*, were order'd to go to him, and to bring from him the Imperial Enſigns, *viz.* the *Croſs*, *Lance*, *Scepter*, *Globe* or *Golden-ball* and *Crown*, with the *Sword*: They went and demanded of him theſe Badges; of which things he demanded the reaſon; they replyed, *Becauſe he had committed Simony in nominating to Biſhopricks and Abbies.* To whom the amazed Emperour thus anſwered: *You, my Lords of* Mentz *and* Colen, *tell me, by the Name of God, what I have received from you.* They confeſs'd that he had received *nothing*. Then, ſaid the Emperour, *Glory be to God, that in this We are found faithful; for your great Dignities might have brought great gain to me, had I gone that way: My Lord of* Worms *likewiſe knows that he received his Biſhoprick freely. My good Fathers, break not your Oaths: I am now old, and you need ſtay but a little. But if there be no remedy, I ſhall deliver the Crown to my Son with mine own hands.*

But they making offer to lay hands upon him, he retired himſelf, put on his Imperial Enſigns, and returned to them, ſaying, *The goodneſs of God, and the election of the Princes, gave theſe to me; and God is able to preſerve them unto me, and to with-hold your hands from this action, although We want Our Forces, though I doubt not of any ſuch violence*, &c. Hereupon the Biſhops ſtay'd a while, as if they knew not what to do; yet at laſt, incouraging one another, they bolted up the Emperour, took the Crown from his head, and then taking him out of his ſeat, took from him all his Royal Robes. The grieved old Emperour fetching a deep ſigh, ſpake to this purpoſe, *The God of vengeance behold, and revenge this iniquity you commit againſt me: I ſuffer ignominy, the like whereof was never heard of: But it is God that juſtly puniſheth me for the ſins of my youth: Yet for all this, are not you free from this offence, having*

having broken your Oaths, and ſo ſhall not avoid the revenge of a juſt Judge. Let God never proſper you upon earth, but let your portion be with him who betray'd Chriſt. 1100

I know ſome hint ſo ſlightly on this ſtory, as if they were willing to paſs it by in ſilence: And others, to mitigate the crime, would gladly perſwade us, that the Emperour did willingly on his own head depoſe himſelf. But 'tis a poor excuſe, to conquer a man by force, beat him ſoundly with an intent to make him deliver, and then to ſay, that he gave his purſe freely, when he was not able to keep it, and you were reſolved to have it. And that the Father had really no minde to part with his Authority and Dominion, his former battles againſt his Son for keeping them may teſtifie, and his after-actions may ſufficiently confirm it: for getting liberty, as conveniently as he could, he withdrew himſelf to *Colen*, thence to *Liege*, and by his Letters declares to all Chriſtian Princes and People, how baſely he had been uſed: for a taſte of which hard uſage, you may peruſe his complaining Letter to *Philip* King of *France*; it being ſomewhat long, I ſhall refer you to the reading of it in [*a*] *Sigebert*. And that he indeavour'd to reſtore himſelf by Arms, by the aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Lorraine*, Hiſtory will tell at large: And are all theſe ſigns of a willing and free reſignation?

a An. 1106.

But at laſt, young *Henry* gets his old Father again into his clutches, where we cannot but ſuppoſe that the ancient Emperour was brought into exceſſive miſery; for proof of which, take this one ſtory teſtified by their own Hiſtorians.

This *Henry*, amongſt other buildings of Devotion, had built at *Spire* a Monaſtery, dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*; and ſeeing thus all means of a free livelyhood taken from him, applyed himſelf to *Gebhard*, Biſhop of *Spire*, one to whom he had been a ſpecial Friend, having not onely indowed the Church well, but alſo advanced him to his honours: Of this Biſhop, he deſires one favour, and that but a poor one too, *viz.* that he would grant him the courteſie to live as an aſſiſtant in that Church, which he himſelf had built and indowed; telling of him withal that he was ſomewhat qualified for ſuch an imployment, becauſe he had been brought up at his book, and had ſome skill to aſſiſt in the Chair. To which ſmall requeſt, the ungrateful Biſhop tartly replies with an [*b*] Oath, that he ſhould not there be entertain'd; though according to their [*c*] *Canon-law*, he ſhould not have been denyed, being the Founder. Which uncharitable denyal ſo afflicted the ancient Emperour, that he could not refrain from tears and ſighing; onely ſaying to the people then about him, in the phraſe of the patient man, [*d*] *Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, at leaſt you my friends; for the hand of God hath touched me.* And thus overwhelmed with grief and poverty, he preſently after dyed at *Liege*, having ſway'd the Scepter above fifty years.

b Per Matrem Domini non faceam tibi quod petis. *Helmold.* Hiſt. *Sclav.* cap. 33.

c 16. q. 7. *Quincunq; fidelium.* Et *Lancelot.* Inſt. Can. f. 1. Tit. 28. *& defertur autem.*

d Job 19, 21.

Now may we ſuppoſe that the living friends of the old Emperour went all to wrack, when the dead could not eſcape the tyranny of their Popiſh Enemies. *Clement* the Third his body, after it had laid in the Grave five years at *Ravenna*, was dig'd up again as unworthy of that holy Earth; and ſo were the Biſhops of his Conſecrating ſerved. Nor did the Corps of the deceaſed Emperour fare any better: for though at firſt it was buryed at *Liege* by the Biſhop of

1100 of that City; but theſe men being under Church-Cenſures for their affection to old *Henry*, they were not permitted to be received into Abſolution and Church-Communion again, till they had dug up the Imperial Corps, and without any Ceremony laid it on unconſecrated ground; and to this their Archbiſhops and Biſhops gave their conſents. This being done, with the approbation of young *Henry*, it was convey'd to *Spire*, and there laid by the (*a*) Popes command without the Church and Church-yard, in a Sepulcher, without any form of buryal, where it remain'd five years: At the end of which time, it pleas'd his Holineſs, *Paſchal*, to conſent that it might have Chriſtian buryal; yet to this Chriſtianity he was forced, being then a (*b*) Priſoner to *Henry* the Son.

a Ant. Daurault. Flor. Exempl. cap. 7. Tit. 16. & 8. Baron. an. 1110. & 4.

b Baron. an. 1111. & 20.

As for *Henry*, he is much commended in Hiſtory for his Nobleneſs and Valour, having fought bravely in ſixty two battles, more than *Cæſar* himſelf had done: And his good benefaction to Churches makes him no enemy to Devotion; yet would the Popelings from him raiſe up a new name of Hereſie, with which they ſeverely brand him: and this they call'd in thoſe times *Henrician* (and ſome *Guibertine*, or *Clementine*, from *Clement* the Third) *Hereſie*, which they would make to be the ſame with *Simony*: and what great Monſter this *Henrician* Hereſie is, one of their great Rabbies, and enemy to all good Government, *viz.* (*c*) *Genebrard*, ſhall inform you; onely this, to chalenge to himſelf the power of giving *Inveſtitures* to Biſhops, which now all Chriſtian Kings do: And yet about this did the Pope then keep ſuch a clutter, as if Religion it ſelf were ſinging her *Requiem*. But this puny ſuppoſed Hereſie, (*d*) *Prateolus* paſſeth by without any notice, though he affords us an *Henrician* Hereſie: but from another man, and upon different Principles, which are nothing to my purpoſe here.

c Ex ejus nomine, quod ipſe jus *Inveſtiturę* mordicus ſibi vendicaret, ſimonia dicta eſt *Henriciana hereſis*, Cron. p. 898.

d Lib. 8.

A man might think that young *Henry* the Fifth having thus got the Empire, ſhould be great friend to the Pope, and they two be hand and glove: But ſtorie tells us the quite contrarie; inſomuch, that now he thinks he is obliged to vindicate the rights of the Empire, though againſt the Pope himſelf; which he formerly looked upon really, (or was perſwaded by the flattering *Romaniſts* to fancie ſo) to be no leſs than abominable Hereſie.

He being Emperour, Pope *Paſchal* declares his intent to meet him at *Ausburg* in *Germany*; but upon ſome jealouſie, he turns into *France*, and at *Troyes* holds a Synod, where they fell to taking away the Emperours power of *Inveſtitures*: but againſt this, *Henry* by his Ambaſſadors proteſted, alledging, that the Biſhops of another Country were not to be judges of his juriſdiction. Upon this, the buſineſs is here laid aſide, and put off till a Synod at *Rome*; and ſo the Pope returns for *Italy*.

Henry the Fifth intended to be Crown'd by the Pope, marcheth for *Italy*, and at laſt gets to *Rome*; where (to be ſhort) he kiſſeth *Paſchals* Toe, deſireth Coronation, and the right of *Inveſtitures*. The Pope is puzzled; the Citizens and Souldiers fall out; and the *Italian* and *German* Writers here, are in as great contradictions as their Country-men fighters; all which I paſs by: yet the Pope and ſome of his Cardinals are ſeiſed upon by the Imperialiſts, and impriſoned, nor reſtored till *Henry* was ſatisfied in his requeſts: So he is Crown'd, and *Inveſtitures* given him, part of which form is this following:

Paſchalis

Paſchalis *Epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, chariſſimo in Chriſto filio* Henrico *glorioſo* Teutonicorum *Regi, & per Dei omnipotentis gratiam* Rom. *Imperatori Auguſto, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem.* ********* *Illam ergo dignitatis prærogativum, quam Prædeceſſores noſtri veſtris Prædeceſſoribus Catholici Imperatoribus conceſſere & privilegiorum paginis confirmavere, nos quoq; dilectioni tuæ concedimus & preſentis privilegii pagina confirmamus ut,* viz. *Regni tui Epiſcopis & Abbatibus libere præter violentiam & Simoniam electis, Inveſtituram virga & annulo conferas; & poſt Inveſtituram, canonice conſecrationem accipiant ab Epiſcopo ad quem pertinuerint. Si quis à Clero vel à populo præter aſſenſum tuum electus fuerit, niſi à te inveſtitiatur, à nemine conſecretur* (*a*) [Exceptis illis qui vel in Archiepiſcoporum vel in *Romani* Pontificis ſolent Inveſtitura conſiſtere] *ſane Archiepiſcopi vel Epiſcopi libertatem habeant à te inveſtitos Abbates & Epiſcopos canonice conſecrare.* ********* *Si quis vero inflato ſpiritu ad periculum animæ ſuæ contra hujuſmodi authoritatis noſtræ decretum agere præſumpſerit, ſciat ſe vinculo Apoſtolicæ maledictionis & Anathematis in hoc ſeculo & in futuro niſi reſipiſcat eſſe alligatum atq; ſubmerſum.*

Paſchal the Biſhop, ſervant of the ſervants of God, to my dear Son in Chriſt, *Henry* the renowned King of the *Germans*, and by the Grace of God Emperour of the *Romans*, greeting and Apoſtolical Benediction.********* Wherefore the ſame prerogative, which our Predeceſſors did grant and confirm, as a priviledge to your Predeceſſors the Catholick Emperours, We do alſo grant, and do hereby confirm to you, *viz.* that you may beſtow Inveſtiture by a Staff and Ring, to the Biſhops and Abbots in your Dominions freely elected, without force and Simony; and that after ſuch Inveſtiture, they may according to the Canons receive Conſecration from their reſpective Biſhops. And if any, either Clergy or Laymen, be elected without your approbation or Inveſtiture, let none dare Conſecrate him; (*a*) [*but ſtill excepting thoſe* (as ſome Priviledge-places) *who by cuſtom are to receive Inveſtitures from their Archbiſhops, or the Biſhops of* Rome] and undoubtedly Archbiſhops or Biſhops may have liberty to Conſecrate canonically thoſe whom the Emperour hath Inveſted. ********* But if any to the danger of his ſoul ſhall preſume to act againſt this our Decree, let him know himſelf to be bound and ru[illegible]ed in the Chain of the Apoſtolical Malediction and Curſe, not onely in this world, but in that to come, unleſs he repent.

1100 *Jo. Naucler. Gen. 38. p. 738.*

a Baronius hath not this Exception in his Copy, an. 1111. § 25.

Beſides this confeſſion of the Pope, all the Citizens in *Italy* ſware this following Oath of Allegiance to the Emperour.

Ab hac die in antea fidelis ero Domino in Regi Henrico: *non ero in Concilio vel in facto, quo ipſe perdat vitam vel membrum, vel quo capiatur, vel aſſiliatur contra ſuum velle: adjutorio ero ei retinere Civitatem noſtram, &*

From this day forward I will be faithful to our Lord King *Henry*: I will do nothing by advice or action, whereby he may looſe life or limb, or be taken or ſet upon, againſt his own will: I will be aſſiſtant to keep

1100 *Burgas & ſuburbia, Epiſcopatum, comitatum, omnem uſum & honorem Regni & Imperii, quem Prædeceſſores ſui Reges & Imperatores habuerunt in prædictis locis, contra omnes homines qui voluerint auferre vel minuere; nulli mortalium in prædicta Civitate vel locis obediam pro Epiſcopo, immo pro poſſe eum proſequor, niſi illi ſoli, quem prædictus Dominus Rex eidem Civitati conceſſerit Epiſcopum dono & Inveſtitura ſua; hæc omnia obſervabo, ita me Deus adjuvet.*

keep to him our City, the Towns and Suburbs, the Biſhoprick and County, with the benefit and honour of the Kingdom and Empire, which his Predeceſſors Kings and Emperours had in the ſaid places, againſt all thoſe who would take away or leſſen them. I will obey no man as Biſhop in the ſaid City or Places (but on the contrary, according to my power withſtand him) but him onely, whom our Lord and King ſhall grant to be Biſhop by his Gift and Inveſtiture: all theſe things will I keep and perform, as God me help.

Yet for all this, no ſooner was the Emperour gone out of *Italy*, but the Pope calls a Council in the *Lateran*, where he nulls the former grant of Inveſtiture, as being (*a*) *againſt the holy Ghoſt*, and obtain'd by force; though he had formerly damn'd (*b*) thoſe who ſhould break it. In *Germany*, *Albert* Archbiſhop of *Mentz* bandies againſt *Henry*, and is by Order impriſoned: but the Emperour going to that City to hold a *Diet* or Parliament, is aſſaulted by the Citizens, and in danger of his life, they threatning to kill him, if *Albert* be not ſet at liberty, and other favours granted him. Yet was he farther troubled, ſome Biſhops, and others at *Colen*, ſeeking to deprive him, becauſe Excommunicated by the Pope; but having blown away theſe, he marcheth to *Italy*, where he had himſelf Crown'd again by *Maurice* Archbiſhop of *Braga* in *Portugal*, whom afterwards (*Paſchal* being dead) he nominated Pope, and was call'd *Gregory* the Eighth, in oppoſition to *Gelaſius* the Second, whom *Henry* ſaid could not be Pope, becauſe elected without his conſent.

a 'Quod eſt contra Spiritum Sanctum.

b—Diviſus ſit à Regno Chriſti & Domini qui pactum iſtud rumpere aut violare tentaverit. *Baron.* anno 1110. & 26.

But at laſt, *Henry* was ſo peſter'd in *Italy* and *Germany*, that to ſave himſelf, he was forced to be reconciled to Pope *Caliſtus* the Second, (who ſucceeded *Gelaſius*) and to grant to him the Inveſtitures of Biſhops; and ſo was abſolved from his Excommunication. So much miſchief had the Popes ſtubbornneſs to keep Inveſtitures made in the World, though now all Catholick Kings keep the ſame Priviledge, either by *Conge d'eſlires*, or ſuchlike nominations.

Some Hiſtorians tell us, that formerly the Popes uſed to date their Bulls, Epiſtles, &c. from the years of the Emperours Raign; but *Paſchal* the Second firſt alter'd this, and dated his Letters from the year of his Popedom. And now I talk of datings, I might ſpeak here of *Philip* the Firſt of *France*, of his Excommunication; and how ſome would thence conclude, that he was thereby deprived from his Kingdom, and bring for a proof ſome datings not with the Raign of the King, but the year and Rule of Chriſt, under this form—— *Regnante Chriſto*:—— But ſeeing (*c*) *Scipion Dupleix* ſlights it as of no validity, and that vaſtly read *David*

An. 1100.

c Hiſt. de *France*, tom. 2. p. 89. & 5.

David Blondellus hath in a particular large (*a*) Treatiſe ſhewn its miſtake, and that ſuch *Forms* have been many times uſed when no Excommunication or Cenſure obliged it; I ſhall not trouble the Reader nor my ſelf any farther with it. 1100

a De formulæ *Regnante Chriſto* uſu.

Chap. III.

1. *The Kings of* England *denyed the Popes Coercive Authority over them, or their Dominions.*
2. *The troubles of* England, *by the arrogancie and obſtinacie of* Thomas à Becket, *againſt his Soveraign, King* Henry *the Second.*

Sect. 1.

The Kings of England *denyed the Popes Coercive Authority over them, or their Dominions.*

HAving now ſeen in part how the greateſt Emperours have been toſt about by the Popes, it will not be amiſs, to hint at their indeavours to reduce *England* to the ſlavery of their humours; and what may we not expect from their pretended grand Spiritual juriſdiction, when we ſhall ſee an Archbiſhop, and a born Subject too, bandy againſt his Soveraign, *Henry* the Second? which ſtory is here related.

As for *England*, the Pope would be Lord over it, as well as other Nations; nor did his Religion any way advance the Obedience and Allegiance of Subjects. For though one Pope had approved of King *William* the Firſt his Conqueſt, by ſending him a (*b*) conſecrated Banner, an *Agnus Dei*, and one of St. *Peters* Hairs, in way of his good ſpeed: Yet the next Pope, *viz. Gregory* the Seventh, demands fealty from him, as may appear by the Kings Anſwer, in Sir *Robert Cottons* Library.

b *Speed*, book 9. c. 2. & 2. Dr. *Geo. Hakewell's* Anſw. to Dr. *Cariers* Letter, pag. 141.

Hubertus *Legatus tuus (Religioſe Pater) ad me veniens, ex tua parte me admonuit, quatenus tibi & ſucceſſoribus tuis fidelitatem facerem, & de pecunia quem Anteceſſores mei ad* Romanam *Eccleſiam mittere ſolebant melius cogitarem; unum admiſi, alterum non admiſi: fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo;*

Hubert your Legat (Holy Father) coming unto me, advertiſed me as from you, that I was to do fealty to you and your Succeſſors; and that I ſhould bethink my ſelf better of the Money which my Predeceſſors were wont to ſend the Church of *Rome*; the one I admitted, the other I admitted not: The fe-

1100 *quia nec ego promiſi, nec Anteceſſores meos Anteceſſoribus tuis id feciſſe comperio.*

alty I would not perform; neither will I, becauſe neither my ſelf promiſed it, nor do I finde that my Predeceſſors performed it to yours.

Upon which refuſal, ſome ſuppoſe *Gregory* returned that furious and uncivil Letter (ſeen amongſt his other (*a*) Epiſtles) to his ſaid Legat *Hubert*; in which he accuſed the King of *Impudence*, and that he had done more againſt the Church, than all the (*b*) Pagan Kings themſelves had offer'd.

a Lib. 7. Ep. 1.

b Nemo omnium Regni etiam *Paganorum*, contra Apoſtolicam ſedem hoc præſumpſit tentare, quod is non erubuit facere. *Ib.*

Nor did his Son, King *Henry* the Firſt, acknowledge any ſubjection to the See of *Rome*; for though Pope *Paſchal* the Second expected it, and accordingly thus wrote to him, to put him in minde of it.

Paſchalis *ſervus ſervorum Dei, dilecto filio* Henrico *illuſtri* Anglorum *Regi, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem.*

Paſchal the ſervant of ſervants of God, to our beloved Son *Henry*, the renowned King of *England*, health and Apoſtolical Benediction.

Cum de manu Domini largius honorem, divitias, pacemq; ſuſceperis, miramur vehementius, & gravamur, quod in Regno poteſtateq; tua Beatus Petrus, *& in B.* Petro *Dominus honorem ſuum juſtitiamq; perdiderit: Sedis enim Apoſtolicæ Nuntii vel literæ præter juſſum Regiæ Majeſtatis, nullam in poteſtate tua ſuſceptionem vel aditum promerentur: nullus inde clamor, nullum inde judicium ad ſedem Apoſtolicam deſtinatur.*——

Since you have plentifully received Honour, Riches and Peace from the hand of the Lord; We exceedingly wonder, and take it in ill part, that in your Kingdom, and under your Government, St. *Peter*, and in St. *Peter* the Lord hath loſt his Honour and Right, in as much as the *Nuntio's* and *Breves* of the See Apoſtolick are not thought worthy entertainment or admittance into your Dominions, without your Majeſties Warrant: No Complaint now, no Appeal comes from thence to the Apoſtolick See.——

To which King *Henry* the Firſt (after ſome terms of Compliment) replies in this manner:

—Eos Honores & eam Obedientiam quam tempore Patris mei Anteceſſores veſtri in Regno Angliæ *habuerunt, tempore meo ut habeatis volo; eo videlicet tenore, ut dignitates, uſus & conſuetudines, quas Pater meus tempore Anteceſſorum veſtorum in Regno* Angliæ, *Ego tempore veſtro in eodem Regno meo integre obtineam. Notumq; habeat Sanctitas veſtra, quod me vivente, Deo*

—That Honour and Obedience which your Predeceſſors had in the Kingdom of *England*, during the raign of my Father, my will is, that you ſhould have in my time, with this condition, That my ſelf fully and wholly enjoy all the Dignities, Prerogatives and Cuſtoms, which my Father enjoy'd in the ſaid Kingdom, in the time of your Predeceſſors. And I would that your

auxiliante, Dignitates & uſus Regni Angliæ *non minuentur: Et ſi Ego (quod abſit) in tanta me dejectione ponerem, Optimates mei, imo totius* Angliæ *populus id nullo modo pataretur.*

your Holineſs ſhould underſtand, that during my life, the Dignities and Prerogatives of the Crown of *England*, (by Gods Grace) ſhall not be diminiſhed. And if I ſhould ſo far debaſe my ſelf (which God forbid) my Lords and Commons would by no means indure it. 1100

Habita igitur, (Chariſſime Pater) utiliori deliberatione, ita ſe erga nos moderetur benignitas veſtra, ne (quod invitus faciam) à veſtra me cogatis recedere obedientia.——

Wherefore (moſt dear Father) upon better advice, let your gentleneſs be ſo tempered towards us, that I be not inforced (which I ſhould unwillingly do) to withdraw my ſelf from your obedience.——

But to ſave my ſelf trouble, I ſhall refer the Reader to Sir (*a*) *Edward Coke* and Mr. (*b*) *Prynne*, where he may abundantly ſatisfie himſelf, that the Kings of *England* not onely ſlighted the Papal Coercive Power, but all along exerciſed Authority in and over Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes: Though the Pope made it his buſineſs to trample upon all Temporal Juriſdiction, and make it a meer ridiculous ſhadow, without life or ſoul, but as it received a being from *Rome*.

a Rep. part 5. *b* Hiſt. of the the Popes intolerable Uſurpations.

But leaving theſe, we might tell you, how a little after, the *Engliſh* had got the Whim of a conditional *Covenant*, and which is as bad, *Perjury*. For though they had ſworn Allegiance to *Maude* the Empreſs, yet her they reject, and ſwear a broken conditional ſubjection to *Stephen*: Yet when they ſaw him a little downward, then they caſt him off, and play the ſame conditional knack to the Empreſs *Maude*.

Speed, & 1,4,30.

Sect. 2.

The troubles of England, *by the arrogancie and obſtinacie of* Thomas à Becket, *againſt his Soveraign, King* Henry *the Second.*

HOwever, waving theſe, (though treaſonable enough) we ſhall come to the next, *viz.* King *Henry* the Second, of part of whoſe Reign it will not be amiſs to give ſome hints, ſeeing ſo great a man as *Thomas Becket* is concerned in it, whom, ſome call *Saint* and *Martyr*, whilſt others allow him no better title than a *Traytor*. But of this with all brevity.

This *Thomas Becket* was Son to one *Gilbert Becket*, a Citizen of *London*; and by the favour of *Theobald*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was made an Archdeacon in that See, and was placed about the perſon of *Henry*, then but Duke; who coming to be King, advanced him to be Lord High Chancellor of *England*; and upon the death

1100 of the former *Theobald*, made him Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Having thus ſeen the great riſe of *Thomas* by the Kings love, grace and favour; let's now ſee how he loſt the affection of King *Henry*.

For ſome time he thus lived in great repute with the King, though *Henry* was a little troubled at the humour or deſign of *Thomas*, to throw up his Chancellorſhip without acquainting him with it. After this, the Pope call'd a Council at *Tours*, whither went the two Archbiſhops, and ſeveral Biſhops of *England*; having firſt procured the Kings [a] leave for going thither: Where an ancient [b] Hiſtorian tells us, that *Thomas* privately ſurrendred up his Archbiſhoprick to the Pope, as if the Kings Nomination or Inveſtiture had not been ſufficient, which was reſtored again by the Pope, and ſo *Thomas* was cockſure of both Preſentations and Authorities. And probably this underhand-dealing, and nulling of his juriſdiction, might ſomewhat alienate the affection of *Henry*, although [c] *Baronius* will not allow of any ſuch ſurrender at this time, though for his diſſent we muſt not be content onely with his word, neither producing Reaſon or Authority for his ſo doing; ſince 'tis probable enough, being thus back'd with the Teſtimony of *Neubrigenſis*, that *Thomas* might yeild it up now in his Proſperity for a farther confirmation; and in his low condition do it alſo, to procure pity, and ſo make his party there the ſtronger againſt his King and Soveraign, which was then his main deſign.

a Per miſſionem Regis. *Matt. Paris*, an. 1164.

b *Guil. Neubrig.* lib. 2. c. 16.

c An. 1163. § 29.

Add to theſe, the ſtrange Priviledges the Clergy boaſted of, by exempting themſelves from all ſecular juriſdiction, were the crime never ſo villanous; inſomuch, that a Prieſt of the Dioceſs of *Sarum* having murder'd one, *Thomas* had him deprived and placed in an Abbey, that ſo he might not fall under greater puniſhment (according to his deſert) by the Kings Juſticiaries, leſt, forſooth, he ſhould ſuffer twice for one fault. And upon this laſt pretended Priviledge may we lay the Foundation of the following troubles.

For the King perceiving no ſigns of Peace and Tranquillity amongſt his Subjects, if this exception of the Clergy was permitted, the people of that Coat having committed above an hundred Murthers in the ſhort time he had yet Reigned; was reſolved, that all the Clergy, who were taken in any *Robbery*, *Murder*, *Felony*, *burning of Houſes*, and the like, ſhould be tryed in Temporal Courts, and ſuffer, as well as Laymen. Againſt this wholeſome Law, the Archbiſhop oppoſeth himſelf, and will onely grant that all Clergy-men ſo offending ſhould be tryed in the Spiritual Courts, and by men in Orders; who, if they were found guilty, ſhould for the firſt time onely be deprived of their Office and Benefice; yet he granted that for the ſecond time they might lye at the Kings pleaſure, as ſome think, though [d] others confeſs that he would not allow them at any time to be delivered over to the Temporal Authority.

Speed. § 14.

d *Baron.* an. 1163. § 31.

And for theſe irrational Priviledges, *Thomas* was ſo reſolute, that at *Weſtminſter* he openly oppoſed the King, and got others to do ſo too; which mightily incenſed his Majeſty, but pleaſed Pope *Alexander* the Third to the purpoſe; yet fearing their hearts might fail them, he ſends his incouraging lines into *England*, commanding them by vertue of their obedience, to ſtand firm for the Exemption

of

of the Clergy, nor at all to conſent to the King; and that if he, or any of the reſt had in theſe times promiſed obedience to the King, not to keep ſuch promiſes: but all this did not much prevail. 1100 *Baron.* an. 1163. & 39,40.

For the King was reſolved to have the Laws and Cuſtoms of his Anceſtors kept up in full force; and carryed his buſineſs ſo well, that at laſt, he had not onely the other Biſhops of his opinion, but *Thomas* alſo conſenting, who faithfully promiſed, and ſware to obſerve them. And for their farther ratification and authority, the King calls an Aſſembly at *Clarendon* in *Wiltſhire*, where the Biſhops and Nobility meet him, and *John of Oxford* ſat as Preſident. But here *Thomas*, for all his former promiſe, at firſt abſolutely falls off, and denyeth conſent to the Conſtitutions; though at laſt he was ſo far worked upon, one way or another, that he there publickly ſware, that in the *word of a Prieſt*, and *ſincerely*, he would obſerve them to the King and his Heirs for ever. But when the King would have him to Subſcribe and Seal to them (as the other Biſhops had done) he abſolutely refuſed, and retracted what he had formerly ſworn.

The Conſtitutions in all were ſixteen; but thoſe which *Thomas* oppoſed, were ſuch as theſe:

That Prieſts guilty of Felony, Murther, &c. *ſhould be tryed before the Secular Judges.*

That it ſhould not be lawful for any Archbiſhop or Biſhops to depart the Kingdom, and go to the Pope upon his ſummons, without the Kings Licenſe.

That no Biſhops ſhould Excommunicate any holding of the King in Capite, *or put any other of his Officers under interdict without the Kings Licenſe, or information to the Judge.*

That if the Archdeacon cannot decide the Controverſie, they may go to the Biſhop, and from him to the Archbiſhop, and laſtly to the King; ſo that none ſhall appeal to the Pope of Rome, *for any cauſe whatſoever, without the Kings Licenſe,* &c.

Theſe and ſuchlike were approved of at *Clarendon* by all, onely *Thomas* excepted, who thought himſelf to have ſinn'd ſo grievouſly for the former conſenting to them, that by way of Penance, he ſuſpended himſelf from his Prieſtly Function; but the Pope preſently [a] reſtored him to that, and abſolved him.

The King, we may ſuppoſe, was more and more incenſed againſt *Thomas* for his obſtinacie: and for to cloſe up all, a Parliament was held at *Northampton*, where *Thomas* was to appear, though he had indeavoured to flee beyond Seas; but being beat back by croſs windes, he conceal'd that purpoſe, and looked as if he had intended no ſuch thing. All being met at *Northampton*, *Thomas* is accuſed of ſeveral things; and whilſt they are conſulting concerning him, he cauſed to be ſung before him at the Altar, *The Princes ſit and ſpeak againſt me, and the ungodly perſecute me,* &c. Thus would he have the Office for St. *Stephen*, though it was not then his day; and againſt the Cuſtom, he wore the *Pall*. This being finiſhed, he took up his Silver *Croſier* in his hands (an action not heard of before, as they ſay) and ſo enters into the Court, though ſeveral of his well-wiſhers perſwaded him from ſuch a defying poſture, as if thereby he carryed his Protection, Exemption or Appeal.

[a] *Matt. Paris*, anno 1164.

1100 peal. The Bishops advised him to submit; but he refusing, they adjudged him guilty of [a] Perjury, which they declared to him by *Hilarius*, Bishop of *Chichester*, and so disclaimed from that time forward all obedience to him, as a perjured man.

a Aliquando nostei fuisti Archiepiscopus, & tenebamur tibi obedire; sed quia Domino Regi fidelitarem juraſti, hoc est vitam membra & terrenam dignitatem sibi per te fore salvam, & consuetudines, quas ipse repetit conservandas, & tu eas interis destruere, præcipue cum spectent ad terrenam suam dignitatem & honorem: idcirco te reum perjuriis dicimus, & perjuro Archiepiscopo de cætero non habemus obedire. *Bar.* ℘. 29.

The Nobility also pronounce him a *Traytor*: but he, slighting them all as no competent Judges over him, holding up his *Crosier*, appeal'd to the Pope of *Rome*; and so withdrawing himself, with what speed and secresie he could, [illegible]wafted himself over into *Flanders*, and so to go to the Pope; to whom he resigned his Archbishoprick, but had it presently confirmed to him again. Thus was *Thomas* caress'd by the Pope and King of *France*, let the King perswade what he will to the contrary; yet the King thought it was good policie and security, to shew his disdain and resolution against him and his: Whereupon he Orders the Sheriffs and Judges of *England*, to seise upon all those who appeal'd to the Pope or *Thomas*, with the neer Relations of all such men as were with *Thomas*; had also *Thomas*'s Revenues seis'd upon, and the livings of those who went with him sequester'd; and St. *Peters Pence* to be gather'd, but not pay'd to the Pope till farther Order.

Matt. Paris, an. 1164.

However, there were some means used towards a settlement, to which purpose Messengers were sent to and fro, between the King and Pope; and at last, a meeting agreed on between them, the better to decide the business: But this design was spoil'd by *Thomas*, who perswaded the Pope to have a care of the Kings cunning, and not to treat with him, unless he were also present, intimating to the Pope, as if the King were a jugler or dissembler. Thus did *Thomas* gain so much upon the Pope, that this meeting vanished; the Pope over-perswaded not to treat, but in the presence of *Thomas*, though against the former Agreement. And so *Henry* was resolved not to confer any thing with the Pope, in the presence or competition of *Thomas* his Subject.

Baron. anno 1165. ℘ 10.

This meeting or half-agreement thus broke off, not long after *Thomas* writes to the King, beginning, —— *Expecting, we have expected, that the Lord would look upon you; and that being converted, you would do penance, departing from your perverse ways* —— And then tells him how Bishops used to Excommunicate Kings; and also writes to the Bishops of *England*, commanding them to issue out Censures against those who hinder Appeals to the Pope, *&c.* absolves all from the Oaths they made to keep any contrary Constitution. And to carry up *Thomas* against all opposition, and to make his Authority more glorious and formidable to his Enemies, the Pope creates him Legat in *England*.

Baron. anno 1166. ℘ 45.

Id. ℘ 54.

Anno 1167. *Bar.* ℘. 21.

Alexander *servus servorum Dei, Dilecto fratri* Tho. *Archiepiscopo* Cant. *salutem & Apostol. Benedictionem.*

Alexander, servant of the servants of God, to our beloved Brother, *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury* greeting, and Apostolical Benediction.

Sacro-Sancta Rom. *Eccles.*

The most Holy Church of *Rome*

digniores perſonas; & eas maxime, quas honeſtate, prudentia & literatura, & eminentia virtutum præfulgere cognoſcit: ampliori conſuevit charitate amplecti gloria & honore prævenire.——— ——Inde eſt, quod nos tibi Legationem *totius* Angliæ *(excepto Epiſcopatu Eboracenſi) benigno favore concedimus, ut ibi vice noſtra corrigas quæ inveniri corrigenda, & ad honorem Dei & Sacroſanctæ* Romanæ *Eccleſiæ, & ſalutem animorum, ſtatuas, ædifices & plantes, quæ ſtatuenda fuerint & plantanda.———*

Dat. *Anagniæ.*

Rome always uſed to embrace with great chariry, and prefer in glory and honour perſons of eminent worth, and them eſpecially whom ſhe knoweth to be moſt famous for honeſty, wiſdom, learning, and excellencie of vertues. ——————— This is the cauſe, that with Our loving favour, We grant and beſtow on you the *Legantine* Authority over all *England* (excepting onely the Archbiſhop of *York*) to the end, that within your juriſdiction, in Our place and authority, you correct what you finde worthy amendment; and that to the honour of God, the holy Church of *Rome*, and for the ſalvation of Souls, you do conſtitute, build and plant, whatſoever is to be ſetled and planted.———

Given at Anagni. 1100

Being thus rais'd above himſelf, countenanced and upheld againſt all oppoſition, he hurries into *England* to the Biſhops a threatning Letter againſt the King, and the Conſtitutions confirm'd at *Clarendon*, telling the Biſhops———

That We have too long, and too much forborn the King of England; *nor hath the Church of God gain'd any benefit by this Our enduring. It ſeemeth dangerous and intollerable for us to leave any longer unpuniſhed (as hitherto We have done) ſo great exceſſes of Him and his Officers againſt the Church of God, and Eccleſiaſtical perſons; eſpecially, ſince We have very often endeavoured by Meſſengers, Letters, and all manner of means (as became Us) to recal him from his perverſe purpoſe: Becauſe therefore, he will hardly afford Us the hearing, much leſs attentively liſten unto Us; We have, with Invocation of the Grace of the holy Ghoſt, publickly condemned and declared as void, that Deed of Writing, with the Authority of that Indenture, wherein are contain'd not the Cuſtoms, but rather the wicked divices, whereby the Church of* England *is diſturb'd and confounded. And have hereby alſo Excommunicated all the Obſervers, Exactors, Counſellors, Aſſiſtants, and Defenders of the ſame. And do alſo abſolve by the Authority of God and Us, all you Biſhops from that promiſe, whereby you were bound, contrary to the Conſtitution of the Church, for the obſervation of them.* And then he rehearſeth the ſaid ſix Conſtitutions in controverſie between the King and Him; and then nameth ſeveral perſons of Quality, whom he did thereby Excommunicate. *Baron.* & 26.

Of theſe things he alſo giveth the Pope notice, repeating in a manner the ſame reproaches againſt the King, with an additional commendation that he *grows worſe and worſe*, whom he was alſo reſolved Id. & 34.

1100 reſolved to Excommunicate. Upon this, the *Engliſh* Biſhops write to *Thomas*, how they had once ſome hopes of a peace, hearing how
Id. & 43. he gave himſelf to prayer, faſting, &c. —— *The way to recover the benefits of a peaceable reconciliation: hereby was conceived an hope that you might from above bring into his Majeſties heart ſuch favour, that he would out of Kingly mercy relent in his wrath towards us, and never recall to minde the injuries offer'd by reaſon of your departure. Your friends and well-wiſhers regain'd ſome acceſs unto his Majeſty, whilſt theſe things were thus divulged of you; inſomuch as he graciouſly admitted all ſuch as were ſuitors for reſtoring you into his former favour. But now, by the relation of ſome, we underſtand, which we cannot but with grief remember, that you publiſhed againſt him a ſeverer Commination; wherein you let paſs all ſalutation; wherein you practice no Counſel or Petition for Grace; wherein you neither adviſe, nor write any thing that ſavoureth favourably; but with all extremity do rigorouſly menace Interdiction or Excommunication againſt him: Which were it as ſharply executed, as it is bitterly ſpoken, we ſhould not then hope for peace, but ſhould fear to be inflamed with an irrevocable and eternal hatred.——Thus, —— whilſt, as it were, with a drawn ſword you joyn battle, you have not left for your ſelf any place for Petition. Wherefore (O Father) we charitably adviſe you, not to heap labours upon labours, and injuries upon injuries; but ſetting threatning aſide, you would rather imbrace patience and humility. Commend your cauſe to Divine Clemencie, and your ſelf to the grace and mercy of your Soveraign; and in ſo doing, you ſhall heap and caſt together coals of fire upon the heads of many.———— It is better to be highly commended for voluntary poverty, than to be openly taxed by all men for ingratitude for a received Benefit. It is deeply rooted into the minds of all men, how gracious our Lord the King hath been unto you; unto how great dignity he hath rais'd you from poor degree, and received you into his favour ſo freely and frankly, as the ample bounds of his Dominions, reaching from the Northern Sea, to the* Pyrenean *Mountains, were by him ſo abſolutely ſubject unto your power, as through all thoſe Principalities, they were onely accounted happy, who could finde but favour in your ſight: And that no worldly mutability might overthrow your proſperity and glory, he laid your foundation moſt firm, in the poſſeſſion belonging to God: And, notwithſtanding his Mother diſſwaded, the Kingdom eryed out againſt it, and the Church of God (ſo far as ſhe could) ſighed and groan'd thereat; he indeavoured by all means poſſibly to raiſe you unto the dignity of your preſent preferment, hoping he ſhould hereafter Reign bleſſedly, and enjoy your aſſiſtance and counſel with exceeding ſecurity. If therefore, where he expected ſecurity to defend him, he ſhall finde a ſword to offend: What rumour will be ſpread of you by all men? what a reward? what a remembrance will this be of a requital never heard of before? Forbear therefore (if you pleaſe) to wrong your fame: forbear to injure your Renown, and indeavour to overcome with humility your King, and your ſon with charity,* &c.———— And at the end, tells him of his prepoſterous and raſh Excommunication of the [*a*] Biſhop and [*b*] Dean of *Salisbury*, before the offence was examin'd.—— *A new order of Judgement, and hitherto in the Laws and Canons (as we hope) unknown, firſt to condemn, and then to examine the offence.*——

a Jocelin.
b John of Oxford.

The

The *Engliſh* Biſhops write alſo to the Pope, giving great commendations of their King, and telling the Pope the occaſion and ſtory of theſe troubles between *Henry* and *Thomas*, *viz.* How that the King —— *finding ſometimes the peace of his Kingdoms not a little moleſted with the outragious exceſſes of ſome inſolent Clerks, with due reverence to the Clergy, referred their offences to the Biſhops, Judges of the Church, that one ſword might aſſiſt another, and that the Spiritual Power might confirm and eſtabliſh in the Clergy that peace, which he maintain'd in the people. Wherein the zeal of each party appear'd more plainly; the Biſhops affirming that murther, or any other like crime, ſhould onely be puniſhed in the Clergy by degradation: The King, on the contrary, being of opinion, that this puniſhment did not ſufficiently anſwer the offence; neither was it proviſion enough for maintenance of peace, if a (a) Reader or Sub-Deacon killing ſome famous man renowned for Religion or Dignity, ſhould eſcape free, with loſs onely of this Order.* 1100

a Lector aut Acolythus.

The Clergy *therefore upholding the (b)* Order *eſtabliſhed from Heaven, and our Lord the King perſecuting onely the offence (as we hope) with a juſt hatred, and intending to plant his peace more deeply; a certain holy contention aroſe amongſt us, which (we truſt) the plain and honeſt intention of both parties may excuſe. Hereupon, not with any ambition of inlarging his Dominions, not with any conceit of oppreſſing the Churches Liberties, but with a deſire of ſetling and confirming peace; it went ſo far, that the King would produce to light the Cuſtoms of his Kingdom, and Dignities anciently obſerved, and quietly and reverently yeilded by perſons Eccleſiaſtical to former Kings in the Kingdom of* England: *and to the end that hereafter no longer the thred of contention might be ſpun, he would have the ſame openly known. Wherefore the moſt ancient Biſhops and great Peers of the Realm, being firſt ſworn by their faith, and the hope which they had in Almighty God; and then making ſearch into the ſtate of fore-paſſed times, the Dignities of the Crown being ſought, were laid open, and by the teſtimonies of men of the greateſt accompt in the Kingdom were publiſhed.* "*Loe here the cru-*
"*elty of our Lord the King againſt the Church of God, which fame*
"*hath ſo ſpread over the whole world! Behold here his perſecution!*
"*And theſe are the works ſo divulged for wicked, both here and e-*
"*very where!*

b i. e. of holy Orders, or Clergy.

And then they tell him, how willing the King is to be adviſed by the Church, that peace might be —— *And truly (Father) our ſollicitation had long ſince (as we hope) obtain'd the deſir'd end of this wiſhed peace, had not our Father the Lord of* Canterburies *bitter provocations ſtir'd up afreſh this diſcord, now laid aſleep, and almoſt abſolutely extinguiſhed. For he from whoſe patience we hitherto expected peace, from whoſe modeſty the recovery of the Kings favour, aſſailed him afreſh, and without reſpect of his Majeſty (at ſuch time as he led his Armies lately againſt the Peace-breakers) with ſevere and terrible Letters, nothing ſavoring of fatherly Devotion, or Paſtoral Patience, but moſt bitterly threatning him with ſentence of Excommunication, and his Kingdom with an Interdict: whereas, on the otherſide, he rather ought with admonition to have mollified him, and with merits and meekneſs overcome him. If the Kings humility be ſo requited, what will be determin'd againſt the ſtubborn? If the ready devotion of obedience be*

1100 *esteem'd so slightly, in what manner shall wilful obstinacie be revenged?*

Nay father, to these so grievous threats, are added yet matters far more grievous; for he Excommunicated some of his Majesties Liegemen, most inward with our Lord the King; the Principal of his Privy Council, who managed the counsels of the King, and the affairs of his Kingdom: and all this, being neither cited, nor impleaded, neither (as they say or call it) guilty of any crime, nor convicted, nor confessing any thing.

Yea, he went farther yet, insomuch, as he suspended from his Priestly and Episcopal Office, our reverend Brother, the Bishop of Salisbury, *being absent, undefended; neither confest, nor convict; before ever the cause of his suspension was approved of by the advice of those of the same Province, or any others. If therefore this course of proceedings in judgements so prepostrous (we spare to say inordinate) be followed concerning the King and Kingdom, what will be the end (considering the time is evil, and yeildeth great occasion of malice) but that the band of grace and favour, whereby the Kingdom and Priesthood have hitherto been united, will be rent asunder, &c?*—— And so they appeal against the Archbishop *Thomas*.

The Church being somewhat troubled with these divisions, it was the earnest desire of several to procure a peace; and this the Pope himself wish'd, having work enough to do with the Emperour *Frederick*. To accomplish this, upon the desire also of *Henry*, he sends two Legates *a Latere*, *viz.* Cardinal *William* and Cardinal *Otto*; and accordingly impowered them with instructions to manage that accommodation in *France*. He writes also to (*a*) *Thomas*, desiring him by all means to give himself to peace; and rather than not to have concord, to wink at some things, and yeild for a while. Yet, as if *Thomas* were not great enough before, he intended to raise him above all in *France*; to which purpose, he resolved to make him Legat also over all those Churches; but before he could bestow upon him that Legantine Authority, he was to desire the King of *France* his leave, which accordingly he did by (*b*) Letter.

An. 1168.

a Bar. anno 1168. § 3, 4.

b § 7, 8, 9.

As for the manner of the Treaty of Peace between the King and *Thomas*, take the story of it from the Legates themselves to the Pope.

§ 33.

To our most blessed Father and Lord, *Alexander*, &c. *William* and *Oddo*, by the same Grace Cardinals, &c.

Coming to the (*c*) *Dominions of the renowned King of* England, *we found the controversie between him and* Canterbury *aggravated in far worse sort (believe us) than willingly we could have wished. For the King with the greatest part of his followers affirmed how the Archbishop with great vehemencie* (*d*) *incensed the most worthy King of* France *against him; and in like sort induced his Cosin, the Earl of* Flanders, *(who before did bear him no malice) to fall out with him, and raise the most powerful war he could against him: and this he knew of a certainty, and it appear'd so by several evident demonstrations. For, whereas the said Earl departed from the King very friendly; the Archbishop coming into his Province, to the very seat of the War, incited, as much as in him lay, as well the King of* France

c i. e. in *France*.

d Speed, § 29. This Accusation *Thomas* denyed.

France, *as the ſaid Earl to Arms* ——— *The King affirm'd alſo,* 1100
that the Informations concerning the ancient Cuſtoms of England *deliver'd to you, were falſe and not true; which alſo the Biſhops there preſent did witneſs. The King offer'd alſo, that if any Cuſtoms ſince his time were deviſed contrary to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, he would ſubmit them to your judgement.*

Calling therefore to us the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Abbots of the Kings Dominions, that the King might not deprive us of all hopes of peace, but rather ſuffer himſelf to be drawn to have a Conference with the Archbiſhop, as well concerning the peace as the judgement: Sending therefore Letters unto (a) *him by our Chaplains, we appointed a certain and ſafe place, where we might have conference with him, on the Feaſt of St.* Martin: *he nevertheleſs pretending excuſes, put off this Conference until the Octaves of that Saint; which truely vexed the King more than could be imagined. But when we ſaw that the Archbiſhop (although we offer'd him ſafe conduct) would nevertheleſs give us no meetings in any part of the Kings Dominions next the* French; *we being willing to yeild to him, that there might be nothing wanting in us which might redound to his profit, came to a place in the Realm of* France, *which himſelf appointed.*

a i. e. Thomas.

Being come to the Conference, we began moſt earneſtly to perſwade him, that he would behave himſelf to the King, who had been his ſingular Benefactor, with ſuch humility, as might afford us ſufficient matter on which to ground our Petition for peace. At which retiring himſelf aſide with his friends, after ſome conſultation with them, he anſwer'd, that "He had ſufficiently humbled himſelf to the King, "without impeaching the honour of God, the liberty of the Church, "the reputation of his own Perſon, the poſſeſſions of the Church; "and farther, the juſtice due to him and his friends. *Theſe things ſo numbred up, we ſeriouſly perſwaded him (as it was neceſſary) to deſcend to particulars; but when he would alledge nothing, either certain or particular, we demanded of him, if in the matters ſpecified in your Letters, he would ſubmit himſelf to our judgement, as the King and Biſhops had already promiſed to do: to which he preſently replyed, that he had received no Mandat from you to this purpoſe:* "But if "he and all his might firſt be fully reſtored, he would then proceed, "according as the Apoſtolick See ſhould direct him. *So returning from the Conference, ſince his words neither tended to judgement nor agreement; nor yet would he by any means enter into the matter: We manifeſted unto the King ſome things; but concealing other paſſages (as it was convenient) and tempering other things what we heard,* &c.

Thomas [*b*] writes alſo to the Pope, and informs him of the ſame conference, and in a manner confeſſeth all here ſet down, expecting his inſtigating the *French* againſt King *Henry*. And another [*c*] Letter he writes to the Cardinals at *Rome*, pitifully complaining that King *Henry* is not puniſhed, againſt whom he rants to the purpoſe.

b Bar. ſ. 38, 39, &c.

c ſ. 53, 54.

The Legats again endeavour a peace, and therefore they try *Henry*, to ſee how far he would yeild. To whom the King replyed, That for his part, for the love he bore to the Pope and Cardinals, he would permit the Archbiſhop, *Thomas*, to return in peace to his See, and diſpoſe of his Church, and all things thereunto belonging; and becauſe there had been long contention about the Cuſtoms, he ſaid, That he and his Children would be content with thoſe which his Anceſtors had enjoy'd. And yet if this condition

ſ. 67.

1100 of peace did not ſatisfie Archbiſhop *Thomas*, he affirmed he was ready to ſtand to the determination, as well of the Biſhops of *England*, as thoſe beyond Seas, as of *Roan*, *Baieux*, and *Le Mans*: And if this were not yet enough, he would ſubmit himſelf to the judgement of the Pope, with this *Salvo*, that he would not impeach his Childrens right; for during his own life, he was content that the Pope ſhould abrogate what he pleas'd: But yet could not theſe condeſcentions do any good.

All theſe indeavours failing, *Lewes* the Seventh, King of *France*, undertook the buſineſs, he and *Henry* being now made friends; and in this he behaved himſelf ſo wiſely, that he had wrought ℘ 85, 86, pretty well upon *Thomas*; and ſo having procured a meeting, *Thomas* humbled himſelf at the feet of *Henry*, ſaying, *I commit to your determination the whole controverſie, which hath been the cauſe of diſſention between us, ſtill excepting the honour of God:* Which laſt reſervation greatly troubled *Henry*, *Thomas* always making uſe of ſuch *Salvo's* that render'd all but conditional, and ſo void when himſelf fancied. *Henry* at this turns to the King of *France*, ſaying, *See, my Lord, if it pleaſe you, let any thing not fit this mans humour, and he preſently condemneth it as contrary to the honour of God, whereby he challength not onely his own, but alſo whatſoever belongeth to me. But that it may appear, that I withſtand not the honour of God, nor yet of him* (i. e. Canterbury) *I make this offer. There have been many Kings of* England, *my Predeceſſors, of greater or leſs Authority than I am: and there have been many Archbiſhops of* Canterbury *before him, of great worth and holineſs; what therefore the more eminent and virtuous of his Predeceſſors, have done to the leaſt of my Predeceſſors; let him allow the ſame unto me, and the Controverſie ſhall be ended.* Upon which followed great Acclamations that the King had humbled himſelf enough.

Thomas holding his peace, the King of *France* ſaid, *My Lord Archbiſhop, will you be greater than other holy men? will you be greater or better than* Peter? *what do you doubt? loe, peace is even at the door.* At laſt *Thomas* fell a commending his Predeceſſors, but that they had left ſomething for him to do; and then extol'd *Peter*, for reſiſting the Tyrant *Nero* with the loſs of his life, *&c.* Thus the Peers of both Kingdoms, *England* and *France*, ſeeing no good to be done with him, turn'd all againſt him, imputing the *want of peace* to his [*a*] *Arrogancie*; one Earl proteſting he ought to be caſt out of *France*, as he had been out of *England*; nay, the very Courtiers who had been Mediators for his peace, did now in his preſence deeply charge him, that he was [*b*] *always proud, high-minded, wiſe in his own conceipt, a follower of his private fancie and opinion, Adding moreover, that it was an exceeding miſchief, and great damage and danger to the Church, that he was ever made a Governour thereof; and that the ſame being already partly ruinated, by him, would now be quite overthrown.* Yet they tell us that the King of *France* preſently alter'd his opinion, and countenanced *Thomas* as much as ever.

a Imputantes arrogantiæ Archiepiſcopi impedimentum pacis, *Bar.* an. 1168. ℘ 87.

b Semper ſuperbus, elatus, ſapiens in oculis ſuis, propriæ ſemper ſectator voluntæ & ſententiæ, *&c.* ℘ 88.

1169. All theſe indeavours failing, the Pope once again undertook the buſineſs, and ſo ſent two *Nontio's*, *Gratian* an *Vivian*, to take up the Controverſie: but when it came neer the concluſion, they could not agree about the formality of the words, and ſo returned as wiſe as they came. Yet did not the Pope give over, but ſent two other

other, *Simon* and *Bernard*, who earneſtly perſwaded *Thomas* to humble himſelf to his King, and ſo to pleaſe him with prayers and ready ſervice. And to work more upon him, the King of *France*, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Lords there preſent, earneſtly adviſed him to the ſame. 1100 *Baron.* an. 1169. & 39,40,43.

Thomas ſeeing no remedy, and all againſt him, condeſcended to their deſires, went to King *Henry*, and kneeling down, ſubmitted himſelf to God and the King; but ſtill with this reſervation of *the honour of God and his holy Order*. But this *Henry* rejects as imperfect, alledging that *Thomas*, by that *Salvo*, would upon any occaſion exclude the honour of his King. However, *Henry* declared that he required nothing of him, but that he, as a Prieſt and Biſhop, ſhould before them all *truely promiſe without any deceipt* to obſerve the Cuſtoms which the holy Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* had obſerved to their Kings, and which *Thomas* himſelf had once promiſed him to do. But *Thomas* would conſent to nothing, without ſuch *Salvo's* as formerly mentioned; which conditional obedience ſo vext the King, that he affirmed, *Thomas* ſhould never enter *England*, till he had done to him as he ought to do; and had undertaken to obſerve what others had obſerved, and what himſelf had formerly promiſed. And thus broke off this buſineſs.

And the truth is, the King might have ſome reaſon to be more and more incenſed againſt *Thomas*, who inſtead of ſeeking the favour and friendſhip of his Soveraign, had excommunicated his chief Friends; and went ſo far againſt others, that there was ſcarce found in the Kings own Chappel and preſence, ſuch as might perform the wonted Ceremonies. And beſides, did daily threaten an *Interdict* againſt his whole Dominions; and had done it, but that ſome more prudent over-perſwaded him to the contrary; and the Pope himſelf thought it beſt to lay his commands on him not to do it till farther Order. *Speed* & 32.

But this was not all, for they proceed yet more and more to vex his Majeſty: For he being now about fifty years old, and ſeeing the uncertainty of obedience, and not knowing what the pretence of Church-authority might do to his Children, if he ſhould dye excommunicated, as it was daily threatned him; or not in favour with the Pope, as he might ſuſpect upon *Thomas* his account: Upon theſe and other reaſons, he reſolved to ſettle his Succeſſion by the Coronation of his Son *Henry*, now fourteen years old.

This reſolution being made known, the Pope thought that now he might compel the King to admit of *Thomas*, or neglect the Coronation, under the pretence that that Ceremony belong'd of right to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and ſo to hinder any other from performing it, he wrote an [*a*] Expreſs to the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the other Biſhops of *England*, not to anoynt him, or meddle in the buſineſs; thereby to neceſſitate the recalling of *Thomas*. But this deſign wrought otherwiſe than intended; for the King inraged at this Prohibition, forthwith cauſed all his Subjects from twelve years old to ſixty, [*b*] to abjure the Popes Obedience, or take an Oath not to obey the Popes Conſtitutions: And then had his Son Crown'd at *Weſtminſter* by *Roger* Archbiſhop of *York*, the other Biſhops aſſiſting; where the young King was [*c*] ſworn to obſerve the ancient Cuſtoms of the Nation, without any mention of the Churches liberties. 1170 *a Bar.* anno 1170. & 3. *b Stow.* pag. 151. col. 1. *Speed* & 35. *c Speed*, & 36. *Bar.* & 16.

This

1100 This reſolution of the King, or ſomething elſe, did a little cool the Pope; and having put on his conſidering cap, he ſeem'd not ſo violent againſt the Coronation, as formerly, though *Thomas* cryed out, that he and his authority was undone by it: but to pacifie him, the Pope ſent him a Paper-remedy, *viz.* that that action ſhould not for the future be any (*a*) prejudice to his rights and priviledges: And to give *Thomas* more content, he (*b*) ſuſpended *Roger*, Archbiſhop of *York*; and this terrible ſentence he ſent to *Thomas* himſelf, to make the beſt uſe of it.

a Bar. ſ. 14.

b Id. ſ. 17.

Now had the world for almoſt ſeven years been troubled with this quarrel between a King and his Subject; inſomuch, that all parties grew almoſt weary of it. And now once more to try if any good could be done, a treaty was brought about again. For this, the Pope ſends his Legats, and ſome threats againſt *Henry*, if peace not preſently made; and *Thomas* alſo uſed his humour to procure an Agreement, *viz.* threatning to (*c*) *Interdict* the Kings Dominions, and ranting againſt his Soveraign to the Legats, declaring him to be no other than a (*d*) *Deceiver, Jugler and Corrupter.* And are theſe words ſavouring of an obedient and peaceful ſubject?

c Id. ſ. 24.

d Id. ſ. 25.

But in brief, a Conference was had between the King and *Thomas*, in a place call'd by the Inhabitants, (*e*) *Traytors-Meddow*, where, [though *Thomas* took upon him to upbraid the King for oppoſing him and the Church, and reſolved not to yeild to him about the Cuſtoms, his Sons Coronation, or the loſs of his own liberty and honour, as he call'd it; yet] the King ſhew'd himſelf ſo plyable, that a peace was ſtruck up between them; *Thomas* himſelf confeſſing to the Pope —— That (*f*) *the King accepted all in good part, yeilded us our requeſt, and received us with all ours there preſent into his favour.* In this Treaty the King twice held *Thomas* his Horſe (*g*) bridle, whilſt he mounted on Horſe back: was not *Thomas* proud to permit it, or not diſlike it?

e Pratum Proditorum.

f Ille verbum acceptans, anquit, & nos & noſtros qui aderant, recepit in gratiam ſuam. *Baron.* anno 1170. ſ. 30.

g Matt. Paris, an. 1170. pag. 122.

Now might we ſuppoſe all to be calme and quiet, but we ſhall finde nothing leſs; for Agreement thus made, *Thomas* haſtes for *England*, where being come, he having deſired the (*h*) Popes Authority, ſuſpends or Excommunicates the Biſhops for (*i*) Crowning the young King: And thus inſtead of being peaceable and patient, he reneweth the old broyl, and provokes again to diſpleaſure, by Cenſuring thoſe, who had been the Kings friends; and by ſo doing, reflected upon his Majeſty. Upon this, the King would have *Thomas* to abſolve them again; but that he refuſed, unleſs they would ſwear abſolute Obedience to the Pope; which, they ſaid, they would not do, without the Kings conſent, whoſe dignity it did moſt touch upon.

h Pol. Virg. l. 13. p. 212.

i Speed, ſ. 40.

The Father-King, then in *France*, being informed of theſe extravagant actions of *Thomas* againſt the peace and tranquillity of his Subjects, fell into ſuch a diſpleaſure, that in a ſudden rage and paſſion, he wonder'd revenge was not done upon *Thomas*: which four of his Courtiers hearing, interpreting the words to a wrong ſence, without any Warrant or Authority, thought they could not do the King better ſervice, than by killing the Archbiſhop. For which purpoſe they haſte into *England*, ſo to *Canterbury*, where they cruelly murder'd *Thomas* in the Cathedral Church, at a place yet call'd the *Martyrdom.* But the (*k*) certain day

k Barth. Gavant. Theſaur. Sacrorum Rituum, tom. 2. pag. 140.

day on which he ſuffer'd, they cannot poſitively tell, yet they confidently appoint a day in the Calendar, as they do many others, upon uncertainties. 1100

The names of theſe four Courtiers were

Sir *Richard* (or *Hugh*) *Breton* or *Brito*; the name of a Family yet extant in *Northamptonſhire*. *Tho. Fuller's Church Hiſt.* l. 3. § 66.

Sir *Hugh Morvill* of *Kirk-Oſwald* in *Cumberland*, where his Sword wherewith he ſlew *Becket*, was kept a long time, in memory of that fact: his Family at this day extinct.

Sir *William Tracy*, (*) Baron of *Brains* and *Morton*, whoſe heirs yet flouriſh at *Todington* in *Gloceſterſhire*. * *Stow*, p. 152. col. 2.

Sir *Reginald*, or *Reynold* (ſome ſay *Richard*) *Fitz-Urſe*, or *Bears ſon*: his Poſtery was afterwards men of great Lands and Commands, in the County of *Monaghan* in *Ireland*, being there call'd *Mac-Mahon*, which in *Iriſh* ſignifieth the ſon of a Bear.

To theſe was aſſiſting one *Hugh*, call'd the *Ill-clerk*, an Officer of the Church.

But though theſe kill'd him never ſo ſurely; yet are we told a pretty (*a*) ſtory, how that the next morning, prayers being ended, he lifted up his hand, and gave the Monks his Benediction: and well he might, when (*b*) Angels in the Choire appear'd, and helped to ſing his *Requiem*. Theſe four having ſlain *Thomas*, fled into the North, and for ſome time hid themſelves in *Knaresbrough* Caſtle in *York-ſhire*, whence they went to *Rome*; where (though at firſt the Pope had Excommunicated them) they obtain'd their (*c*) Abſolution and Pardon from *Alexander* the Third, being enjoyn'd by way of penance to viſit the *Holy-land*. And we are told that the Clergy having thus exempted themſelves from the temporal Laws; ſo the (*d*) puniſhment of a Prieſt-killer, was not then Death, but Excommunication: till about the year 1176, it was declared by this King *Henry*, that ſuch Murderers ſhould ſuffer loſs of life. We are alſo told, that whilſt theſe men remain'd under Excommunication, that (*e*) Dogs, though never ſo hungry, would not take bread from their hands: as true as many other old-wives tales in *Baronius*, befitting the credit of a learned Cardinal. However, that the memory of the men, and their bloudy action, might not be forgot, their (*f*) Statues of Stone were ſet up in the Cathedral Churches Porch at *Canterbury*, as a premonition, that no man for the future ſhould lay violent hands on Biſhops, or their Poſſeſſions. But if the Statues of all ſuch ſacrilegious people were now to be erected, neither the Porches nor Churches themſelves in all *England* and *Scotland* could contain them.

a Bar. anno 1170. § 59.

b Pet. de Natal. lib. 2. cap. 13.

c Bar. anno 1172. § 22.

d Speed, § 44.

e Bar. an. 1172. § 22.

f Will. Somner's, Antiq. of *Cant.* p. 164.

Old King *Henry* was now at *Argentan* in *Normandy*, when news came to him of the Murther, which ſo afflicted him, that he was over-whelm'd with tears and lamentations, changing his Royalty into Hair cloths and Aſhes, almoſt for three days together, retiring into his private Chamber, not receiving either meat or comfort; inſomuch, that the people about him fear'd he would pine away with grief: though for the clearing of his innocency he proteſted,

Bar. anno 1171. § 4.

As

(a) *As Almighty God ſhould judge his ſoul, that that accurſed deed was neither acted by his will or conſent, nor done by any device of his.*

a Omnipotentem Deum ſe teſtem invocare in animam ſuam, quod opus nefandum nec ſua voluntate nec Conſcientia commiſſum eſt, nec artificio perquiſitum. *Baron.*

Neither was this any counterfeit or diſſembling grief, but real and true; and that ſo great, that as a [b] *Romaniſt* confeſſeth, never could any Hiſtory afford ſuch an Example of Penance and Humility in a Chriſtian Prince.

b — Sa Penitence fut ſi grande, qu'on ne lit point es Hiſtoires, que aucun Prince Chriſtien ayt faict Penitence avec plus grande humilité. *Guil. Gazet*, Hiſt. des Saincts, tom. 2. pag 980.

For the King did not onely ſubmit himſelf to the Papal Cenſures, and (as they ſay) reject the ancient and wholeſome Conſtitutions (which we are told, were not long after [c] confirmed again in the preſence of the Popes *Nuntios*) but alſo the Pope [d] having Canonized *Thomas* for a Saint in Heaven, *Henry* to compleat the reſt of the Penance [e] injoyn'd him by the Legats, went into *England*; and being come within [f] three or [g] four miles of *Canterbury*, clad onely in one woollen Coat; went all that long way bare-footed to the Church, the bloud running from his tender feet, by the piercing and cutting of the ſharp ſtones; and in the Church beſtow'd a whole day and night in faſting, watching and prayer; and the next day return'd, without eating and drinking all the while, bare-footed as he came. Nor was this all, for he alſo received on his bare back from the Monks, above-fourſcore laſhes with Rods. To ſuch an height of Extravagancie had the awe of Papal Cenſures and Abſolutions flown over the greateſt Monarchs, though really no way ſubject, either to them, or their brutiſh-Thunderbolts.

c *Spelman*, Conſil. tom. 2. pag. 111.
d *Bar.* an. 1173. ſ. 6, 7.
e *Speed*, ſ. 75. *Bar.* an. 1174. ſ. 6.
f *Speed*, ib.
g *Fullers* Ch. Hiſt. l. 3.

The Kings purſe paid for it alſo, by maintaining a great number of Souldiers, by the Popes Order, in the *Holy-Land*. And what good-will he really had for *Thomas*, may appear by his charity and care for his Relations: one of his Siſters call'd *Mary*, ſhe not intending to marry, he made Abbeſs of *Berking*-Nunnery: and another of his Siſters being married to one of the *Botelers*, or *Butlers*, he tranſplanted with her Husband and Children into *Ireland*, conferring upon them high Honours and rich Revenues; from whom the Dukes of *Ormond* are deſcended. Nor was this all, for he founded an Abbey, call'd *Thomas-Court* in *Dublin*, in memory of our *Thomas Becket*, indowing it with large Revenues.

Fullers Ch. Hiſt. l. 3. ſ. 68.

Thus have we ſeen the ſtory of *Thomas Becket*, which we have taken out of the Hiſtories writ by his friends and admirers; and followed that which hath moſt probability of Truth. And we cannot but ſuppoſe, that where a man is declared a Martyr for the Church, and a Saint in Heaven, but that Church-Hiſtory will be crouded with his commendations, by which we can expect but a partial relation, at leaſt little or nothing againſt him; it being held an unpardonable crime, not to believe with the Pope, or to hint any thing againſt him whom his Holineſs hath thruſt into Heaven: Yet enough may be gathered, not onely from thoſe who moſt commend, but alſo from ſome ancient Hiſtorians, whereby we may juſtly lay the fault rather upon him, than his Soveraign.

For

For the King looked upon his cauſe to be ſo juſt, having all the other Biſhops of his Dominions approving of him, that he freely offer'd the Controverſie to the Tryal, even of the (*a*) *Pariſian* Divines, and the Church of *France*, though their King ſhew'd himſelf a great friend to *Becket*. But *Thomas* was ſo cunning, that he would ſtand to no mans judgement but his own and the Popes; for then he was ſure to come off Conqueror. 1100

a Speed, ☞ 34.

And if *Thomas* durſt not ſtand to the determination of thoſe Churches, who in all probability underſtood the buſineſs beſt; and to oppoſe all his own Country Biſhops, as if none of them were as wiſe or honeſt as himſelf: And farther, ſeeing preſently after *Thomas* his death, nay, and Canonization too, it was a ſtrong diſpute amongſt the Divines beyond Sea, whether *Thomas* was (*b*) damn'd for his Treaſon, or a true Martyr; I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould be ſo confident of his Saintſhip and merits, however, as to uſe his bloud for a means to our Salvation, as thoſe do, who pray

b Cæſarius Hiſt. Memorab. l. 8. c. 69.

(*c*) *Tu per* Thomæ *Sanguinem, quem pro te impendit,*
Fac nos Chriſte *ſcandere, quo* Thomas *aſcendit.*

For Thomas *his bloud ſake, which he for thee did ſpend,*
Let us, O Chriſt! where Thomas *is, aſcend.*

c Horæ B. Virg. ſecundum uſum *Sarum. Paris* 1534. fol. 53. *b.*

Again, when we conſider the malapert humour of *Thomas* with his betters; as, becauſe the King would not agree to his humour, he muſt accuſe him of (*d*) *perverſe ways*, as (*e*) *criminous*; that he (*f*) *grows worſe and worſe*; that he is a (*g*) *jugler, a corrupt man, and a deceiver*. Again, when we conſider how all the other Biſhops declared him guilty of (*h*) *Perjury*, of (*i*) *injuring* the King, of *ingratitude*, of *his raſh and prepoſterous Excommunications*; that he by (*k*) *his bitter provocations ſtir'd up the diſcord*; that his actions *ſavour nothing of fatherly devotion, or paſtoral patience*; and that to the Pope himſelf they all (*l*) vindicate the Kings actions. And farther, when we ſee the Peers not onely of *England*, but alſo of *France*, impute the want of peace to his (*m*) *arrogancy*; and thoſe who had been the very Mediators for his peace, yet could not but tell him that he was (*n*) *always proud, high-minded, wiſe in his own conceipt*; *a follower of his private fancie and opinion*; *and that it was a miſchief to the Church, that ever he was made Archbiſhop*. Nay more, when we ſee the Popes Legates, and the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of *France*, earneſtly perſwade him to humble himſelf to his King: And again, the Legates to accuſe him even to the Pope, of his (*o*) provoking the King of *France*, and Earl of *Flanders*, againſt his own Soveraign; of writing lyes to his Holineſs againſt his own King; and that his *words neither tended to judgement nor peace*. And laſtly, when he hears the Nobility, and others of his own Nation pronounce him a (*p*) *Traytor* to his face: And *John Harding*, a zealous *Romaniſt*, and one that beſtow'd moſt of his time in ſearch into our *Engliſh* Hiſtory, above two hundred years ago, could boldly thus pronounce him a *Rebel*:

d Bar. an. 1166. ☞ 45.
e Id. anno 1167. ☞ 26.
f ☞ 34.
g Id. anno 1170. ☞ 25.
h Id. anno 1164. ☞ 29.
i An. 1167. ☞ 45.
k Ib. ☞ 61.
l Ibid.
m An. 1168. ☞ 88.
n Ibid.
o An. 1168. ☞ 33.
p Speed, ☞ 23. *Bar.* anno 1164. ☞ 30, 31.

I 100
Chron. Chap. 131.

He exiled then Thomas *of* Canterbury
Out of England, *and* (a) *many of his aliaunce*
(b) *For cauſe of his rebellious governaunce* ;
And as he came fro Rome, *by* Fraunce *away*,
With language fel, he prayed the Kyng that day.

a Feel of his liance, ſo a Manuſcript.
b For cauſe of the Churches governaunce: So have I read it in an old Manuſcript, Arch. *Seld.* in *Bodleian. Oxon.* But one may perceive that the Manuſcript hath herein been abuſed, by ſome-bodies ſcraping out the firſt copy.

We might ſuſpect that he was not ſo good and true a Subject as ſome would have him; however, not to deſerve to be (c) yoak'd with St. *Thomas* the Apoſtle, or to (d) *exceed all other Saints*, or to be honoured with more Devotion and (e) Offerings than Chriſt himſelf.

When again we conſider that 'tis the Cauſe that makes a Martyr, and yet all the *Engliſh* Biſhops declared to the Pope himſelf, that this Controverſie was meerly about (f) *Trifles*; when alſo we know, how ſtrangely the word *Martyrdom* hath been miſtaken by haſty Zealots, as the (g) *Donatiſts*, who would ſeek their own deaths, when others deſired it not; and would kill others, unleſs they would (h) kill them, to make them, forſooth, Martyrs; as if they were all of (i) *Petilians* opinion, who affirm'd him a Martyr that kill'd himſelf for his own ſins; or like the (k) *Circumcellions*, who would kill themſelves, if others would not do it for them. Why ſhould *Thomas Becket* be a *Martyr*, when he might have ſaved his own life, as is very probable, either by (l) withdrawing himſelf, as his Monks perſwaded him, or, by making reſiſtance, which he forbad; inſomuch, that he would not have the doors ſhut or defended againſt them?

c Bar. anno 1173. § 2.
d Ib. § 7.
e Will. Somners Antiq. of *Cant.* p. 248.
f Ex levi & minus utili occaſione.
Bar. anno 1164. § 47.
g Prateol. l. 4. § 14.
h Parſons three converſ. part 3. pag. 168.
i Prateol. l. 14. § 16.
k Id. l. 3. § 19.
l Guil. Gazet. Hiſt. des Saints, pag. 999. tom. 2.

But farther yet, ſince (m) they tell us, that the people did for a long time (n) worſhip one for a Martyr, who took the pains afterwards to tell them that he was damn'd; And the (o) *Pariſian* Doctor was held a vertuous and holy man, till being dead, he told them he was damned; and *Hyrcanus*, whom *Albertus Magnus* put into his *Letany*, is declared by (p) *Serarius* to be an Heretick: Why ſhould we be ſo confident that *Thomas Becket* is in Heaven, as to make him the (q) Titular Saint of *Canterbury*, or to flock in Pilgrimage to him, to have the benefit of his merits, in ſuch numbers, as at one time there was about an (r) hundred thouſand worſhippers of him in *Canterbury* from ſeveral places?

m Vid. *Andr. Rivet.* Jeſuita vapul. p. 127, 228.
n Bellarm. de Purgat. l. 1. c. 7.
o Ant. Dauron't. cap. 8. Tit. 14. § 4.
p Trihares lib. 2. cap. 28.
q Will. Somner, p. 250.
r Id. pag. 249.

And when they tell us, that preſently after his death, they began to (ſ) counterfeit the Reliques; and experience tells us, that the (t) Teeth of Moles, the Bones of Mice and Cats, the Tails of Beaſts, and ſuchlike, have been worſhipt for Reliques of great Saints: Why ſhould they be ſo confident of having truely his body, as to beſtow ſo much good and precious Stones upon it, as (u) twelve or fourteen men could ſcarce carry? And that the world was cheated with falſe ware, will thus appear: His (x) brains were ſent to be kept

ſ Caſarius, Hiſt. Mem. lib. 8. c. 70.
t Jo. Polyand. diſput. p. 43, *&c.*
u Stow, pag. 576.
x Bar. anno 1172. § 17.

kept in St. *Maria Maggiore* at *Rome*: His (*y*) face was ſet in gold, and ſhew'd in a little Chappel behind the high-Altar at *Canterbury*; his (*z*) Skull in another place of the Church; a Foot of his in the Veſtry; and a great deal of his bloud, and a piece of his Crown was convey'd to (*a*) St. *Auguſtins* Abbey in the ſame City; for which the Abbey gave to the Cathedral Church ſeveral houſes, and a piece of ground. And yet when in *Henry* VIII's time the Shrine was defaced, there was found in it (*b*) a whole intire body, head and all, as of one but lately dead. And much of the ſame truth was that (*c*) upper-leather of his old Shooe, which they offer'd to Travellers to *London* to kiſs, but really to beg by.

And laſtly, if that be true which they tell us, *viz.* (*d*) that thoſe Reliques muſt not be worſhipt, if there be any doubt that they are not really of Saints; then hath the world been cheated by the ſuppoſed Reliques of *Thomas Becket*: And I know no reaſon by the ſame rule, why they ſhould ſo venerate *Thomas*, ſince they cannot poſitively ſwear his being in Heaven, unleſs they will ſubſcribe to that fond Rule in (*e*) *Bellarmine*, that the Pope is alſo infallible in Canonization, ſo that, whom he declares a Saint, muſt of conſequence be in Heaven, though he were in Hell before.

As for my ſelf, I am ſuperſtitious and curious enough in things of Antiquity; but ſeeing of Reliques there is ſcarce one true amongſt five thouſand, I am leſs credulous and careful. To conclude with *Thomas*, as I have no power or authority to determine of his Saintſhip, ſo I ſhall ſuſpect his Martyrdom and Allegiance, but freely grant that he was murthered. The moſt memorable actions fell to him upon (*f*) *Tueſdays*, as ſome obſerve *Thurſdays* have been the worſt days to the Kings of *England*.

1100

y Eraſm. Colloq. perigrinat. Relig. pag. 270.
z Ib. p. 269.
a Will. Somner, p. 167.
b Will. Lambard's Peramb. of *Kent*, 337.
c Eraſm. ib. p. 273.
d In *Barth. Fumus* Summa Aurea. verb. de Canonizat. § 2.
e De Purgat. l. 1. cap. 9.
f Matt. Paris, an. 1169. pag. 116.

1100

Chap. IV.

1. *The murders and misfortunes of ſeveral Kings and Princes.*
2. *The Imperial Authority deſpiſed by the Popes, and made a meer ſlavery.*
3. *King* Lewes VII. *of* France *Interdicted.*
4. *The troubles of the Emperour* Frederick Barbaroſſa, *and the odd Coronation of the Emperour* Henry VI. *by Pope* Cæleſtine II *'s feet.*

Sect. I.

The murders and misfortunes of ſeveral Kings and Princes.

HAving wearied our ſelves in *England*, though I might have inlarged, how King *Henry* II was alſo troubled by the rebellions of his own ſons; Let us take a ſhort turn or two beyond Seas.

And here I ſhall not tell all the circumſtances how King *Suercherus* II of *Swedland* was murdered by his ignoble groom; how St. *Ericus* IX, Monarch of the ſame Dominions, was made away by the Treachery of his own Nobility, lying open to the corruption of the *Dane*; nor of the untimely death of *Suercherus* III, as a Prologue to which, the *Swediſh* Hiſtorians will tell you an odd ſtory of a deviliſh Horſe, flying through the Air: poſſibly wanting Shooes, the hard ground might hurt his feet; and the ſtory in part confirms this conjecture.

1150

1160

Jo. Loccen. p. 44.

Nor ſhall I here inlarge how Pope *Calliſtus* II had *William* the great, Duke of *Apulia*, as his foot-boy, and Yeoman of his (*a*) Stirrop; nor how the inconſtant *Neapolitans* impriſoned their King *William* I, and promoted his Son *Ruggieri*, or *Roger*, whom they alſo, altering their humours, preſently beſieged in his Palace; and which was more, ſhot to death, and then reſtored his Father *William*. Neither will I trouble my ſelf to unriddle the doubt in the *Poliſh* Hiſtorians, concerning the death of their good King *Caſimire* II, though the general Opinions that he was poyſoned at a Feaſt, and theſe verſes of their Chronologer teſtified as much.

a Baron. an. 1120. & 12.

1194.

Miſta dedit domino ſcelerati aconita miniſtri
Inter ſolennes perfida dextra dapes.

Alex. Guagnin. Rerum *Polon.* tom. 1. p. 90.

A wicked Varlet, void of grace or fear
Mixt deadly poyſon 'mongſt his Royal cheer.

And

And here I might alſo tell you how the furious *Venetian* murdered their innocent Duke *Vitalis Michele* II, becauſe the well-meaning man was not as ſucceſsful againſt his deceitful enemies, as they would have had him, as if ill Fortune were onely the companions of knavery. 1100 1194.

Sect. 2.

The Imperial Authority deſpiſed by the Popes, and made a meer ſlavery.

BUt waving theſe, let us ſee how the Popes lord it over the Emperours, as if they had been their Vaſſals or Slaves; but the others, by I know not what whim, the Infallible diſpoſers of the world: And ſo I warrant you, they are not a little proud of Cardinal *Gratianus* his anſwer to King *Henry* II of *England*, when he ſeemed ſomewhat angry at the Popes actions againſt him —— (a) *Sir, Threaten not, we fear no menaces, becauſe we belong to that Court, which uſeth to command both Emperours and Kings.*

(a) Domine noli minari, nos enim nullas minas timemus, quia de talis curia ſumus, quæ conſuevit Imperare Imperatoribus & Regibus. *Baron.* an. 1169. § 12.

And the truth is, by degrees they intended to ſweep up all the Imperial Priviledges to themſelves; and as formerly they had made a good progreſs, ſo they now continue; for here we finde Pope *Paſchal* II to alter the date of the Papal writings: for whereas, formerly, they uſed to be dated with the year of the Emperours Raign, he rejects that form, and ſubſcribes the year of his own Popedom; which cuſtom hath been ſince continued by his ſucceſſors. But the chief of all was the pretty conceited cuſtom of their Crowning the Emperours, which as they had hitherto ſeveral times carryed on under pretty pretences, and a ſpecious awe of their Paper-cenſures; ſo would they not willingly leave off that deſign, making thereby an Argument, that none can be Emperour, but of their Coronation or Approbation; and from their making, drawing out another of their power in nulling or diſpoſing. *Helvic.* Chron. an. 1107.

And thus had they awed or gull'd the greateſt Monarchs to their Lure. Thus the Emperour *Lotharius* II, who ſucceeded *Henry* V, meeting Pope *Innocent* II at *Liege* in *Germany*, became the (b) Yeoman to his Stirrop, in one hand carrying a Switch, as if it were to keep off the throng; and with the other leading his Holyneſs his white Palfrey. And thus did the Pope permit the Emperour to wait upon him in this ſervile poſture on foot. And two years after, he guarding the ſaid Pope into *Italy*, was by him Crown'd in the *Lateran*; upon whoſe walls he cauſed to be painted himſelf ſitting in his Pontificial Chair, and *Lotharius* on his knees receiving the Crown of the Empire from his hands, with theſe wiſe Verſes. a *Baron.* an. 1131. § 9. *Sigon.* de Reg. *Ital.* *Krantz.* Metrop. l. 6. c. 35.

Rex

1100

Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores:
Post homo fit Papæ, sumit, quo dante, Coronam.

The King doth come before the Gates,
Swears th' Customs of the Town:
Then him the Pope his Liege-men makes,
And after doth him Crown.

Sect. 3.

King Lewes VII *of* France *Interdicted.*

LEaving *Germany*, I might ſtep into *France*, and tell you a ſtory, how *Alberic*, the Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, dying, this Pope *Innocent* II taking upon him to be Lord of all Nations, conſecrated one *Peter*, his dear friend, as Prelate of that City, againſt the Kings will; which ſo inraged his Majeſty, *viz. Lewes* VII, that he publickly and ſolemnly ſware, that the ſaid *Peter* ſhould never enter into that City: Upon which (as my Author ſaith) the Pope *Interdicted* the King; inſomuch, that into whatſoever City, Town or place the King enter'd, there was no Divine Service ſaid: And this *Interdiction* continued for three years time; and then the King was forced to ſubmit, and not onely admit of the ſaid *Peter* to be Archbiſhop, but for a farther Pennance, was to viſit the *Holy-Land*. Thus the Thief would ſteal Ruſhes to keep his hand in ure; and the Pope will take any occaſion to trample upon Temporal Princes; ſo that the Vicar takes more upon him, than either Chriſt or St. *Peter* would do. And thus thanks to his Holyneſs for making the King infallibly forſworn, the Oath, though haſty, being lawful; he having, for ought that I know, as much power then in his Dominions, as the *French* King hath at this time, who will not let the Pope thruſt Biſhops into his Cities.

Matt. Pariſ. an. 1146.

Sect. 4.

The troubles of the Emperour Frederick Barbaroſſa, *and the odd Coronation of the Emperour* Henry VI, *by Pope* Cœleſtine II *'s feet.*

BUt well may the Kings of *France* indure this, when they ſee far greater Ignominies done to the Emperour, of whom, paſſing *Conrade* III, let us ſee what was done to *Frederick* I, ſirnamed (from his red beard) by the *Italians Barbaroſſa*. Being choſen in *Germany*, he muſt trudge to *Rome* too to be Crown'd, or elſe all the fat was in the fire. And now was Pope *Adrian*, or *Hadrian* IV, born at *Abbots-Langley* neer *Kings-Langley* in *Hartfordſhire*,

ſhire, and was firſt call'd *Nicholas Break-ſpear*, the onely *Engliſhman* that ever was Pope, though (a) *Dempſter* would willingly hook him in to be a *Scotchman*, and (b) *Fuller* would increaſe the number of *Engliſh* Popes, and both with the ſame Authority, that is, none at all. 1100

a Apparat. ad Hiſt. Scot. p. 48.
c Ch. Hiſt. l. 3.

Frederick come into *Italy*, meets *Adrian* at *Viterbo*, where the Emperour held his Stirrop, whilſt his Holineſs alighted from his Horſe. But the miſchief was, *Barbaroſſa* not uſed to ſuch ſlavery, though ignorance held the left Stirrop; which ſo incenſed the Pope, 1155.
that he told the Biſhop of *Bamberg* (who had made a Speech in Commendation of *Frederick*) that what he had ſaid, was but meer words; for that the Emperour inſtead of honouring had diſhonoured St. *Peter*; for inſtead of holding the right, he had held the left Stirrop. The Emperour as well as he could excuſed himſelf, alledging it was meerly through ignorance, that being the firſt time that ever he held one in his life. But this no way ſatisfied the Pope, intimating, that if he pleaded ignorance for his neglect of ſmall things, there was little hopes of his performing the greater. The Emperour a little angry at theſe frumpiſh humours, deſired to know whence that cuſtom came: for if it were onely of good will, he had done enough; and if it were upon duty, he had ſhew'd his humility, though he miſtook the Stirrop. And thus in a pet they both parted for that time; the Pope affirming he would not Crown him, till he had done his duty.

Aelmold. Hiſt. *Sclav.* c. 18.

This ſtory related by that ancient Hiſtorian, *Helmodus*, who lived at this time, and ſo might know beſt, is a little varied from by (c) *Baronius*, who tells it to this purpoſe: The Emperour and Pope being met, *Frederick* refuſed to hold his Stirrop; whereupon the Cardinals were out of their little wits, and ſhuffled away; and the Pope was as troubled as any of them, not knowing what to do, yet he permitted the Emperour to kiſs his feet; but denyed him the *kiſs of peace*; and why he did ſo, he thus tells the Emperour

c An. 1155. §. 12, 13, 14.

—— *Becauſe thou haſt not done to me that wonted and due* (d) *honour, which thy Predeceſſors, the Orthodox Emperours uſed to perform, even till this time, to my Predeceſſors the Popes, for the honour of the Apoſtles* Peter *and* Paul; *until thou doſt ſatisfie me in this point, I ſhall not receive thee to the kiſs of peace.* —— To whom *Frederick* reylyed, that *it was not his duty.* Well, this Controverſie held all the next day; and at laſt, it went cleerly againſt the Emperour, and proved, forſooth, that he ought to do it.

d *i.e.* to hold his Stirrop—Reddi Romani Pontificibus Stratoris obſequium, *Cogu.* tom. 2. p. 71.

And ſo he yeilded to it; and for the more honour of the Play, the Emperour muſt go a little out of the way, and all his Army drawn up to ſee the ſhew, then muſt his Holineſs be mounted upon his bonny Palfry, ride along, as if nothing were; whom the Emperour ſeeing a pretty way off, very mannerly met him, and very dapperly performed his duty at the Stirrop: and then his Humbleneſs received *Frederick* into his favour, and no queſtion but he buſs'd him to the purpoſe.

And thus take which of the ſtories you pleaſe, no queſtion but you will think that the Vicar thought *Chriſt* miſtook himſelf, when he ſaid, his *Kingdom was not of this world.* So now, thanks to our Country-man *Adrian*, we ſee it brought to that paſs, that if you will not be a ſlave at my Stirrop, you ſhall not be Crown'd; and ſo according to them no Emperour. For now that *Frederick* had proved

1100 proved himſelf a white boy, and plyable to all manner of drudgery; the Pope took the pains to Crown him, but told him, that he ſhould win *Apulia*, and ſuchlike petty lands to the Church, thereby to ſhew his reſpect to St. *Peter*: the Emperour in the mean time, looking very demurely at theſe canting documents, though ſhew'd his indignation at the Picture of *Conradus* his kneeling to *Innocent*, and the verſes, of which there was promis'd amendment.

But here before I go any farther with the Pope, let me tell you one remarkable paſſage which hapned in *Germany*, which may be as an *Item* againſt Rebels, and diſturbers of the Peace.

1155. Whilſt *Frederick* was thus buſie in *Italy* to obtain his Coronation, upon ſome account, *Arnoldus* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and *Herman* [by ſome through miſtake call'd (*a*) *Henry*] Count *Palatine* fell out, between whom there was a great deal of miſchief done in *Germany*: but upon the Emperours return, all was quiet; yet not ſo forgot, but he was reſolved to have the Laws inflicted upon the guilty. Now we muſt underſtand, that it was the cuſtom amongſt the *Francks* and *Schwablanders*, that if in the Monarchs abſence a Riot or Sedition began, the guilty Noblemen, by way of Ignominy, were each of them to carry lugging at their ſhoulders a Dog, holding of him by the hindmoſt-legs, into the next County; and this publickly before all people, and then to be condemn'd to dye as a Traytor: the inferiour ſort were to undergo the ſame Ceremony; onely inſtead of a Dog, they carryed a [*b*] Seat or Bench: a Plough-man carryed a Wheel of a Plough. And accordingly *Frederick* at his return, calls a *Diet* at *Worms*, where *Herman*, and ſeveral others of the Nobility were adjudged to undergo this [*c*] *Harenſcaran* puniſhment, as they call it; which accordingly was performed, to the terror of all evil-doers. As for the Archbiſhop, conſidering his Age and Function, they were perſwaded to pardon him that ignominy, though ſome favourably offer'd to carry Dogs for him. The thing it ſelf is thus related by *Guntherus Liguriuus*, an ancient Hiſtorical Poet.

(*a*) *Pezel.* part. 3. pag. 249.

Nic. Serar. Hiſt. *Moguni*, p. 818, 819.

Ott. Frinſingens, de geſtis *Frid.* l. 2. cap. 28.

Mart. Cruſius Annal. *Suev.* part 2. l. 10. c. 14.

Roſſe, pag. 178.

(*b*) Sella.

(*c*) *Sab. Munſter.* Coſmogr. pag. 475.

Lib. 5. p. 351.

——*Vetus mos eſt, ubi ſi quis Rege remoto,*
Sanguine, vel flamma, vel ſeditionis apertæ
Turbine, ſeu crebris Regnum vexare rapinis,
Audeat: ante gravem quam fuſo ſanguine pœnam
Excipiat, ſi liber erat, de more vetuſto
Impoſitum ſcapulis ad contigui Comitatus
Cogatur per rura Canem Confinia ferre,
Sin alius, ſellam. Cujus diſpendia pœnæ
Ille Palatinæ *cuſtos Celeberrimus aulæ*
Non potuit vitare Comes, cunctiſq; videndus
Portavit ſcapulis paſſus plus mille latrantem.
Hanc quoq; tunc alii ſimili pro crimine pœnam
Suſtinuere decem Comites; totidemq; coacti
Fœda tulere canes generoſo pondera collo.
Cujus inauditæ pœnæ timor altus in omnes
Irruit, ut nullus Procerum præſumeret ultra
Armata certare manu; ſed pace ſequeſtra,
Judicis arbitrio ſua quiſq; repoſceret æqui.

1100.

By ancient Law, if when the King is gone,
Any preſume to raiſe ſedition
By Sword, Fire, Rapines, for his final doom,
For his deſerv'd peace-breaking crimes do come:
If nobly born, muſt on his ſhoulders carry
Unto the Confines of th' next Territory
A Dog; but if he be of low degree,
An heavy Bench or Seat for Infamy.
Nor could the Palſgrave Herman *ſhun the ſhame,*
But publickly to ſatisfie his blame,
Upon his ſhoulders for above a Mile
Behinde him lug'd a Dog, howl'd all the while.
Ten more Earls for the ſame crimes did ſo too,
Bearing Dogs on their necks as he did do.
This Strange diſgrace and puniſhment ſo fear'd
The ſturdyeſt Nobles, that no more was heard
Of Rout or Violence; but all relyed
To be in peace by juſtice rectified.

And after this manner of ſhame, *Ludovicus* ſirnamed *Ferreus Lantgrave* of *Duringen* (a) whipt his Rebellious Nobles at the Plough.

a *Otho Melander* Jocoſeria, ℔ 328.

And now let us return to the Pope, whom we finde at ſome odds with *Frederick*: one cauſe of this diſlike was, as they ſay, becauſe a Biſhop of *London* returning from *Rome* into (b) *England*, was ſeized upon by ſome certain (but we know not what) people in *Germany*, and there detain'd; although I have no reaſon confidently to affirm this ſtory to be true, though Pope *Adrian* tells it boldly enough, as we finde it in his Letter, afforded us by (c) *Radevicus Friſingenſis* the continuator of *Ottho*. For at this time I cannot finde any Biſhop of *England* whoſe name begins with an (d) *E*. Nor can we ſuppoſe, that *London* was an Archbiſhops See at this time, as the Pope words it in his Letter, which he, an *Engliſhman*, might infallibly know to be no ſuch thing. 'Tis true, (e) *Matthew Paris* tells us of a Biſhop of *Landaff*, and another of *London*, dyed in their journey to *Rome*; but the firſt was call'd *Urban*, and the other *Gilbertus Univerſalis*; beſides, theſe dyed twenty years before this Letter. And laſtly, 'tis ſtrange that none of our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſhould take notice of any ſuch thing, many of them at that time being buſie in leſſer concerns.

b *Spondan.* Epit. *Baron.* an. 1157. ℔ 2. *Coeffeteau*, pag. 809. *Bar.* anno 1157. ℔ 15

c Lib. 2. cap. 9.

d Venerabilis frater noſter E. *Landonenſis* Archiepiſcopus. *Baron.* anno 1157. ℔ 4.

e Hiſt. *Angl.* anno 1134.

But however it be, and let the deſign of ſending on this errand two Legates *a latere* ſeem never ſo fair; yet 'tis confeſt that there lurk'd in it a (f) nouriſhment or deſign of farther miſchief. For in this Letter, the Pope ſeveral times accuſeth the Emperour of diſſembling and negligence; and beſides, tells him that it was the (g) *grace* and *favour* of him the Pope to confer the Imperial Crown upon him; which did not onely incenſe the Emperour, but all his Nobles; inſomuch, that Count Palatine (h) *Otho* would have ſlain one of the Legates for vindicating the Popes expreſſions, if the preſence and counter-commands of *Frederick* had not deter'd him. But *Barbaroſſa* with all ſpeed return'd the Legates to *Rome*, expreſly prohibiting them to turn out of their way, to viſit either Cathedral Churches or Abbies, leſt

f — Fomentum & occaſionem malorum latuiſſe. *Baron.* ℔ 2.

g Beneficium.

h *Matius* chron. Germ. pag. 163.

1100. they ſhould rob ſuch places of their Treaſury and Ornaments, or ſow diſcontent and treaſon amongſt his Subjects, according to the cuſtom of ſuch Creatures; for which purpoſe, they had many blank Schedules ſeal'd about them to imploy as occaſion ſerved: of which he preſently gave notice to all the Empire: And gave expreſs command, that Monks and ſuchlike ſhould not (*a*) trudge to *Rome* upon every bibble-babble, but when they had good reaſon, and the conſent and teſtimony of ſome Biſhops.

Bar. anno 12, 17.

Id. an. 1159. ſect. 7.

a Id. ſect. 18, 22.

The Pope upon this ſent a complaint to the Biſhops of *Germany*, but their anſwer was not altogether to him as his heart could wiſh, they tooth and nail vindicating their Emperour, and complaining that his Letter firſt gave the occaſion.

Id. ſect. 20.

At laſt *Hadrian* upon (*b*) better advice ſends other two Legates *a latere* to undeceive *Frederick*; who being brought to the Emperours preſence, very reverently and modeſtly began their ſpeech, telling him that —— (*c*) *The Biſhop of the holy* Roman *Church —— did ſalute him —— as the Lord and Emperour of the City and the World.*——At theſe words *Baronius* is a little troubled, and without fear or wit would gladly give his Friend *Radevicus* the lye; all his reaſon being, becauſe *Gunther* the Poet doth not ſet down the very ſame words in his Verſe; and yet he doth as much as could be expected in Verſe.

b In melius mutato conſilio. *Baron.* anno 1158. ſect. 1.

c Præſul S. R. Eccleſiæ —ſalutat vos— tanquam Dominum & Imperatorem urbis & orbis. *Bar.* an. 1158. ſect. 3.

Te velut eximium Regem dominumq; ſalutant.

They do ſalute you as their Lord and King.

Having ended, they deliver the Popes Letter, in which he thus interprets the offending expreſſions in his laſt Epiſtle to the Emperour: That by *Beneficium*, he did not mean *feudum* a *foe*, or meer *grace* on *condition*; but onely *bonum factum*, a good deed, and ſo that he had *done well* in Crowning him. And that by the other phraſe of exception, [(*d*) *Contulimus tibi inſigne Imperialis Coronæ*] *We have given to thee the ſign or bage of the Imperial Crown*, he intended no ſuch thing as was ſuggeſted, onely that he did Crown him; for by the word *Contulimus*, he meant nothing but *Impoſuimus*, that is, ſet the Crown upon his head: in ſum, that he onely intended the action, not any power or right. And thus a peace was ſtruck up between them. And thus the Popes interpretation of his own Authority is worth remembring.

Id. ſect. 4, 5.

d Imperialis Inſigne Coronæ libentiſſime conferens, *the words of the firſt Letter.* *Bar.* anno 1157. ſect. 5.

But this quietneſs laſted not long: for *Adrian* not (*e*) forgetting his ſuppoſed injuries (*e*) took any occaſion to fall out with *Frederick*, to whom he ſends, taxing him with ingratitude; and to increaſe the affront, ſent this meſſage to him by an unworthy and vile Fellow, who as ſoon as the Letter was delivered, before it was read over, ſneak'd away: which ſtrange contempt, with the denyal of ſome other requeſts, ſomewhat troubled *Barbaroſſa*; but he requited it by commanding his Secretary for the future to ſet the Emperours (*f*) Name before the Popes, and to ſalute the Pope in the ſingular number; giving this reaſon, That either the Pope ſhould write to him after the cuſtom of his Predeceſſors, or he would in his letters do as other Princes had done.

e *Bar.* anno 1159. ſect. 1.

f Id. ſect. 5.

This

1100.

This nettles *Adrian* to the quick, writing thus to the Emperour,—— (a) *We marvail not a little at your wiſdom, for that you ſeem not to yeild ſo much reverence to St.* Peter *and the holy Church of* Rome *as you ought to do; for in the Letters which you wrote to us, you ſet your name before ours; whereby you do incur the note of inſolencie, not to ſay arrogancie.*—— Nor was this all, for the (b) *Milanois* and other *Lombards* having a little before yeilded themſelves as Subjects to the Emperor, and given him all their *Regalia* and Priviledges as their Soveraign; *Adrian* ſends ſeveral (c) Letters amongſt them to incite and perſwade them to Rebellion; and as another aggravation, ſends preſently to *Frederick* (then in *Italy*) to demand a grant of him to ſeveral Articles, which *Eberard* Biſhop of *Babenberg* (once greatly (d) commended for his Piety and knowledge) doth confeſs were very (e) *hard* and *difficult* to deſire; yet the Emperour offer'd to do the Pope juſtice in theſe, if he would do the like to him in other matters; but this was denyed, for *Adrian* would receive a benefit, but do none; and all this, forſooth, becauſe the Pope is not to be judged by any. And whatſoever Overtures of Peace were propoſed, vaniſhed to nothing: for the Pope, as (f) *Frederick* complains, ſtood upon ſeveral new grievous and unheard-of buſineſſes.

a *Bar.* anno 1159. ſ. 6. *Jo. Naucler.* gen. 39. pag. 761. *Mutius* Hiſt. Germ. l. 18. p. 162.
b *Bar.* an. 1158. ſ. 11, 12, 13.
c Id. anno 1159. ſ. 9. *Naucler.* Gen. 39. pag. 764.
d ſ. 14.
e Capitula duriſſima, ſ. 16.
f ſ. 22.

And we may well believe that he oppoſed the Emperour as much as poſſible he could, ſeeing he was juſt now going to excommunicate him, being thereto (g) bribed and hired by moneys, as *Naucler* confeſſeth. But this trouble had a little ſtop by the death of *Hadrian* at *Anagni*; but whether he was choaked by a Fly or the Squinſey, is nothing to my purpoſe. Yet before his death, he had ſo carryed his deſign, that he had brought his favourites to ſwear, not to chuſe any after him, who wiſhed well to the Emperour.

g Dota pecunia immenſa Domino *Adriano* Papæ, ut Imperatorem excommunicaret. *Naucler.* pag. 764.

Upon this a Schiſm ariſeth, two pretending for the Popedom; *Roland*, who was one of the Legates that carryed the Popes offenſive Letter to the Emperour in *Germany*, was one, and called himſelf *Alexander* III; *Octavian* was the other, who call'd himſelf *Victor* IV. Though 'tis confeſt that *Alexander* had above four ſuffrages in the Conclave for the others one, yet both of them having many followers, they made a great hubbub in the World, and Excommunicated, curs'd and damn'd one another to the Pit of Hell.

Bar. anno 1160. ſ. 25, 30, 31. 1159.

Frederick to end this Controverſie, (h) according to the cuſtom of other Emperours in the time of Schiſm, calls a Council at *Pavia*, whither he ſummons both the Popes; *Alexander* refuſeth, *Victor* obeys; the Council (i) meets, where are from ſeveral Kingdoms fifty Archbiſhops and Biſhops, with an infinite company of Abbots, beſides the Ambaſſadors of many Countries: The Emperour withdraws himſelf from the Council, leaving the buſineſs wholly to the determination of the Clergy, who after VII days conſultation, declared *Victor* to be the true Pope; for which they declared many (k) Reaſons, too long here to be repeated; and ſo having (l) curs'd *Alexander*, ador'd *Victor*, and kiſs'd his Toe, which alſo the Emperour did, with the addition of the holding his (m) Stirrop and (n) leading his Horſe, the Council broke up. The Emperour by (o) *Edict* commanding all to acknowledge *Victor* for Pope; yet *Alexander* again (p) Excommunicated *Victor*, and

h *Bar.* anno 1159. ſ. 64. & anno 1160. ſ. 2.
i Ib. ſ. 2.
k *Bar.* an. 1160. ſ. 3, 4, 5, 6. ad 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, &c. 33. 35.
l Ib. 24.
m Ib. 23.
n *Naucler.* pag. 765.
o Ib. ſ. 44.
p Ib. ſ. 44.

1100. and all his Complices, eſpecially the Emperor, whoſe ſubjects he alſo abſolved from their Oaths of Allegiance. But theſe thunder-bolts made no great noyſe; a little after, another (*q*) Council at *Lauden* in *Franconia* confirming *Victor*.

q An. 1161. § 21.

Yet *Alexander* had the Kings of *England* and *France* as his favourers; and ſo ſeeing no ſafety for him in *Italy*, he ſails to *France*. And here give me leave to tell you one ſtory of a queer come off, upon the credit of (*a*) *Nauclerus*, and others. *Frederick* having a mind to end the quarrel, deſired *Lewes* VII. to give him a meeting, and to bring with him *Alexander*, and he would bring *Victor*, that the buſineſs might again be examined: the thing is agreed upon, and by oath; the place appointed was neer *Dijon* in *Burgondy*, at the River *Soane*. *Alexander* refuſeth to meet, though *Lewes* would, to ſave his promiſe. Yet having no mind to diſcredit *Alexander* for his refuſal, the trick was thus ordered; *Lewes* goeth to the River at the firſt day appointed betimes, waſheth his hands in it, and hath a Cryer to call the Emperour to the meeting; and ſo ſaying he had kept his word, away he haſts home again. The Emperor preſently comes, with the Kings of *Scotland* and *Bohemia*; but finding how he had been gul'd, returns angry into *Germany*, and ſends *Victor* to *Rome*.

a Gen. 39. p. 767. *Mutius* p. 169.

And that *Alexander* thought himſelf no ſmall man in *France*, we may gueſs by theſe following honours done to him, where we have our *Henry* II. going to viſit him, (*b*) kiſſing his feet; and a little after, the ſame King of *England*, and this *Lewes* of *France*, meeting *Alexander* at *Toſſack* upon the *Loyre*, very prettily plaid the (*c*) Yoemen of his Stirrop, the one of one ſide, and the other of the other, tripping along on foot, leading his Holineſſes *Roſonante* by the bridle. *Baronius* at this ſtory is quite over-joy'd, and out of his raptured zeale, cannot refrain from running to his Bible, as if he had a mind to prove it to be of divine right: but much good may doe the cockles of his heart with this one ſtory of two Kings, ſince I believe he's never like to have ſuch another: Though the very next year, we find the King of *France* acting (*d*) the ſame part of the Comedy, and buſſing his feet to the purpoſe.

b *Bar.* an. 1161. § 14.

c *Bar.* an. 1162. § 15, 16. *Jo. Buſſieres* Hiſt. *Gal.* Tom. 2 pag. 89. *Genebrard* Tom. 2. pag. 931.

d *Bar.* an. 1163. § 1.

1164. The next year *Victor* dyeth, in whoſe place is elected in oppoſition to *Alexander*, one *Guido*, who call'd himſelf *Paſchal* III. But *Alexander* now began to gain ground; whereupon he left *France*, and returned to *Italy*, and was kindly received at *Rome*.

1165. Though *Paſchal* was acknowledged and confirm'd as a true Pope, by a Council or Diet at (*e*) *Wortzburg*, with *Frederick's* approbation. But *Alexander* is quit with the Emperour, not onely excommunicating, but (*f*) depriving him by ſentence of all his Dominions, and abſolving all men from his obedience. At laſt *Paſchal* dyeth, and then the *Romans* choſe one *John*, who calls himſelf (*g*) *Calixtus* III.

e 1166.

f An. 1168. § 69, 70, 71.

g 1170.

But to leave off theſe wranglings, let us come once again to a peace. Some ſay that *Alexander* by flight ſtole privately into *Venice*, where under the diſguiſe of a Cook or Skullion he lived ſome time; till by chance he was known, and then by the Duke honor'd as a true Pope. Others ſay, that he was publickly conducted in with a great deal of joy: but be it as it will, there we find him. At laſt the Emperor and he came to capitulations; and an agreement being ſtruck up, *Frederick* cometh to *Venice*, waits upon

1177.

on

on the Pope at St. *Mirks* Church. *Alexander* bids him humble himſelf, and ask pardon: *Frederick* proſtrates himſelf at his feet: the Pope ſet his foot upon the Emperours neck, ſaying, *It is written, Thou ſhalt walk upon the Aſp and the Baſilisk, and ſhalt tread upon the Lyon and the Dragon.* The Emperor replyed, that he did not humble himſelf ſo to him, but to *Peter*. Nay, quoth the Pope, *Both to me and to Peter.* This being done; the Pope received him into favor, and then peace was made. 1100.

Aphonſ. Ciacconius in vit. *Alex.* II *Papyr. Maſſon.* l. 5. fol. 205. *Triſt. Calchus* Hiſt. *Mediolan.* l. 12 p. lib. 5. c. 43.

247. *Hub. Goltz.* & *Caſp. Gevart.* Icones Imp. Rom. pag. 286. *Azor* Inſtit. Tom. 2. *Naucler.* pag. 776. *Phil. da Bergamo* fol. 351. *Mutius* p. 176. *Pet. Juſtinian.* Hiſt. *Venet.* lib. 2. p. 48. *Fran. Duarenus* de ſacris Eccleſ. Miniſt. lib. 1. cap. 2. vid. *Rivet.* Jeſuit. vapul. c. 28. § 4. p. 496.

Baronius is not a little troubled at this, it ſavouring of ſo much pride and inſolency, that he cannot fancy that a Pope would be guilty of, and ſo throweth it by as a (*a*) Fable. But when I conſider how many Popiſh Hiſtorians do confeſs it, and the narrative of it is carefully preſerved in the Archives of the great (*b*) Library at *Venice*, even to this day; how the (*c*) Picture of this ſtory hangs yet publickly up in the *Senate-houſe* of that City; and, which is more, the ſame ſtory, with the Popes foot on his neck, is yet alſo to be ſeen painted by the door of the Chappel where the Pope himſelf and Cardinals commonly go to Prayers; all which muſt have ſome reaſon for their being: I ſay, upon theſe conſiderations I ſhall not yet neglect it as a Fable; however, the oſtentation of thoſe Pictures is almoſt as bad as the fact; though there is examples enough beſides this, to teſtifie the pride of the Popes; and ſo *Baronius* need not make this an argument againſt it, if he did but remember how *Gregory* VII. made the Emperour *Henry* dance attendance ſeveral days, almoſt naked, in an hard froſt.

a An. 1177. § 12.

b Bar. an. 1177. § 2, 4, 5.

c Laur. Banck, de Tyran. Pap. pag. 468, 469.

Alexander for the great kindneſs ſhewn to him by the *Venetians*, beſtowed ſeveral priviledges or graces to the Dukes of that City; as, to go under a Canopy, to have ſilver Trumpets before them, to ſeale with lead, whereas before they did in wax, &c. and gave the *Adriatick* gulf to the City, to which once a year, *viz.* on *Aſcenſion*-day, the City is marryed, by the throwing in of a gold ring; the Duke and Senate being row'd along in that large Barge, by them called *Bucentoro*, or *Buccintoro*, which is yet kept in the *Arcenal*, and, as they ſay, is the ſame that Pope *Alexander* was carried in; but with ſuch alterations and amendments, that you may ſuppoſe not an inch of the old wood in her.

Paſſing by the ſeveral warrs that this magnanimous Emperour *Frederick Barbaroſſa* had in *Europe*, and the *Holy-land*, I ſhall tell you a ſtory of his Puniſhment of Rebellion; which, with the former of the dog-carrying Count *Herman*, may terrifie the unruly into peace and obedience.

The Empreſs *Beatrix*, wife to *Frederick*, being in *Italy*, had a deſire to ſee *Milan*; to which purpoſe thither ſhe goeth: but being entred within the City, the people having no affection to the Emperour, took her, ſet her on a Mule, with her face backwards, making her hold the tail in her hands for a bridle; and in this poſture of deriſion, led her through the City, out of another gate. The Emperour juſtly incenſed at this affront, beſieged the City, and at laſt forced them to yield upon mercy, or conditions as bad, which were theſe, That thoſe who would redeem their lives, ſhould take

Krantz. cro. *Saxon* l. 6. cap. 36. *Sab. Munſt.* Coſmogr. pag. 165. *Propoſ. Memorab.* p. 19. 20.

1100. take or catch with their Teeth certain Figgs hanging at the Genitals of a Mule: ſome prefer'd life, and did it; others ſuffer'd rather than would do it. Hence they ſay, that ſaying of reproach amongſt the *Italians*, putting one Finger between two, --- *Ecco il fico*, See here a figg for thee. And the truth is, that the *Milanois* had ſo often inraged the Emperour, that one time having taken it, he deſtroyed it to the very ground, and ſome ſay, made the Earth be Plough'd and Sowen with Salt. At which time, amongſt other things, the Bodies of the *Magi* or Wiſemen, ſaid to be at *Milan* [firſt carryed to *Conſtantinople* by St. *Helen*, thence to *Milan* by St. *Euſtorgius* Archbiſhop of that City] were conveyed to *Colen* by *Reinoldus* Prince Elector of that See, where they yet lye, commonly call'd the three Kings of *Colen*. But for the farther knowledge (true or falſe) of theſe *Magi* (let their Bodies be where they pleaſe) I ſhall refer the Reader to the Hiſtory of them, as it hangs up in Tables in St. *Peters* Church at *Colen*, which he may ſee in honeſt (*a*) *Tom Coryat*.

a Crudities, pag. 594, 595. *&c.*

But at laſt *Frederick* dying much lamented, his Son *Henry* VI ſucceeded in the Empire, and was Crown'd by Pope *Cæleſtine* III at *Rome*; the manner how, take as followeth: --- (*b*) *The Pope being ſet in his Pontifical Chair, holding the Imperial Golden Crown between his Feet; then the Emperour* Henry, *and the Empreſs* Conſtantia, *bowing down their Heads, thus* (*c*) *receive the Coronation from the Popes Feet: Then immediately the Pope ſtriking the Emperours Crown with his foot, kick'd it from his head to the ground.*— And what was the meaning of the Papal Complement, the ſame Authors will tell you — *ſignifying, that he had power to depoſe him from the Empire, if he deſired it. And then the Cardinal ſtanding by, took up the Crown and put it again on the Emperours head.*

b *Baron.* an. 1191. ⁂ 12. *Roger Hoveden* Annal. part. 2. pag. 689.

c *The Pope let fall the Crown upon the Emperours head.* *Jo. Treviſa's* Tranſlat. of *Ran. Higdens* Polycron. lib. 7. cap. 26.

But as if this Interpretation were not large enough to make the Catholick Reader underſtand the Popes meaning by his moping action, or leſt we ſhould not from hence gather ſome ſtrange juriſdiction adherent to his Holineſs; *Baronius* adds his learned Comment, *viz. That it is in the pleaſure of the Pope, to give, keep, maintain, and take away the Empire:* And by this action he would have *Henry* to know as much. And if any man ſhould be ſo wiſe as to doubt of this Author, the Cardinal, in another place, will ſilence him with this doughty Queſtion: (*d*) *What, is it not in the power of the Pope, upon cauſe, to take away or give the Empire to whom he pleaſeth and thinks worthy? for whoſoever ſhall receive the Empire without his conſent, is no Emperour, but a Tyrant and an invader.*

d An. 1157. ⁂ 13.

And ſo I leave his Holineſs to make good cheer with this Infallible Doctrine; and the *German Electors* to ſhake their ears, having nothing to do, according to this Principle, but to gape for, expect, and obey the Dictates and Heſts of the Pope, who is as cock-ſure as Infallibility it ſelf; and whoſe Power and Authority is far above *Pembrokes* Parliament, that would do all things, but make a man a woman, and a woman a man.

The end of the fourth Book.

A CONTINUATION OF THE REBELLIONS AND Treasonable practices Of the ROMANISTS,

In Deposing and Murthering of their Emperours and Kings:

From the Year MCC, to the Year MD.

Book V.

Chap. I.

1. *The Murther of the Emperour* Philip.
2. *The Emperour* Otho *the Fourth deposed.*
3. *The troubles and deposing of the Emperour* Frederick *the Second.*
4. *The* Guelfs *and* Gibillins, *with other troubles of the Empire.*

Sect. 1.

The Murther of the Emperour Philip.

THe Emperour *Henry* VI dying, the *Germans* fell into divisions, some chusing *Philip* his Brother, and son to *Frederick* I, and Duke of *Schwoben*, whilst others elected *Otho* Duke of *Brunswick* for Emperour.

Both parties would willingly have the Pope, then *Innocent* III, to befriend them. But *Philip*, though the Popes Legat honoured his Coronation in *Germany* by his (*a*) presence, and also (*b*) absolved him from his former Censures; yet the Pope himself had such

a *Pet. Mexia*, fol. 416.

b *Sporidan.* anno 1198. § 7.

such an (*a*) hatred to him for the cause of his Father and other Relations, that he would by no means permit of his Rule; yet he would fairly tell *Philip*'s Ambassadors, that he neither would, nay, nor (*b*) could decree any thing but the right: yet he as confidently affirmed, that it was his jurisdiction to (*c*) approve of, or reject an elected Emperour. And having thus voted himself an Infallible authority, he (though the *Germans* had formerly chose young *Frederick*, son to *Henry* King of the *Romans*, and sworn Allegiance to him) declares himself for *Otho*, Excommunicates *Philip* and all his partakers.

But passing by the several mischiefs that fell upon *Germany* by these Divisions; *Otho* at last being not able to withstand *Philip*, the Pope was consulted for a Peace, who desired on his part that the Emperours Daughter should be married to his Holinesses Nephew, so to renown his own Family in *Italy* with divers Lands: but at this (*d*) malipert request the *Germans* (*d*) laught heartily. Well, at last it was concluded that *Philip* should Marry his said Daughter to *Otho*; to make way for which, he should be divorc'd from his first Wife *Mary*, Daughter to the Duke of *Brabant*, and be espoused to *Beatrice* Daughter to *Philip*, for which the Pope must grant another Dispensation to null their propinquity in blood. All this being done, *Philip* is to be Emperour, and after his death *Otho*. And the Pope is now as infallible for *Philip*, as he was formerly for the other.

Yet here peace lasted not long: this which *Philip* hoped to have been his quiet, was his ruine; for the *Palsgrave Otho de Witilspach* having been formerly a Suitor to *Philip*'s Daughter, and seeing himself thus deprived of her, for it might be till now he might have some hopes, though *Philip* had formerly (*e*) denyed him for a murther that he committed, is resolved to revenge himself on her Father.

To this purpose he conveys himself to *Bamberg*, where the Emperour then was; and joyning to him *Eckenberg* Bishop of the same City (whom yet I finde much (*f*) commended) and some others, he goeth to the Palace, where the Emperour that day after dinner, had laid himself down on his bed, being newly let bloud. *Witilspach* calls at the door, and *Philip* being informed who it was, commands the door to be open'd, though he had then none with him, but his Chancellor the Bishop of *Spire*, and a Page without any weapons: the *Palsgrave* at his entrance draws his Sword, and wounded the Emperour in the throat; of which he presently dyed, and then he and his Complices fled; but *Witilspach* himself was not long after slain by *Philips* Steward. This Murder was committed in the year 1208 according to this old Distich.

Anni milleni, bis quatuor atq; duceni
Extant, quando pius Rex occidit ense Philippus.

a Ib. ☞ 8. *Bzov.* anno 1198. ☞ 13.

b Se nequaquam contra jus aut fas posse aut velle decernere. *Bzov.* anno 1199. ☞ 22.

c C. *Venerab.* de Elect. *Bzov.* anno 1199. ☞ 24.

d Rex & Principes audita Romani Pont. petulantia, in risum permoti. *Naucler.* Gen. 41. p. 802.

e *Besold.* Synopsi-Hist. Univers. p. 435.

f *Jo. Gault.* Cron. Cronicor. pag. 1101. Tom. 1.

1208.

The

1200.

Sect. 2.

The Emperour Otho *the Fourth depoſed.*

PHilip being thus murder'd, *Germany* was mainly troubled by the (*a*) Treacheries or ground deceipts of the Pope, as one of their own Hiſtorians words it. But now *Otho* IV goeth currant for Emperour, Pope *Innocent* (*b*) forbidding any to be elected but him, whom alſo he lets know how much he is beholden to his Holineſs for undergoing a great deal of ill will for his ſake; how zealous he had been for his promotion, and bids him have a care of the hopes or deſigns of young *Frederick*, and ſuchlike good words.

a Hoc uno *Philippo* peremto, *Germania* ſummis Inſidiis Pont. *Rom.* agitata. *Nangler.* pag. 803.

Otho IV being acknowledged and elected in *Germany*, goeth to *Rome* for his Coronation, where he muſt alſo dance attendance at the Popes Stirrop. Yet peace would not continue; the *Romans* and *Germans* falling out, above a thouſand of the Empetours men were ſlain; which did not a little trouble *Otho*, who (*c*) ſuſpecting the Pope as contriver of that uprore, withdrew himſelf from *Rome*, and demanding ſeveral Lands as belonging to the Empire, by force endeavoured to have them. *Innocent* admoniſheth *Otho* of his actions, telling him, that he the Pope is appointed and ſet up over all Nations, to root out, deſtroy and break in pieces, *&c.* And then Excommunicates him and all his Partakers; and at laſt deprives him by Cenſure from his Empire, and abſolves all his Subjects from their Oath and Allegiance which they had ſworn and owed to him. All which Cenſures are alſo haſted into *Germany*, and pronounced by *Sigefrid* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, whoſe Commendatory riming Epitaph is as followeth.

b Ex. an. 1208. & 2. 1209.

c *Nangler.* pag. 805.

1210.

Migrans vir fidus, quinto Septembris in Idus,
Præſul Sigfridus, *fulget Cælo quaſi ſydus.*

The *Germans* terrified at the Papal Fulminations, withdrew their Obedience from *Otho*, and according to the Popes deſire Elected young *Frederick* for Emperor, alledging that it was his right to be Emperor, becauſe he had been formerly choſe and ſworn King of the *Romans*; at which *Innocent* greatly rejoyced, though he could not but know that this reaſon was as valid, when he was formerly ſo zealous for *Otho*, and reſolute againſt all others whatſoever.

1211.

1212.

Pet. Mexia, fol. 423.

Frederick comes into *Germany*, is Crowned at *Aix*. *Otho* makes what oppoſition he can, but is overthrown, and ſo forced to withdraw and neglect the Empire: And thus being depoſed again, *Frederick* remain'd as Supreme, and ſo had himſelf, with the Popes conſent, the ſecond time (*d*) Crown'd at *Aix*. In the mean time was held a Great Council at the *Lateran*, whereby *Tranſubſtantiation* got a good footing, and Temporal Princes were to be by the Pope depoſed, and their Subjects abſolved from their Allegiance, if they neglected to extirpate out of their Dominions that which the Pope call'd Hereſie.

d *Spon.* anno 1215. & 4.

1200. *Otho* having been three years turned out, dyed; but, they ſay, ſo penitently, that he made the (*a*) Skullions of his Kitchen tread upon his neck; and though he remained a while in Purgatory, yet at laſt he was help'd into Heaven. Nor need we queſtion his ſanctity, ſeeing, as they tell us, being ſick and weak, his ſide opened to let the Euchariſt fly in, and then cloſed again; and I believe it was as true in him as it was in *Bonaventure*.

a Bzov. an. 128. §. 19. *Spondan.* §. 7, 8.

Sect. 3.

The troubles and depoſing of the Emperour Frederick *the Second.*

1220. FRederick II being thus Emperour, goeth to *Rome*, where he was Crowned by *Honorius* III: but this peace laſted not long, *Frederick* having been abuſed by ſeveral in *Italy*, pretended that the Pope took their parts: On the other ſide, *Honorius* would have the Emperour to go and reduce the *Holy-land*: *Frederick* pretended to retreeve and regain the Territories that formerly had belonged to the Empire; *Honorius* affirm'd they now belong'd to the Church and St. *Peter*: And thus bandying to and fro, ſome ſay that *Honorius* threw about his Excommunications.

1227. *Honorius* dying, *Gregory* IX ſucceeds, and threatens *Frederick* with Excommunication, if he ſet not ſail for the *Holy-land* by ſuch a time. The Emperour neglecting, is Excommunicated,

1227. and ſo ſeeing no remedy, ſails to *Syria*, where he makes peace with the *Sultan*, having *Hieruſalem* and other places deliver'd to him: And yet is *Gregory* (*b*) *angry that he went thither, being Excommunicated, and a Rebel againſt him*; and ſo intends to dethrone him: ſends into *Aſia* to the (*c*) *Hoſpitallers* and *Templers*, that they ſhould no way aſſiſt *Frederick*, but look upon him as a publick Enemy: who accordingly endeavour'd to (*d*) betray him to the *Saracen*; but the *Souldan* out of a Noble Spirit ſcorned Treachery, and diſcovered it to the Emperour.

b Pap. *Greg.* nimis molle ferens, quod *Rom.* Imp. Excommunicatus & Rebellis, ad terram Sanctam tranſierat. *Mat. Paris*, anno 1229.

The Pope in the mean time having as he thought cut him out work enough to do in the *Holy-land*, reſolves to take opportunity in his abſence: ſo he ſends into *England*, (*e*) accuſing of him of horrible-terrible *Pictadiglio's*, that he being (*f*) Excommunicated, ſhould enter the Church at *Hieruſalem*, and be Crowned, and then go to his Palace before his Souldiers with his Crown on; and then inviting ſeveral of the Noble *Saracens* to a Feaſt, did for recreation-ſake let ſome Chriſtian women dance before them. And to aggravate theſe, how he had taken ſome Church-monies probably to pay his Army, *&c.* but the burden of the lamentation was, that he might have ſome *Engliſh* moneys to help him in his Wars againſt the Emperour, whom he thinks it (*g*) juſt and neceſſary to have depoſed from the Empire.

c Naucler. pag. 818. *d Matt. Paris*, p. 358. *e Matt. Paris*, p. 361. *f* Pag. 368. *g* Juſtum eſſe & fidei Chriſtianæ neceſſarium, ut tam validus Eccleſiæ perſecutor a faſtu Imperii depelleretur. *Mat. Paris*, ib.

And what vaſt ſums theſe canting ſtories obtain'd, is eaſily gueſs'd, when in *England*, *Wales* and *Ireland*, the very Church-Ornaments and Plate were ſold or pawn'd to ſatisfie the

avarice

(*a*) avarice of *Rome*: for if they gave not presently, the *Nuntio* threatned Excommunications and Interdictions; such a childish fear had the Papal Censures then possess'd men with; and to such an height of tyranny and impudence, to say no worse, had the Bishops of *Rome* stuffed out and swell'd themselves to, as if they had a Divine right over all the Moneys and Riches in the World: and thus is the case alter'd; Christ and St. *Peter*, rather then not pay their dues and tribute to their Temporal Prince, would be at the expence of a Miracle; but now the Kings and Princes must beggar and ruine themselves and Subjects, to satisfie the avarice of the Bishop of *Rome*, who pretends to be but a Vicar to the former; for if you deny this, he hath an hobgobling in his Budget, to boggle you to your ruine here, or damnation hereafter; though wise Kings should not regard such Censures upon such unjust grounds, and from those who have no Authority over them.

1206.

a Matt. Paris, anno 1229. pag. 361. 362. anno 1234. p. 400, 401, 402, 552, 566, 613. 622, 623, 641, 645, 655, 658, 659, 660. 667, 691, 699, 700, 716, 722, 728, 818, 875, 956. *Nic. Harpsfield* Hist. Eccles. pag. 477. *Fox* Tom. 1. pag. 369, 370. *b Naucler.* pag. 818. *c Matt. Paris*, anno 1229. pag. 364. *d* 1230.

Gregory having thus got Money enough, falls upon those Lands which the Emperour pretended to in *Italy*, making the people (*b*) rebel, and withdraw themselves from their (*b*) Allegiance, whereby he took many places: *Frederick* hearing of this Papal dealing, having made peace with the *Souldan*, resolves to return. The Pope informed of this, (*c*) way-lays him, hoping to seize upon him when he little thought of it; but *Frederick* having notice, escaped all his snares, and landed safely in *Sicily*; and having strengthned himself, regain'd some places again. At last a (*d*) peace is made between him and the Pope.

Not not longer after, the Pope and the *Romans* fell out, insomuch that *Gregory* was glad to leave the City; but here the Emperour (*e*) helps him at a dead lift, joyning his Forces to the Pope's, whereby the *Romans* were bang'd to the purpose. But let us see how the Pope requites this good turn. The *Milanois* a little after rebelling against the Emperour, he resolves (as it became him) to reduce those Traitors to obedience: *Gregory* perswades him from that design, and would have him again forsooth turn his Army into the *Holy-land*. But *Frederick* wisely thought it was fitting to pacifie all at home first, and did not a little marvail that the Pope should interest himself for such perfidious people. But for all his wondering, *Gregory* assists the *Milanois*, sends them a great deal of money, and for further incouragement promiseth them more: the *Milanois* take courage; but whilst the Emperour is engaged against them, the *Austrians*, stir'd up either by the (*f*) Pope, or *Fredericks* Enemies, rise up against him, whereupon he was forced to forsake his design at *Milan*.

e Matt. Paris, anno 1234. pag. 408. 465.

Matt. Par. an. 1235. pag. 433.

f Id. pag. 414, 439.

But having quieted all in *Germany*, he returns against the Rebels in *Italy*, earnestly desiring the Popes assistance against these Traytors. But *Gregory* after a (*g*) dissembling manner made shew as if he also fear'd the Imperial Armies, and so neglected his aid. *Frederick* marcheth on, beateth the *Milanois*, conquering all the Rebels before him. The Pope seeing thus all to go well on the Emperours side, sends to him to spare the people, and accept of a peace. But these things not fadging according to the Popes humour, he Leagues himself with the *Venetians* and *Genovois* against *Frederick*, and then (*h*) Excommunicates him, and absolves his Subjects from their Allegiance. And this he sends all over, with many aggravations against the Emperour, all which *Frederick* undertook to (*i*) answer.

1237.

g Matt. Paris, p. 444. 1238.

h 1239.

i Matt. Paris, p. 493, 494, 495, 496, 561, 520, 521. *Pet. de Ven.* lib. 1 Ep. 1. 50.

1200. *Fxv.* anno 1239. ℣ 7

At laſt, the breach widening, (and who would not be angry to looſe an Empire?) diſdain turn'd their Proſe into Poetry: And thus they Libel one another; which you may take as themſelves relate it, with their variations. And firſt, they ſay, the Emperour thus ſhews himſelf.

a Variis. b Totius mundi.

Roma *diu titubans* (a) *longis erroribus acta*
(b) *Cornet, & mundi deſinet eſſet caput.*

Rome *ſo long ſhook with divers errours, ſhall*
Now ceaſe to be head of the World, and fall.

To which the Pope thus returns:

Niteris incaſſum navem ſubmergere Petri,
Fluctuat, at nunquam (c) *deſinet eſſe Ratis.*

c Mergitur illa.

In vain thou ſtriv'ſt to drown St. Peters *boat,*
It ne'er ſhall ceaſe to be, but always float.

To which thus again *Frederick*:

d Docent. e Moment. f Totius malleus unus erit.

Fata (d) *volunt, ſtellaque* (e) *docent, avium*q; *volatus,*
(f) *Quod Fredericus ego Malleus Orbis ero.*

The Fates, the Stars, and Auguries decree
That I the Conquerour of the world ſhall be.

And at laſt *Gregory* gives this return:

g Fama refert.

(g) *Fata volunt, Scriptura docet, peccata loquuntur;*
Quod tibi vita brevis, pœna perennis erit.

The Fates and Scripture tell, your ſins report,
Your pains ſhall never end, though life but ſhort.

h Acts & Mon. Tom. 1. p. 409.

(h) *John Fox* affords you other Verſes to this purpoſe.

Matt. Paris p. 517, 518. *Jo. de Buſſieres*, Tom. 2. pag. 134.

Gregory having thus, by his toyiſh Cenſures, deprived *Frederick*, as he thought, [and ſome *Italian* writers look upon him for the future as no Emperour,] conſults for a new Election, and at laſt pitcheth upon *Robert* Brother to the King of *France*. But this by the *French* St. *Lewis* is rejected as ridiculous, alledging the Pope to have no power over the Emperour, and that *Frederick* was a good Chriſtian, Neighbour, Friend and Ruler: And ſo this deſign fell to the ground. The Pope being thus fruſtrated by ſo great a Monarch, entred into a Treaty with *Frederick*; but though agreement made, being fickle-humoured, he would (i) ſtand to nothing, to the amazement and grief of his own Legates. However, *Gregory* reſolved to undo the Emperour, ſummon'd a Council to confirm his depoſition; but this was hindred by *Frederick* ſeizing of ſome Cardinals and Biſhops going thither, and the Popes death; who had given (k) Indulgences to all thoſe who would take up the Croiſaidy againſt the Emperour.

i Id. pag. 541.

1241. k *Matim*, pag. 209.

The death of *Gregory* ended not the troubles of *Frederick*; for *Innocent* IV was as furious againſt him as the former, though a friend

friend to him when a Cardinal; which made the Emperour, upon notice of his Election (knowing that Authority commonly alters the man, and Popes uſed to be enemies to the Empire) ſay, That *he had loſt a good Cardinal friend, but got a mortal enemy being Pope.* And this proved true. Yet the Emperour being ſtronger in *Italy*, *Innocent* fled into *France*, where he excommunicates *Frederick*; of which *Mat. Paris* tells us this following ſtory. 1200.

A certain Curate of *Paris* having received the Order to excommunicate him, and not liking ſuch dealings againſt the Emperour, yet willing in ſome way to ſatisfie the command, thus beſpake his Pariſhioners: —— *Give ear all good people, I have received order to pronounce the ſolemn ſentence of Excommunication againſt the Emperour* Frederick, *the Candles put out, and Bells ringing. But not knowing the reaſon, though I am not ignorant of the great quarrel and inexorable hatred between them; and I know alſo that one of them doth injure the other, but which is the offender I know not: Therefore, ſo far forth as my power doth extend, I excommunicate and pronounce excommunicated one of the two; namely, he that doth injury to the other: and I doe abſolve him that doth ſuffer the injury, which is ſo hurtful to all Chriſtendome.* —— At which honeſt meaning humour, the Emperour was very well pleaſed, whilſt the Pope on the other hand was as much offended. Who, to make his cauſe more plauſible, gets a Council call'd at *Lyons*, where the Emperour is again excommunicated, though the Pope would not permit him to come there in perſon to anſwer for himſelf, nor remit any of his fury towards him, though the Kings of *France* and *England* would ingage for his good behaviour and due obedience. 1245. *Mat Paris* an. 1245. p. 654.

Frederick being informed how the Pope and Council had declared him depoſed, plucks up his ſpirits, plays the man, deſpiſeth their trifling authority over him, affirms himſelf no ſubject to their depoſition, calls for his Crown, puts it on his head, and bravely and wiſely reſolves to keep it there. *Mat. Paris* p. 679.

On the other ſide, thoſe on the Popes faction looking upon *Frederick* as depoſed, conſult another election, and at the Popes Inſtigation choſe *Henry Lantſgrave* of *Turinge*, (of whom or ſome other they had (*a*) formerly the ſame thoughts) and Crown him at *Aken*. Though St *Lewes* King of *France*, upon many reaſons would gladly have (*b*) perſwaded the Pope to a reconciliation with the Emperour *Frederick*, but *Innocent* would not. 1245. 1246. *a Mat. Paris* p. 608. *b* Id. p. 697.

Henry the *Lantſgrave* enjoyed not his Title long, being wounded to death, as ſome ſay, as he was beſieging *Ulme*; after whom, and a deſign upon ſome (*c*) others, by the ſame means was elected *William* Earle of *Holland*, who (*d*) ſome ſay was afterwards Crown'd by Pope *Innocent* at *Genoa*, whom we ſhall leave rejoycing at the departure of *Frederick*, who dyed in *Italy*, ſome ſay poyſoned, others think ſtifled. However it be, he was an excellent Scholar and Linguiſt, ſpeaking *French*, *Italian*, *German*, *Latin*, *Greek* and *Arabick*; and indued with many rare vertues: yet ſome do ſo dote upon a blind Pontificall Obedience, that they will impudently take upon them the part of an Omnipotent Diety, and tell you that he is (*e*) damn'd; and all this, I ſuppoſe, becauſe he would not let his Empire be childiſhly and fooliſhly taken and pluck'd 1247. *c Mat. Paris* p. 808. *d* Notæ in *Hadr. Barland.* Hiſt. com. *Holland*, p. 67. 1250. *e* Vid. *Spondam.* an. 1250. & 19.

1200 pluck'd from him by his Holineſs, who hath as much authority to depoſe Kings, as *Cromwell* or *Ravillac* to murther them.

Sect. 4.

The Guelfs *and* Gibbillins, *with other troubles of the Empire.*

AT theſe times thoſe who took part with the Popes were called *Guelphs*, and thoſe who ſided with the Emperours, *Gibbilins*; the occaſion of which denomination ſome Authors tell as followeth, though the beginning of the ſtory every man may believe as he pleaſeth.

Pezel. part 3 p. 109. *Irmentrudis*, Wife to *Iſenbard* Earle of *Altorff*, not only abuſing a poor woman for having ſeveral children at a birth, but alſo cauſing her to ſuffer as an Adultereſs, as if by a judgement, was the next year after her ſelf brought to bed of twelve Sons; and fearing to ſuffer by her own former judgement, ordered a woman to drown eleven of them, ſhe reſerving onely one. The woman hired to obedience, goeth towards the River, meets the Earl, who asked her what ſhe was carrying; ſhe replyed, Whelps: he deſired to ſee them; ſhe denyeth, but by force he obtains, makes the Woman confeſs the truth, at which we may ſuppoſe him not a little troubled: he hath them conveyed to a Miller, there privately nurs'd up, and the woman to keep Counſel, but to return, and tell her Lady that ſhe had drowned them. Six years after the Earle makes a great Feaſt, hath theſe eleven Boys clad as the twelfth was, and brought in; and inquired of his gueſts what puniſhment was fitting for thoſe who would have killed ſuch pretty children: at which the Lady ſuſpecting, ſwounded; but coming to her ſelf again, upon her knees confeſt all, pleaded ſimplicity, and deſired pardon, which was granted her: but for memory of the ſtory, the Earl ordered that their ſirnames ſhould be *Whelps*, or *Guelfs*, i. e. little young dogs or whelps. Thus much for the original name of theſe after Dukes of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*. But (*f*) *Altorfenſis*, or *Weingartenſis* tells other ſtories of this name, as probable as the former, and it may be all alike.

(*f*) Hiſt. de *Guelfis* principibus. vid. *Hen. Can'ſ.* Antiq. Lection Tom 1. pag. 179.

As for *Gibelin*, the common opinion is, that the Emperour *Conrade* III. or his Son *Henry*, was either born or nurſed at a Town ſo called in *Schwaben*; and that this Emperour being very powerful in arms, the *Italians* fear'd him, and ſo the better to keep him imployed at home, *Roger* King of *Sicily* ſtir'd up the *Bavarians* and others againſt him. The two Armies joyning, the *Bavarians* cryed out, *Hie Guelff*, their General being called *Guelpho*; and the Imperialiſts ſhouted out as loud, *Hie* (*g*) *Gibelin*, in relation to their General, young (*h*) *Henry*, ſo called from the Town of his birth or nurſery. And the Pope in this was concerned too; *Innocent* II. being ſuppoſed to have an hand in this Revolt and war againſt the Emperour. But theſe Names, ſome ſay, were almoſt forgot, till they were again revived in the days of *Frederick* the II.

Naucler p. 750.

(*g*) *Weiblingen* a Caſtle not far from *Stutgart*, in the Dukedom of *Wirtimburg* in *Schwaben*.

(*h*) Or *Conrade* himſelf. *Chriſt. Beſold.* Synopſis hiſt. p. 406.

Others

Others will not go to *Germany* for this ſtory, but lay its original in *Italy*, & that when there were deadly feuds between the *Cancellieri* and *Panciatici* in the City *Piſtoia* in *Tuſcany*, at what time alſo there chanced to be two Potent Brothers called *Guelfo* and *Gibellino*, the one ſiding with one party, and the other with the other, and that with ſuch eagerneſs, that from them each faction after took denomination, (as (*a*) *Italy* hath been ſeveral times rent by ſuch private feuds) and afterwards *Frederick* adhering to one, and *Gregory* joyning to the other, the *Imperialiſts* were called *Gibbelins*, and the *Popelins Guelfs*; under which two names *Italy* for ſeveral years ſuffered infinite miſeries; not only Cities and Towns, but Families and neareſt Relations being divided in this quarrel, whereby they proſecuted one another with all fury imaginable; Father againſt Son, Brother againſt Brother, nay, the Wife and Husband oftentimes indeavouring one anothers deſtruction. Of which unnatural Hatred and Tyranny, the old Mendicant Fryer *b Anthonius a Rampengolis*, according to his old way, will tell you many Scripture-Alluſions. But to conclude, ſome ſay they took beginning firſt at *Piſa*, there the Faction firſt ariſing. 1200.

Pet. Mexia, ſelva rinovata, part 2. c. 39.

a Tho. Lans. conſult. orat. contra *Italiam*, p. 816.

b Figuræ Biblix, fo. 65, 66.

After the death of *Frederick* II. ſome of the Italianized Hiſtorians are willing to have the Empire voyd for ſome years, ſome more or leſs; but be it as it will, I ſhall haſtily run over ſome paſſages between the Popes and thoſe, by others held for Emperours of the Weſt.

William, we ſee the Pope cannot well deny, having been ſo great an inſtrument to his promotion, and (*c*) perſwading of him again to it: and yet we find him very earneſt with (*d*) *Haco* King of *Norway* to take the Empire upon him.

c Bzov. an. 1251. & 2. *Spond.* & 1.

Now *Innocent* ſeeing *Frederick* dead, reſolves for *Italy*; and it is pretty to obſerve with what a complement he took his farewell of *Lyons*, where he had been entertain'd all this while. For the more glory of the buſineſs, by a Cryer all the Citizens are warned to attend his Holineſs; and being all met, Cardinal *Hugo*, in the Name of the Pope, made a Farewell Sermon to them, concluding thus, —— *Loving friends, we have performed much good, and done great Alms ſince our being in this City: for when we firſt came hither, we found but* (*e*) *three or four common Stews or Brothel-houſes; but now at our departure, we leave you but one, but ſuch an one that extends it ſelf all along from the Eaſt-gate even to the Weſt gate of the City.* ——

d Mat. Paris an 1251. p. 808.

Mat. Paris p. 819.

e Tria vel quatuor Proſtibula invenimus, ſed nunc recedentes unum ſolum reliquimus, verum ipſum durat continuatum ab orientali porta civitatis uſq; ad occidentalem. Mat. Paris p. 856.

Innocent being in *Italy*, bends himſelf againſt *Conrade*, Son to *Frederick*, by the *Germans* call'd Emperour, by others King of *Naples* and *Sicily*; whom he perſwaded *William* to root out of the Empire, aſſiſted with his Excommunications and Deprivations, and ſollicites *Richard* Brother to our *Engliſh Henry* III. to take upon him the Protection of *Conrades* other Territories in *Italy*. For this, *Richard* deſired ſome aſſiſtance from the Pope, and ſome Frontier Towns, whither upon occaſion he might retire: but the Pope denying all conditions, as if all people were obliged to fight for him, and he take his eaſe; *Richard* knowing that without theſe conceſſions he could not be able to conquer *Conrade*, wiſely replyed to *Albert* the Legat, that the Pope might as well ſay, *Loe, I ſell or give to thee the Moon, aſcend and take her.* Whereupont his treaty fell. But the Pope then falls to work with King *Henry* himſelf;

Mat. Paris p. 892.

1200. himſelf, whom he knew to be (*) credulous, and apt to run into his own ruine. *Henry* eaſily conſents to this, ſending the Pope a great deal of Money; and the Pope, as if to requite him, ſtays the Croiſado-Forces deſigned for the *Holy-land*, that they might ſerve the King of *England* againſt *Conrade*, to the grief of the Chriſtians in *Paleſtine:* which muſt be a crime in him, if it were any in *Frederick*.

* Ad damna propria prônum, & credulum. *Ib.*

And to make *Conrade* more odious, he beſpatters him with multitude of Accuſations; to all which *Conrade* (*a*) anſwered at large, and at laſt dyed, as moſt men ſay by Poyſon. Not long before him, dyed at *Bugden* in *Huntingtonſhire Robert Groſthead* (*Capito* or Great-head) Biſhop of *Lincolne*. The Pope no ſooner heard of the death of *Conrade*, but with a cheerful heart, a ſmiling countenance, and a triumphing voice, he cryes out —— (*b*) *Truly I rejoyce, and let all us that belong to the* Roman *Church be glad, becauſe two of our greateſt Enemies are taken away*, Robert *Biſhop of* Lincolne, *and* Conrade *King of* Sicily. —— And yet for *Robert* of *Lincolne* I dare boldly ſay, that he was the greateſt Scholar and moſt knowing man in his days in the World. And the (*c*) *Romaniſts* themſelves will magnifie him for all manner of Vertues and Holineſs, and not ſtick to ſay that his many (*d*) Miracles were evident ſigns of his Saintſhip.

a Vid. *Will. Wats* Additamenta *Matt. Paris*, apud finem, p. 192, 193, 194.

b *Matt. Paris*, p. 893.

c *Nic. Harpsfield* Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 477.

Jo. Piſtrenſis, p. 326, 227.

d *Matt. Paris*, p. 876, 880, 883, 903. *Harpsfield*, p. 477.

But to paſs by theſe things, Pope *Innocent* himſelf dyed preſently after. And if they will put now any credit in Viſions, [of which they have formerly ſo much gloryed, as to bring Arguments from them to prove their Religion, as you may ſee at large in *Dauvetius*] both a Pope and a Cardinal will aſſure them of the (*e*) miſerable condition of this *Innocent* in the other World, for his bad living in this. But this I leave to them onely, who delight in and vindicate themſelves by ſuch ware.

e *Matt. Paris* pag. 897, 902, 904.

Yet before I part with this *Innocent* IV, give me leave to tell the Reader, that this is him, who once in a rant, thus vapour'd out his Authority —— (*f*) *What, is not the King of* England *our Vaſſal? nay, and to ſay more, our* SLAVE; *whom at a beck I can cauſe to be impriſoned and expoſed to all ignominy.*—

f Nonne Rex Anglorum noſter eſt vaſſalus? & ut plus dicam, mancipium; qui poteſt eum nutu noſtro incarcerare, & ignominiæ mancipare. *Matt. Paris*, anno 1253, pag. 872.

After *Alexander* IV, *Urban* IV, then *Clement* IV ſate in St. *Peters* Chair (as they phraſe it:) which *Clement* before his Popedome was (*g*) marryed, and had ſeveral Children. After his death the See of *Rome* was void three years, the Cardinals not agreeing, but wrangling amongſt themſelves, every one hoping to be the man. Theſe ſelf-ended intereſts and deſigns, and yet all pretending the Elections to be by the Infallible inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, made one of the Cardinals, it ſeems of a more free humour than the reſt, thus jeeringly adviſe them,— *Let us open the top of the Conclave, for the Holy-Ghoſt cannot deſcend upon us through ſo many Roofs.* —— At laſt *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Liege* is choſen, who call'd himſelf *Gregory* X. Of this wrangling Election the former Cardinal of *Porto* made this riming Diſtick.

g *B. Carranza*, ſum. Concil. pag. 814. *Bzov.* anno 1265. n. 1. *Spondan.* Ib. *Guil. Riſhanger* continuat. *Matt. Paris*, p. 999 *Genebrard* Cron. p. 985. 1272. *Coeffeteau* p. 975, 976.

Papatus munus, tulit Archidiaconus unus,
Quem Patrem Patrum, fecit diſcordia fratrum.

An Archdeacon's made Pope, and at Rome *ſits a vicaring,*
Made Father of Fathers, by the Cardinals bickering.

But

But returning to *Germany*, *William* of *Holland* departing out of this World by violence, ſome ſay, the Prince Electors differ about a new Emperour: Some ſtand for *Richard* Duke of *Cornwall*; and him, they ſay, the Pope favoured, the main reaſon being his Riches, according to the Proverb, 1200.

Nummus ait pro me, nubit Cornubia Romæ.

For me the money ſpeaks it ſelf;
Rome *Marries* Cornwal *for his pelf.*

Other Electors choſe *Don Alphonſo* X, King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, ſo famous for his love to Aſtronomy and other Sciences. But *Richard* made more haſte, and was Crown'd at *Aken*: yet ſome will account neither of theſe for Emperours, though (*a*) *Bozius* confeſſeth that of neceſſity one of them ſhould and ought to be Emperour; yet the ſame *Romaniſt* will eaſily daſh away the neceſſity with his almighty Argument, *viz.* becauſe *it was not the Popes pleaſure to confirm either of them*. And yet they confeſs that Pope (*b*) *Alexander* IV earneſtly deſired our *Engliſh Richard* to go to *Rome* and receive the Imperial Crown. And after *Richards* death, *Alonſo* of *Spain* could not obtain it. But the Electors then went to a new Election, and choſe *Rodulph* Earl of *Habsburg* (upon the Northern Coaſts of *Helvetia*.) I ſhall not trouble my ſelf here with the Original of this Family, whether *German* or *Italian*, but refer you to a late Tract, ſaid to be a Poſthume of that buſie-pated (*c*) *Scioppius*, and a later and more large Volume by (*d*) *Gabriel Bucelinus*, who will refer you to others. Yet this we muſt grant, that from this Family, the famous Houſe of *Auſtria*, and almoſt all the *German* Emperours to this day have ſprung.

a De jure ſtatus, l. 2. c. 4. p. 287, 288.

b Spondan. anno 1259. ſect. 8.

c Gaſp. Scioppius de Auguſt. Dom. *Auſtriæ* Origine.

d Germaniæ Part. 3. & vid. Mich. Eyzingeri Encicalog. Princ. *Auſtriæ*, & *Spond.* anno 1273. ſect. 8.

This Emperour *Rodulph*, the Pope would gladly have had gone into *Italy* to receive his Crown of him; but *Rodulf* utterly refuſed it, (*e*) alledging for his reaſon *Æſop's* Fable, how the Fox would not go to the Lyon, becauſe he obſerved no Foot-prints of any beaſts returning ſafe out, of thoſe who had formerly gone to viſit him. And this he took to be the caſe of the Emperours his Predeceſſors, few of them but looſing by their journey, and having cauſe to repent of their expenſive and abuſed travails. And this ſome others obſerving, *Italy* in time fell off from the Empire. The Pope by no means allowing of a Neighbour ſo neer and ſo potent.

e Pet. Maxia, fol. 444 *Spond.* anno 1277. ſect. 3.

1292.

Rodulph dying, *Adulph* Earl of *Naſſaw* was elected, by the cunning of *Gerhard* Archbiſhop of *Mentz* his Kinſman. But having ruled VI years, and *Albert* ſon to *Rodulf* being ſtrong in Arms, the Prince Electors meet, and depoſe him, and elect the ſaid *Albert* Duke of *Auſtria*. *Adulf*, not willing to looſe his Empire ſo eaſily, raiſeth what force he could; meets his Enemy, fights him, and is ſlain in the field. The time of his death or murther, his Epitaph in the Monaſtery of *Frowenfeldt* will tell; ſome place it a year or two ſooner.

Nic. Serar. Hiſt. Mogunt. p. 347. *Naucler.* p. 867.

Anno milleno (f) trecenteno minus uno
In Julii *menſe*, *Rex* Adolphus *ruit enſe.*

f Trecentis bis minus annis

1200

CHAP. II.

1. *The troubles of* John *King of* England.
2. *The Murther of* Erick *the Sixth, and* Erick *the Seventh, Kings of* Denmark.
3. *The depoſing of* Baldwin *the Second, Emperour of* Conſtantinople.
4. *The beheading of* Conrado *the young King of* Naples.

Sect. 1.

The troubles of John *King of* England.

HAving lately ſeen the troubles of the Empire, by means of Papal Tyranny, let us now take a view of ſome other parts of Chriſtendom; and firſt at home, we may meet with King *John* in a lamentable condition, by the Popes Uſurpation, and his own Subjects diſobedience: of which briefly thus:

Hubert Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* dying, a company of the (*a*) young Monks, that they might have their humour, preſently, at midnight, before ever *Huberts* Corps was buryed, without ever acquainting the King with their deſign, meeting ſecretly together, made a ſolemn Election, and choſe *Reginald* their Sub-prior, placing him upon the High Altar, then in the Archiepiſcopal Chair, ſinging *Te Deum*. But leſt the King ſhould have knowledge of this their actings without his conſent, they oblige *Reginald* by Oath not to behave himſelf as Elect, till their farther allowance; nor to diſcover it to any, till he had got to *Rome* and deſigned the Popes Confirmation.

a Adoleſcentes, *Matt. Paris*, pag. 212.

Reginald with ſome of the Monks, the ſame night, departs in haſte towards the Pope; but being got into *Flanders*, he would not keep Oath or ſecrecy, bravely telling what he was. The Monks hearing of this, thought it beſt to ſend to the King to have an Election; ſome ſay, the (*b*) Elder Monks ſent to the King to deſire his licenſe to go to Election, as if they had known nothing what the younger had done. The deſire of the Monks for an Election, the King very (*c*) favourably granted, recommending to them *John Grey* Biſhop of *Norwich*, it behooving of him to have ſuch a truſty Friend in that great Place, remembring that all went not well with him by the late *Hubert's* too much complying with the *French*. Accordingly the Monks of *Canterbury* Elect *John*; and to make him without all exception, the Pope was ſent to for confirmation.

b Fox, Acts Mon. Tom. 1. pag. 324.

c Benigne annuit. *Mat. Paris.*

1206.

In this buſineſs the ſuffragan Biſhops of *Canterbury* beſtir'd themſelves

ſelves, ſending alſo to *Rome* their complaint, becauſe the Elections were made without them: but the Pope ſtopt their mouths, by declaring that they neither had, nor ſhould have to doe there. 1200.

And now the Monks act their parts before the Pope; the younger fry ſtanding for *Reginald*, the others for *John Grey*; alleadging that the election of *Reginald* could not be of any force, being ſtoln, cheatingly done, at midnight, without the Kings conſent; and ſo deſired the confirmation of *John*, as being done by the graver and (*a*) major part of the Monks, publickly at day time, the King preſent, and conſenting. To theſe the other party had nothing to ſay, but that if *Reginalds* election had been juſt or unjuſt, they ought to have null'd it before they went to a ſecond. And *Innocent* willing to be ſatisfied with this poor ſhift of the younger Monks, and to ſtrengthen himſelf by another election, null'd both, commanding neither *John* nor *Reginald* ſhould be held for Arch-biſhops of *Canterbury*.

a Paris, p. 222.

This being done by his potent Holineſs, he commends to their choice *Stephen Langton* an *Engliſh* Cardinal; but the Monks deſire excuſe, honeſtly alleadging, that they would not doe it without the Kings conſent; and farther, that they had no authority for ſuch an action committed to them by their Covent; and indeed they were but a few ſent to *Italy*, to plead about the two former elected. The Pope angry at theſe reaſons, too too ſtrong and honeſt for him to anſwer, diſhoneſtly told them, that they had the whole and compleat power of *Canterbury* committed to them; and farther, (*b*) *that it was not the cuſtome to attend the conſent of Princes touching elections made before the Pope*; a Doctrine too ridiculous to be confuted, and therefore he did command them upon their obedience, and pain of the higheſt curſe, to chuſe him for Arch-biſhop whom he had appointed. To theſe non-ſenſicall Thundrings, the poor Monks for fear of excommunication obey'd, though very unwillingly, and not without grumbling; onely one play'd the Chriſtian and Honeſt man, and refuſed to conſent to ſuch ſtuff.

b Paris, p. 222, 225.

This being done, Pope *Innocent*, hoping to work the King to his will, very gravely ſent him four gold rings, and as many ſtones, for a bribe; for every Gooſe muſt be a Swan that comes from Holy *Rome*: and leſt the King ſhould not know the meaning of ſuch a ſanctified preſent, his Holineſs takes a great deale of pains to tell him, after this (I will not ſay canting) faſhion. —— The roundneſs of the Ring ſignifies eternity; their number, the four chief vertues, Juſtice, Fortitude, Prudence and Temperance. As for the four Stones, the *Saphire* ſignifieth Hope, the *Pomegranate* Charity, the *Emrald* Faith, and the *Topaz* a good work. The King at firſt was a little new-fangled with them, but then rejected them as trifles.

After this Pageantry, *Innocent* ſheweth his deſign, deſiring the King to admit of *Langton* for Arch-biſhop. But though to the King he made his requeſt *humbly*, yet to the Prior and Monks of *Canterbury* he altered the caſe, commanding them upon their obedience to admit of *Langton*; whereby, under his humble Vizard to the King, was diſcovered a peremptory injunction, reſolving that at leaſt he ſhould be as obedient as the Monks.

At this the King was angry, but moſt at the Monks of *Canter-*

1200 *bury*, for bringing him into this nooſe, declaring them guilty of Treaſon, for chuſing *Reginald* (the occaſion of all this miſchiefe) contrary to the Prerogative of the Crown; and then again for electing in *Italy*, *Stephen Langton*, his (*b*) publick enemy; for which he had them baniſhed his Dominions: then writes to the Pope, wondring at the intruſion of ſuch a man as *Langton*, *one altogether unknown to him, and one brought up all along amongſt his enemies in* France, *and one not rightly elected.* Adding, that for his part *he would ſtand for the liberties of his Crown till death*; *Nor would he let the election of* John Grey *be null'd*; *and if in theſe things he were ſlighted, he would permit no more of his ſubjects to trudge to* Rome.

b Inimicum ſuum publicum.

The Pope atts him again, whetting his ſtile, bidding him remember how *Becket* dyed for the Church; and writes to the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Worceſter*, to interdict the whole Kingdom, if they found the King (*c*) *diſobedient* and *rebellious*. They acquaint the King with this Mandate, who is willing to condeſcend, with the *Salvo's* (*d*) *that his rights, liberties, and dignities may not be violated.* But the Biſhops would allow none of theſe conditions, (and yet we muſt think it hard that *Becket* might not have the liberty of *Salvo's*) which provoked the King ſo much, thus to be trod upon by his own ſubjects, that he ſwore (*per dentes Domini*) that if they or any other of his ſubjects ſhould preſume to interdict his Dominions, he would ſend them with the reſt of their fraternity to their friend the Pope, and confiſcate their goods; and ſo warn'd them from his preſence.

c Contumaceem & Rebellem.

d Pryns Hiſt. of Popes intol. uſurpat. book 3. c. 1. p. 251.

Stephen Langton had in *England* a Brother call'd *Simon*, who alſo came in the preſence of the Biſhops, to deſire the admittance of his brother to *Canterbury*: to whom the King proffer'd to do ſo, (*e*) *ſaving only his right and dignity.* But no ſooner began the King to mention this *Salvo*, but *Simon* replyed in an inſolent manner —— *He would do nought for the King therein, unleſs he would wholly refer himſelf into his hands, without any ſuch ſaving.* —— The Biſhops ſeeing the King would not dance after their pipe, without fear or wit interdict the whole Kingdom; which continued almoſt ſix years; by which means there was no uſe of divine ſervice, only Chriſtening of Children, and giving the Sacrament to the dying; inſomuch that the Church-doors were ſhut up, ſome ſay, wall'd up, and the bodies of the dead carried out into the fields, and thrown into ditches or high-ways like (*f*) Dogs, without any prayers or Chriſtian offices. An excellent ſign of the meekneſs and charity of him that glories to be Chriſts Vicar, to unchriſten (as I may ſay) a whole Kingdom for one mans fault, ſuppoſing him an offender; though the caſe being truly ſtated, the contrary will appear, or at leaſt not meriting ſo grand a puniſhment. For, if the Pope hath power to nominate to all Biſhopricks, he muſt have it either by divine right, and ſo unalterable (and therefore the now *Roman* Catholick Kings, who deny ſuch power, are guilty, and the Popes too, for allowing or winking at it) or by the Kings conceſſions, which is of no validity; no Monarch having authority to transfer his Prerogatives to a forraign power; and if they doe ſo, of no force to bind their ſucceſſors: beſides, ſtory tells us, that a little before this, the Biſhops of *England* rejected the deſigns of the Biſhop of St. *Davids*, meerly becauſe he was elected at (*g*) *Rome*: whereby

e Pryn p. 252

f Corpora defunctorum decivitatibus & villis efferebantur, & mora canum in biviis & foſſatis ſine orationibus & ſacerdotum miniſterio ſepeliebantur. *Paris* p. 226.

g Pryns Hiſt. of Popes uſurpat. l. 3. c. 1. p. 236.

we

we may judge Pope *Innocent* to have been more faulty and extravagant than King *John*. 1200.

The Bishops aforesaid perceiving to what inconveniency and danger, being Subjects, they had run themselves into, by opposing their Soveraign, in behalf of a Forreign Power, stole out of the Kingdom, Excommunicating those who obey'd the King.

The King seeing himself and Nation thus trampled upon, seized upon all the Church-mens Lands that obey'd this Interdiction, and refused to celebrate Divine-Service; yet was so favourable, as to allow the Dissenters and Rebels to sell their Corn for their better provisions. And the white Monks, in obedience to God, the King, and their Duty, continuing to say Divine-Service for the benefit of Christian people, were again suspended by the Pope, and for their compliance to their duty, they were not after allowed the same Priviledge as others, who right or wrong obeyed the Pope and his Forreign Authority.

The King weary of these troubles, was willing to comply with the admission of *Langton*, and the restauration of others, whom he had exiled for their disobedience. But give a little, take an Ell; if he condescended so far, they doubted not to make him grant more; and therefore they would have him refund the Treasures of the vacant Churches, by reason of the banishment of the turbulent spirits. This he refus'd as an impossibility, having imploy'd them for the security of his Dominions in these turbulent times. Being not satisfied in this trifle, they scorn to agree with him; which made many leave their Flocks here, and go beyond-Seas to the Kings Enemies. Upon which the King wisely and bravely, by Proclamation, orders all to return to their respective Churches by such a day, or to forfeit their incomes; and that all should be seiz'd upon, who brought any Order or Bull from the Pope into his Dominions for that time; knowing such things could then bring no peace to him or his Kingdom. 1211.

The Pope seeing King *John* stand so resolutely for his Prerogative, and Freedom of his Subjects from Forreign yoaks, goeth to his last refuge, pulls out his Nut-cracker and Louse-trap, by which he *deprives the King of his Dominions*, *absolves his Subjects from their Allegiance*, curseth all those who take the Kings part. And because this of it self hath no more power then a Dogs barking over the Moon, he sends to the King of *France*, desiring him to seize upon the Kingdom of *England*; for he, liberal man, had given it to him and his Heirs, (he might as well have given the Moon:) and to carry this the more clearly, he commanded all the Nobles, Knights, and other Warriors in several Countries to assist the King of *France*, and cross themselves (a Military Badge appointed for those who went against the Infidels in the *Holy-land*) for this enterprise: and they need not doubt of a reward, he having order'd that their souls in this warfare, shall have the same benefit as those who visit the sacred Sepulchre; which we may suppose to be no less than the (*a*) *pardon of all their sins*. 1212. *Paris* p. 232.

And the better to withdraw *Englishmen* (observed to be apt to give credit to tatling Prophecies) from their obedience, they had thrust up one (*b*) *Peter Wakefield* of *Poiz*, to Prophesie the death or downfal of the King by such a day; to which

a In remissionem tuorum peccaminum. *Paris* p. 233, 238. *Paris* p. 232. *Fryn* p. 268. *b* Peter of Pontfract. *Stow*, p. 169.

1209. a great many idle people gave too much credit; but being found a falſe cheating knave, according to his deſerts he was hang'd.

1213. The King, to preſerve himſelf and people from the *French*, had got to the Sea-Coaſts a mighty Army and Navy; but a compoſition hindred their action. For *Pandolphus* (who had been in *England* once before) the Popes Legate, landed at *Dover*, tells King *John* with what a great force the *French* were coming againſt him, with whom joyn'd many of the *Engliſh* Clergy, and that almoſt all his Nobility would fall from him, having contrary to their Allegiance ingaged ſo to do: And therefore perſwaded him to ſubmit himſelf to the Pope, to hinder thoſe inconveniences, and thereby to keep himſelf a King.

The King mainly troubled at theſe treacherous dealings of his own Subjects, not knowing where to turn himſelf, was I know not how terrified and overperſwaded into an Ignominious condeſcention to the Pope, by admitting of *Stephen Langton* to be Archbiſhop, and the reſt of his Rebellious Subjects to their former conditions; and then, unkingly, to reſign up the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland* to the Pope, by taking off his Crown, kneeling, giving it to *Pandolphus*, and laying the Royal *Scepter*, *Robe*, *Sword* and *Ring* at the Legates feet: which *Pandolf* kept five days, and then allow'd the King to have them again. A thouſand Marks of Silver he alſo paid there for the Pope, which the Legate as in a triumph trad upon: for we muſt not think that he deſpiſed it and left it behind him.

Pandolfo having thus gotten all that heart could wiſh, takes off the *Interdict*, and lets *England* turn Chriſtian once again: Though reaſon tells us that King *John*'s ſubmiſſions were of no force to binde Poſterity, no King having power to give away his Kingdom, or make it tributary to a Forreigner, no way akin to the Crown: Nor could a Chriſtian Biſhop, by following our Saviours Rules, whoſe Foundation lay onely on Spirituals, thus make it his buſineſs, and wicked haughty deſign, to make all Kings and Kingdoms Tributary or ſubject to his depoſing and diſpoſing of. But for a farther nullity of King *John*'s grant and conceſſion, I ſhall refer you to Mr. (*a*) *Prynne*. And as for this *Innocent* III, who thus domineer'd over Temporal Princes, though theſe actions were enough to tell you what he was, yet *Matthew Paris* in plain words will inform you, that he was (*b*) *the proudeſt and ambitious man in the world, moſt greedy and covetous of Silver; for which he was apt to do all manner of wickedneſs.*

When the Pope had thus, as he thought, obtain'd King *John* to be his Vaſſal, and ſo the Kingdom his, he took his part after againſt his Enemies, thereby the better to preſerve what he had at laſt got in *England*. And ſo paſſing by the ſeveral Rebellions againſt the King by his own Subjects, their renouncing their Allegiance to him, and declaring themſelves ſubject to *Lewes* of *France*, and ſuchlike; King *John* dyed, but the cauſe of his death is not agreed upon, ſome ſaying a ſurfeit, others grief, and others that he was poyſoned by the Monks of *Swinſted*-Abby in *Lincolnſhire*, who were of the *Ciſtercian* Order, who thought themſelves oppreſt by King *John*.

Father (*c*) *Parſons* is very furious againſt any that ſhall ſay this King was poyſoned, nor will he grant any Authority for it before

Caxton

a Hiſt. of Popes Uſurp. p. 209, 291, 292. to pag. 326.

b Super omnes mortales ambitioſus erat, & ſuperbus, pecuniæq; ſititor inſatiabilis, & ad omnia ſcelera pro præmiis, datis vel promiſſis certum & proclivum, *Mat. Paris*, pag. 245.

c Warnword, pag. 119, 120.

Caxton and *Treviſa*: though by his favour, beſides thoſe ancient Authors mentioned by *Speed* and (*a*) others, I my ſelf have ſeen ſeveral old (*b*) *Manuſcript*-Hiſtories of *England* writ before *Caxton*, who expreſly declare the manner of his poyſoning. But be it as it will, 'tis certain that it is no Proteſtant invention, but firſt recorded by *Romaniſts* themſelves. 1200.

a Fox, Tryn, pag. 366.
b Fol. F. 92. fol. K. 67. Q. arto l. 35. Arch. Cant. in Bibl. & Manuſcript

Bodleian. Oxon. & Chron. Antiq: in Engliſh Verſe Manuſcript, lib. *Digb.* numb. 196. *Digb.* numb. 186. in Bibl. *Bodl. Oxon.*

Sect. 2.

The Murther of Erick *the Sixth and* Erick *the Seventh, Kings of* Denmark.

HAving entertain'd you ſomewhat long in *England*, we ſhall be the ſhorter abroad; and firſt, looking Northward into *Denmark*, *Ericus* VI [*Henry*] was murdered by the contrivance of his Brother *Abel*. The ſtory in ſhort thus: *Abel* longing for the Crown, took an occaſion (when the King once went to viſit him) to entertain him with all manner of love and reſpect; but while he was playing at Cheſs or Tables with a Nobleman, ſome Souldiers appointed ruſh into the Chamber, take out the King, carry him on Ship-board, cut off his head, tye ſome weight to his body, and throw it into the Sea, not far from *Slewick*. 1250. 1251. *Krantz.* Dan. lib. 7.

And not long after this, was King *Erick* VII of the ſame Kingdom, murdered in bed by his own Subjects, receiving upon his body about LVI wounds. 1286.

Sect. 3.

The depoſing of Baldwin *the Second, Emperour of* Conſtantinople.

I Have not troubled you a long while with the Eaſtern Empire, becauſe they would object it not to be of the Fellowſhip with *Rome*: but now a word or two will not be amiſs.

Baldwin II being Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, and a (*c*) lawful one too, as they confeſs, was by force without any pretence or right thruſt out of it by *Michael Palæologus*, who to add wickedneſs to wickedneſs, contrary to his Oath, put out the eyes of *John* the young Heir; yet becauſe there is no villany without ſome ſign and pretence of ſanctity, (*d*) *Bzovius* flyeth out in commendation of his Piety and Holineſs, becauſe when he was about this Rebellion, he had the Image of the Virgin *Mary* carryed before him into *Conſtantinople*.

c Tho. Bozius, de jure ſtatus, pag. 287, 288.

d An. 1259. § 6.

Baldwin complains to other Princes, and he is like to have aſſiſtance, Pope (*e*) *Urban* IV being for him too againſt *Michael*. Upon this, *Palæologus* is in a peck of troubles, fearing to have more

e Spond an. 1261. § 10.

1200. more Enemies upon him than he can cope with; and in this ſad condition, he findes no remedy like making the Pope his friend. A ſtrange attempt, to faneie that the Infallible holy Father would have any friendſhip with ſuch a Rebel: but on he goeth, cunningly pulls out his bait, and ſends to the Pope that a (*b*) Union might be made between the *Græcian* and *Roman* Churches; and, which muſt not but be brag'd of, he gave him all the fineſt good morrows and glorious Titles of (*c*) *Holineſs, Father of Fathers, Prince of all Prieſts, Univerſal Doctor of the Church*, &c.

b Spond. an. 1263. § 6, 7.

c Bzov. an. 1263. § 13.

Pope *Urban* at the receipt of this Letter is almoſt mad for joy, (*d*) writes back to *Palæologus*, adorning him with all the glorious Titles he can think of, not a little proud that now there was hopes for inlargement of the Popes Dominions, by his (*e*) ſole governing the Eaſtern as well as the Weſtern Churches: a Sway and Authority which for many Ages the Popes had earneſtly gaped after.

d Id. anno 1264. § 2.

e Sub unus paſtoris regimine.

In the mean time *Urban* IV dying, *Clement* IV ſucceeds, with whom the ſame League was driven on: but ſome might have thought that all would have been ſpoil'd, when the Pope perceived *Michael* to play the jugler, and underhand to (*f*) plot with *Romes* Enemies, and that all his fair pretences were onely to get the ruine of his Lord *Baldwin*. But no ſuch matters; for if the Pope got but his deſign, he would wink at the others petty contrivances. But this Pope ruled not long; and after him the See being void for above two years, by reaſon of the wrangling of the then few Cardinals, no great matter was done, onely *Michael* to look to himſelf.

f Id. anno 1266. § 9.

At laſt *Gregory* X is ſet in the *Roman* Chair. In the mean time *Baldwin*, to ſtrengthen himſelf, marrieth his Son to the Daughter of *Charles* King of *Sicily* or *Naples*. *Charles* ſeeing himſelf ſo neer related to an Empire, reſolves to gain it; to which purpoſe he rais'd many Forces. This puts *Michael* to his wits-ends, in this diſtreſs ſcarce knowing whither to turn himſelf: at laſt he knew the Pope uſed to be good Friends to ſuch as he at a dead lift; and therefore he ſends to *Gregory* X newly made Pope, to have the Union between the two Churches ſetled, provided he would (*g*) hinder *Charles* from his attempts againſt him. And ſo the ſtory of the Union goeth on, not belonging to my purpoſe.

g Modo *Carol.* expeditionem averteret. *Bzov.* anno 1271. § 5.

In ſhort, *Michael Palæologus* muſt be true Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, and *Baldwin* rejected; nor muſt we think any injury done in this, onely becauſe it pleas'd this *Gregory* X ſo to order it: and of this Example and Juriſdiction (*h*) *Thomas Bozius* is not a little proud; and how ſhould the Pope, who is infallible, and hath power over all Kingdoms, do injuſtice or wrong?

h De jure ſtatus, l. 3. c. 4. p. 287, 288.

Sect.

1200.

Sect. 4.

The beheading of Conrado, *the young King of* Naples.

HEre I might inlarge in relating the Popes Uſurpations over the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*. But I ſhall only inſtance in the misfortune of young *Conradino*, who without any ſhew of Reaſon or Juſtice was baſely deprived, by the plots and contrivance of Pope *Clement* IV, who putting his Oar in another mans Boat, and medling with that, with which he had nothing to do, very impudently gives theſe Kingdoms to the *French Charles* of *Anjou*, and accordingly Crowns him King; though I wonder how either he or St. *Peter* came to have any right to diſpoſe of thoſe Territories. But thus is Theft, Robbery and Treaſon ſanctified and made legal by the Popes *fiat*. 1266.

Young *Conradinus* marcheth out of *Germany* to redeem his right Inheritance, knowing none but Fools or Knaves would value ſuch an Antichriſtian Donation. *Clement* ſeeing *Conradino* not willing to looſe his Kingdom, ſends to him to deſiſt, or elſe he will curſe him with Bell, book and Candle, and prohibits all people to aſſiſt him. *Conradine* knowing ſuch Cenſures not to have been juſtified to maintain wickedneſs, marcheth on; then the Pope falls to his *Dog-tricks*, Excommunicates and deprives him, and all thoſe who take his part, and quits their Subjects from their Allegiance. And becauſe *Conradine* would not deſiſt from his lawful engagement, *Bzovius* in a fury ſhoots his Bolt, and calls him an *(a) Inſolent youth.* 1268.

a Inſolens juvenis, an. 1268. § 2.

The young Prince thus put to it, makes his lamentable caſe known to the World, in which his Secretary, or the Hiſtorian doth ſometimes play the quibler. He complain'd how —— *Pope* Innocent *had abus'd him an (b) Innocent; for* Conradus *his Father King of* Scicily, *by will left him a young thing in the care of the Church; and then that Pope* Innocent, *under the pretence of a Tutor, ſeiz'd upon the whole Kingdom; then endeavour'd to extinguiſh his name, diſtributing his Lands amongſt his own Kinsfolks: That* Manfredo *pretending to be his friend, had cheated him too: That* Innocent *dying, Pope* Alexander *ſucceeded, who alſo abuſed him, inviting others to take poſſeſſion of his Kingdom: That Pope* Urban *dealt very (c) inurbanely, perſwading* Manfredo *to take the Kingdom to him; but this bargain failing, he would have* Charles *to undertake the buſineſs: That this Pope dying, the next,* viz. Clement, *had uſed all (d) inclemencie againſt him, ſetting up a (e) falſe King, Excommunicating him, and depriving him of his lawful Title.* ——

Naucler. gener. 43. p. 829.

b Sibi innocenti nocuerit.

c Sibi fuerat inurbanus.

d Contra eum inclementer egerit.

e Antiregem.

But ſee the misfortune of War! the Armies of *Conradinus* and *Charles* meet; *Conradinus* is overcome, he and *Frederick* Duke of *Auſtria* are taken, carryed to *Naples* and there impriſoned. Then a *(f)* Parliament (or bloudy Rump) call'd, where King *Conradinus* and the Duke are condemn'd to dye; a Scaffold is ſet up publickly in the City, and for more pomp cover'd with Silk-Tapiſtry; the two innocent Princes are had thither: *Frederick* of *Auſtria* is firſt beheaded, whoſe head *Conradinus* kiſſeth; then the young King having declared the injuſtice, vindicated his own innocencie,

f Convocatis ex toto Regno Syndicis Civitatum. *Spond.* anno 1269. § 7.

1200. innocencie, and pronounced (*a*) *Frederick* (ſome ſay *Henry*) of *Caſtile*, his Aunts Son, to be the Heir to the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*; as a token of which *Inveſtiture*, he threw his Glove amongſt the people, kneel'd down, and had his head cut off.

a Some ſay *Peter* of *Aragon*.

Thus dyed *Conradinus* and *Frederick*, neither of them being eighteen years old; and to add more ignominy, their Corps were not permitted to be buried in Conſecrated ground, becauſe not abſolved from the Popes Excommunication; yet they tell us that *Frederick* of *Auſtria*'s (*b*) head call'd upon the Virgin *Mary*, after it was cut off; and that a wonderful Mark remains in the place where this execution was done.

b *Bzov.* an. 1268. & 11.

That the Pope perſwaded to this cruelty I cannot ſay poſitively, though (*c*) *Nauclerus* hints as much, and others affirm, that his advice being asked about it, he return'd this anſwer, that--- (*d*) Conradines *life is* Charles *his death, and* Conradines *death is* Charles *his life*. —— However it was, no ſooner was this wicked act done, but the Heads-man was alſo ſlain, that he might not boaſt of his ſpilling ſuch Royal Bloud. A poor come off! as if thoſe who pronounced judgement, by this act could clear themſelves from the guilt. And ſome make it the worſe, and with reaſon, becauſe *Charles* himſelf was a ſpectator all the while to this bloudy Execution. Though certainly the Pope might have ſaved all this bloudſhed, by permitting young and innocent *Conradine* to poſſeſs that which was left him by his Father: and how unjuſtly his life was taken away, (*d*) *Nauclerus* will inform you.

d Page 841.

c Page 841.

d Vita *Conradini* mors *Caroli*, mors *Conradini* vita *Caroli*.

d Page 841, 853.

Chap. III.

The troubles of Philip *the Fourth, ſirnamed* Le bel, *King of* France; *with the pride of Pope* Boniface *the Eighth.*

1300. THe firſt thing that offers it ſelf in this Century, is the quarrel between Pope *Boniface* VIII, and *Philip* IV ſirnamed *Le Bel* [*i. e.* the fair] where the Pope will appear moſt in the fault, being a buſie-body, medling with that with which he had nothing to do. But firſt it will not be amiſs to ſee how he came to the Pontifical greatneſs.

Nicholas IV dying, the Chair was void about two years: the Cardinals not agreeing in the choice, at laſt one *Petrus de Morone* a pious Hermit was elected, and call'd *Celeſtine* V. All of their Authors acknowledging him for a true and legitimate Pope, and accordingly the ſeveral Cardinals by him created, legal.

e *Diſt.* 79. c. *Oportebit*. c. *Nullus unquam*.

Yet if their *Canon-Law* be Authentick, and in this caſe ought to be obſerved, as the Pope ſeverely injoyneth, then muſt this *Celeſtine* be no Pope, becauſe he was never a (*e*) Cardinal, out of whom onely the Popes are to be choſen: (nay farther, I am not aſſured that he was in (*f*) Orders:) and if this hold water, then I fear *Clement* V and his Cardinals will run the ſame hazard, and then

f *Fr. Maſon* Conſecrat. of Biſhops, page 15, 16.

then I know not how they can make up a true Pope ſince that time; by which rule the Bead-roll of their Pontiffs ended above three hundred years ago. 1300.

As for this *Cæleſtine* V, he was but a ſmall Polititian, more acquainted with his private Devotion, than State-Affairs, eaſily to be cheated by his crafty Courtiers; his good and eaſie nature prompting him to think the beſt of bad men, and give too much credit to flattering words.

This made ſome, after he had been Pope a little while, conſult his depoſition; to which they thought it no hard matter to get his own conſent; and he who moſt concern'd himſelf to procure this degradation, was (according to the common Opinion of their own Writers) Cardinal (*a*) *Benedictus Cajetanus*, who, as ſome ſay, cheated him with falſe Miracles, as by a counterfeit (*b*) voice convey'd into his Chamber by a Pipe or hollow-Trunk, perſwading him to reſign up his Popedom, the better to ſave his own ſoul: and this ſtratagem was carryed ſo, as if it had been a voice from Heaven.

a Volater. l. 22. fol. 58 *Ant. Sabel.* en. 9. fol 258. *Naucler.* p. 865, 866. *Marian.* fol. 441 *L. Wadding.* Hiſt. Minor. Tom. 2. an. 1294

b Genebrard, p. 998. *Platina. Carranza* ſum. Concil pag. 818.

However it was, at the laſt *Cæleſtine* was over-perſwaded to reſign, as one unfit for that imployment; and then, as the (*c*) Plot was laid, the ſaid *Benedict Caetan* was elected for Pope (he making fair promiſe to the King of *Naples*) and call'd himſelf *Boniface* VIII. 'Tis true, at that time, 'twas a grand diſpute whether a true Pope could reſign up his Office; of which it ſeems the then Cardinals were ſomewhat aware, and therefore that no rub might ſtop their deſigns, they perſwaded *Cæleſtine* before he was degraded, to make a Decree that a Pope might reſign: a pretty trick, if he could not do it without ſuch an Order. However, the (*d*) *French* and ſome others ſtrongly maintain'd the Negative, and therefore for ſome time held *Boniface* but for an Antipope. And 'twas ſomewhat ſtrange to have him depoſed for inſufficiency, ſince as long as Cardinal *Latinus* lived, affairs were carried well enough; and had he been weaker than he was, rather than diſturb the Church with ſuch an innovation, *Benedict* (wiſe and cunning enough) or ſome others, might by advice and aſſiſtance have prevented any inconveniencie to ariſe from his too much good nature, or negligence of worldly things.

c Fil. da Bergamo, fol. 377.

d J. Rubeus de Boniface p. 144.

But the Vizard is too open, and the deſign ſo thin, that every Childe may ſee through it: For it muſt be private ends to make them lay aſide a man whoſe Election (as themſelves confeſs) was as by (*e*) *Divine Inſpiration*; that himſelf was not onely good and virtuous, but of ſuch exemplary Holineſs, that when alive, he did many Miracles; and when dead, a glorious Saint in Heaven, and as ſuch have they placed him, by their Canonization, in their Martyrologies & Calendars; ſo that it ſeems he was too good to be a good Pope.

e Vid *Coeffeteau*, p. 1003. *Coqur.* Tom. 1. 177. *Ciacon.*

Yet againſt all this, the Cardinals reaſon'd that the Church might be in danger by ſuch a man; and therefore they muſt mend themſelves by the choice of one more fit for Chriſtendom, and to be Chriſts Vicar. But this objection is formerly anſwered; but ſuppoſe not, their after-Election quite deſtroys the ſuppoſition: for who doth their wiſe judgements (and we muſt not doubt of the Holy Ghoſts (*f*) aſſiſtance) pitch upon, but the foreſaid Cardinal *Caetan*, now call'd *Boniface* VIII?

f Jo. Rubeus de Boniface VIII. p. 18.

And if you would know what he was, their own Writers will aſſure you, that though he was a ſubtle man, well learned, and a

1300. good Lawyer, yet withal that he was (*a*) *Proud, Diſſembling, Arrogant, Scornful, Malitious, and a Wicked man, a ſtirrer up of Wars and Diſcord, a great Perſecutor of the* Ghebillines, *a Trampler upon Kings and Kingdoms, and one very ungrateful*, for he clapt up poor *Cæleſtine* in priſon after his reſignation, which they ſuppoſe ſhortned his life. And to theſe they add ſome of his other vertues, *viz.* that he was (*b*) *cruel, and ſordidly avaritious and covetous*, and an *aſtoniſhment and wonder to all the world*. And to theſe we may give the more credit, ſeeing *Monſieur Coeffeteau* indeavouring to [illegible] him from what blemiſhes poſſibly he could, yet doth not deny, but that he was guilty of (*c*) *great faults*, and it may be a *Paſtor vitious* enough; and plainly confeſſeth that he was (*d*) *not moderate* in his doings, but *too much paſſionate*: and the Church of *Rome* hath diſavow'd ſome of his actions.

a Platina, Mexias, Bargamo, Naucleru, Sabellicus, Ciaconius, Binius, Maſſonus, Treviſa, lib. 7. cap. 40. Rob. Gaguin, Jo. Marius, de Schiſm. Guil. Barclay de poteſtat. Papæ, pag. 34, 36.

b Vid. *Jo. Marian.* Hiſt. *Hiſp.* lib. 15. c. 6. *Spond.* anno 1303. ſect. 14.

c Reſponſe, pag. 1005.

d Pag. 1008, 1009.

These are the common ſentiments of him of their own Writers; but againſt all theſe, within theſe few years, one (*e*) *Johannes Rubeus* hath undertaken an Apology for this *Boniface* VIII, being thereunto perſwaded by the *Cajetans* (of which Houſe this Pope was) and by them furniſhed with materials, to try if he could poſſibly make *Boniface* a good Religious Pope, and ſo wipe an old blot from their Family.

e It may be an *Engliſhman* under that fooliſh Vizard of *Latinizing* of Sirnames, a cuſtom too much vainly uſed by ſome men, as if they were aſhamed of their Country or Relations, being ſcarce known under ſuch a fond diſguiſe.

Rubeus falls to work, and with a reſolution to do as much in this grand and daring enterpriſe, as his Skill and Materials would afford: and two to one his eagerneſs made him affirm more than he was really able to prove; for at the firſt ſtep he boldly declares him one of the glories of the World, for (*f*) *Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, Holineſs, Juſtice, Wiſdom*, and ſuchlike Vertues. And if this be not enough, he will bring out Scripture too, to prove that there was not (*g*) *his like amongſt all the people*. But theſe things are ſooner ſaid than made good; and with the judicious, will go amongſt the Paradoxes of *Eraſmus* in commendation of *Folly*, *Cardan* of *Nero*, *Dedekindus* of Naſtineſs, *Opſopeus* of Drinking, and ſuchlike pieces of Raillery; ſeeing he hath ſo many of their own Writers and Hiſtorians to oppoſe him. But I dare ſay the *Romaniſt* will think this Prologue too long; and ſo let's go to the ſtory.

f Proem. p. 31, 32.

g Pag. 265.

The Popes had for a long time made it their common and cunning practice, when they ſaw any King great and powerful, to perſwade (I and threaten too) them to go to the *Holy-land*, and redeem it from the *Saracens*: and ſo zealous or fooliſh, for this laudable Enterprize, was then the giddy world, that all ſorts and ſexes, without fear or wit, conduct or diſcretion, would gad and trudge thither, never doubting of Heaven, if they had but the happineſs to be knockt on the head by an Infidel; ſuch a bleſſing was it to belong to the *Croſſado*, and ſo had the Popes deluded the world by their Indulgences, and ſuchlike ware; inſo-

much

much, that at one time, we find an Army of (*h*) Biſhops, who deſerved puniſhment for gadding from their Flocks; at another time we meet with an Army of almoſt twenty thouſand (*i*) boys, onely fit for the rod, nay (*k*) Women, Cripples, *&c.* all muſt be Martyrs in the Holy-land. And when the Pope had got the Princes imployed there, he knew how to make himſelf more formidable in *Europe*: for thoſe whom he could delude neerer hand, he might eaſily abuſe abroad. 1300.

h Senar. hiſt. *Mogunt* p. 743.
i Spondan. an. 1213. ſ. 2.
k Fuller's Holy-war.

Pope *Boniface* VIII, of a ſtirring humour, ſends *Bernard* Biſhop of (*a*) *Pamiers* in the County of *Foix* (then newly from an Abbacy rais'd to a Biſhoprick) to King *Philip le Bel*, to exhort him to go to the Holy-land, and there to beſtow his men and treaſury. *Philip* excuſed himſelf, as being ingaged in war againſt *Flanders*. *Bernard*, who muſt (forſooth) take no denyal, coming from the Pope, from this falls to threatning, and that in no moderate way, being no leſs then the loſs of his Kingdom, *viz.* a depoſing, if he obey'd not, and marched to the holy war, as they call'd it.

(*a*) *Apamienſis*. Some miſtake, and would have it to be the Biſhop of *Rimini* in *Italy*.
Spond. an. 1300 ſ. 9.

Philip troubled at this boldneſs, but which was more, *Bernard* being his ſubject, and yet proved to be in actual Treaſon againſt him, by plotting with the *Aragonians*, and other his enemies, againſt him, by falſly aſperſing the King as a Baſtard, a cheater of the people with falſe coyn, *&c.* (*b*) had *Bernard* ſeis'd upon, and delivered to the ſecurity of *Ægidius Ancellin* Arch-biſhop of *Narbonne*: nor was this done in a paſſion, but by the ſerious advice of his Parliament, both Lords Spirituall and Temporall; and *Bernard* himſelf took it for a favour to be delivered up to a Church-man.

Spond. an. 1301. ſ. 5, 6.
b Accuſed of 32. Articles.

The Pope informed of this, ſends *Jaques de Normandis* Arch-Deacon of *Narbonne* to King *Philip*, to releaſe the Biſhop of *Pamiers*, to go to the Holy-land, to meddle with his Temporal buſineſſes, and let the Clergy alone: if not, that he ſhould know that the Kingdom of *France* devolved to the *Apoſtolick See*, and ſo he to be excommunicated and deprived, and his ſubjects abſolved from their Oaths to him, and their Duty and Allegiance: and farther, that the Biſhops and Doctors of *France* ſhould come to *Rome*, there to hold a Council, how to diſpoſe of their King, and the affairs of the Kingdom.

The King was highly offended that the Arch-deacon of *Narbonne*, his own Subject, ſhould offer to come upon ſuch an errand, eſpecially to be the conveyer of ſuch mad and inſolent letters and threats, which were ſo ſcandalous even to the *French* Nobility, that the Earl of *Artois* ſnatch'd them from the Arch-Deacons hands, and threw them into the fire, where they were burn'd. Yet for all theſe extravagancies, the King releas'd Biſhop *Bernard*, but commanded him and *Jaques de Normandis* forthwith to depart the Kingdom.

Philip forthwith ſummons a Parliament, where the Pope is accuſed as a buſie-body, or a troubleſome fellow; his ſtrange actions againſt the King and his Prerogatives are cenſured; the King declares that he holds his Kingdom immediately from God onely; the layety defend the King, the Biſhops do ſo too, and conſent to all; deſire the Pope to uſe moderation, (in which (*c*) Letter of theirs to him, his faults are reckoned up) and intreat the King that he would be pleas'd to give them liberty to wait upon the Pope; but that is expreſly deny'd them.

c Vid. *Bzov.* an. 1302. ſ. 6. and *John Fox* Acts and Mon. Tom. 1. pag. 453, 454.

For

1300 For, the King doubting leſt ſome of his Clergy, according to the then ſeditious cuſtome, ſhould upon this falling out, leave their flocks and trudge to the Pope, carrying with them vaſt treaſuries, to the impoveriſhing of his other faithful ſubjects, and the enriching of his enemies; and alſo ſuſpecting, that the Pope, according to the vanity of theſe times, would ſend out his interdicts and curſes againſt him, abſolve his ſubjects of their Allegiance, which the Fools and Knaves were apt to obey: Upon theſe and other conſiderations, the King, wiſely to provide for the ſecurity of himſelf and people, by expreſs order forbids any gadding to *Rome*, and tranſportation of Gold, Silver, and ſuchlike riches out of his Dominions; and upon the borders appointed ſeveral to take care that no Popiſh *Bull* or Cenſure be brought into his Kingdome.

The Pope angry at this, nulls all the priviledges and favours formerly granted by the Popes to the *French* (and what were thoſe toys, that the King and they would not enjoy without his conceſſion?) prohibits all Clergy-men to aſſiſt the King with any aidmony, or to part with any of their riches, to be imploy'd in Temporal affairs; and, as ſome Hiſtorians ſay, thus writes to the King:

Caron. Remonſtr. *Hybernorum*, part 9. p. 13, 14. *Be leforeſt les* Chroniques de *France*, fo 178. *Nic. Vignier* Hiſt. de l'Egliſe, p. 515. Idem Biblioth. Hiſtoriale, tom. 3. p. 428. Preuves de libertes de l'Egliſe *Gallicane*, f. 124.

Boniface Biſhop, Servant of Gods Servants, to *Philip* the *French* King.

Fear God and keep his Commandments. We will thee to underſtand, that thou art ſubject to us both in Spirituals and Temporals. No collation of Benefices or Prebends belongs to thee; and if you have the Vacation of any, reſerve the fruits thereof to the ſucceſſors: If you have made any Collation, we judge that to be of no force, and do revoke them as null. And we think all to be (z) *Fools* (or Hereticks) *who think otherwiſe.*

Dated at the *Lateran*, &c.

To which was returned this following anſwer.

Philip by the Grace of God, King of the *French*, to *Boniface* bearing himſelf a Pope, *little health or none at all.*

Let your great (a) *Fooliſhip underſtand, that in Temporal affairs we are ſubject to no man; That the Collation of Churches and Prebendaries belong to us by Royal Prerogative, and the fruits thereof during their vacancy. That the Collations already made, or hereafter to be made, are of good force and validity; and that we will defend the poſſeſſors thereof againſt all men; reputing all to be fools and madmen who think otherwiſe.*

Given at *Paris*, &c.

z Some copies read *fatuos*, others *Hæreticos*.

a Sciat tua maxima fatuitas.

b Jo de Buſſieres, Tom. 2. p. 220, 221. *Jo Rubeus* p. 211. *Spondan.* an. 1303. n. 11.

The Pope ſeeing the King reſolute for the priviledges of his Kingdom, goeth another way to work, (*b*) ſtirs the people of *Flanders* to rebell againſt him, deſires the King of *England* to fall upon him, curſes, excommunicates, interdicts, and by his fond cenſures depoſeth the King, abſolves his ſubjects from their Allegiance,

giance, perſwades them to riſe againſt their Soveraign, intreats *Albert* Emperour of *Germany* to invade and ſeiſe upon his Dominions, which he giveth to the ſaid *Albert*, for winning and keeping. And becauſe the *Univerſity* at *Paris* ſtood for their King, he declared them to be no Univerſity, nulling all their priviledges, prohibiting all exerciſes, *&c.* 1300

The King ſeeing the Pope thus madly to run on againſt him, ſummons a Parliament, where the King is vindicated, and the Pope accuſed of *Hereſie*, *Nigromancy*, *Simony*, *Sodomy*, *Murther*, *Vſury*, *Uncleanneſs*, &c. all which Articles being too long for this place, I ſhall refer you to (*a*) *Fox*, and the two late Volumes of the (*b*) liberties of the *Gallican* Church, collected and ſet forth by the learned *Frenchman*, *Monſ. de Pais* [*Puteanus.*] But for all this, the next Pope but one clears him, and makes him a good man. In this Parliament the King appeals from the Pope to the next Council.

a Acts and Mon. tom 1. p. 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453.

b *Traites des droit & libertes de l'egliſe* Gallicane, Tom. 2. pag. 140, 141, 14[illegible].

But this trouble ended by the ſuddain death of the Pope, though after what manner Authors will not agree; ſome ſay by a Feaver, others grief, and many affirm by deſpair, if not madneſs, yet (*c*) next door to it. However it was, conſidering with what ſubtlety he attain'd the Popedome, with what pride and arrogancy he domineer'd, and his talked-of ſtrange death, he procured this Proverb to be faſtned upon him —— (*d*) *He entred like a Fox, ruled like a Lyon, and dyed like a Dog.* —— *Lucretius* deſcribes the Poetical Monſter thus:

c Furenti ſimilis. *Spond.* an. 130[illegible]. § 13. *Marian* hiſt *Hiſpan.* l. 15. c. 6.

d Intravit ut vulpes, regnavit ut lec, mortuus eſt ut canis.

Prima leo, poſtrema draco, media ipſa Chimæra.

And of this Pope, thus another alludes:

Ingreditur vulpes, leo pontificat, canis exit,
Et ſic revera, nova dicitur illa Chimæra.

Jo. Rubens p. 258.

I have formerly given you the Character of this Pope, according to the Romaniſts themſelves; and for farther proof, you ſhall hear *Platina* himſelf ſpeak. Pope *Boniface* (*e*) *rather endeavour'd and ſtudied how to terrifie Emperours, Kings, Princes, Nations and People, then to promote Religion; he ſtrived and endeavoured to give and take away Kingdoms, to trample upon all men according to his pleaſure, being covetous of wealth beyond all report.*

e Qui imperatoribus, regibus, principibus, nationibus, populis, terrorem potius quam Religionem injicere conabatur; quique dare regna & auferre, pellere homines, & reducere pro arbitrio animi conabatur, aurum unciq; conquiſitum plus quam dici poteſt, ſitiens. *Platina* vit. *Bonifacii* VIII.

This judgement of *Platina* is alſo confirm'd by (*f*) *Nauclerus*: and his own actions will teſtifie as much; for having appointed a Jubilee, the firſt day he appears in his *Pontificalibus*, but the next day he ſhews himſelf in an (*g*) Imperial habit, with a Crown on, having a naked ſword carried before him, crying out, (*h*) *Behold two ſwords*; childiſhly alluding to his own blockiſh (*i*) comment upon the Apoſtles and our Saviours words, as if the two Swords there mentioned, implyed the Pope of *Rome* to have ſpiritual and temporal authority over all men. Another ſtory they tell of him. *Jacobus de Voragine* Arch-biſhop of *Genoa*, that great writer of pretty miracles, dying, *Porchetto Spinola* ſucceeded; and being at *Rome* on an *Aſh-Wedneſday*, he amongſt others fell down at the

f Gener. 44. p. 870.

g *Krantz.* Saxon. l. 8. c. 36 *Cuſpinian* vit. *Alberti.*

h *Luke* 22 38.

i *Extra Com. mun.* de major & obed. c. *unam ſanctam.*

1300. the Popes Feet, to be ſigned on the Fore-head with a Croſs of holy Aſhes. *Boniface* thinking him to be his Enemy, alters the Scripture, telling him thus: —— *Remember that thou art a* Gibellin, *and with the* Gibellins *thou ſhalt return to Aſhes*; —— and ſo caſt the Aſhes in his eyes, and deprived him of his Archbiſhoprick; but gave it him again, when he heard that he was miſtaken in the man. At this action (*a*) *Coeffeteau* is a little troubled, and doth confeſs that (if it be true, as there is no reaſon to doubt of it) that it was a kinde of Sacriledge that cannot be excuſed.

Platina, *Nauclerus*, *Coquæus*, Tom. 2. pag. 178. *Spond.* anno 1296. § 11.

a Pag. 1005.

Of this *Boniface*, who before his Popedom was call'd *Benedict*, one made theſe Verſes.

Eberhardi Annal. an. 1303. apud *Hen. Canſ.* Antiq. lection. Tom. 1.

Nomina bina bona tibi ſunt præclarus amictus,
Papa Bonifacius *modo, ſed quondam Benedictus,*
Ex re nomen habe, Benefac, Benedic, Benedicte,
Aut cito perverte, Malefac, Maledic, Maledicte.

But for diverſion ſake, you may here peruſe the Rimes of *John Lydgate*, the old Monk of St. *Edmondsbury*,

The fall of Princes, lib. 9

Among theſe wofull Princys thre
Which ſhewyd theym ſo uggly of their chere:
Pope Boniface *by great adverſite,*
The VIII of that name gan to approach nere,
A thouſand IIIC accompted was the yere,
Fro Cryſt's *birth by computation,*
Whan that he made his lamentacion.

This ſame Pope caught occaſion,
Which undre Petre *kept governaunce,*
To Interdict *all the Region,*
Time of King Philip *regnynge tho in* France,
Direct Bulls down into Conſtaunce,
To (*a*) Nicolas *made by* Boneface
Archdeacon of the ſame place.

a Nicholaus Benefractus Archdeacon of *Conſtance* in lower *Normandy*, being ſent by the Pope, to carry the Orders to Interdict the King, was ſeized up on at *Tryers*, and impriſoned.

Of holy Church the Prelates nygh ech on,
Busſhoppys of Fraunce *felly have declared*;
Prevynge by (*b*) *poyntes manymo than one,*
In a great ſynne pleynly and nat ſpared,
By him the Church was hurte and not repared:
Put on him crymes of great myſgovernaunce,
Denonucynge enemy to all the Londe of Fraunce.

b Of theſe Articles againſt him I ſpake before, telling where you might ſee them, *viz.* in *Jo. Fox.* p. 448, 449. and *Traitez des droits & libertes de l' Egliſe* Gall. Tom. 2. p. 140, 141.

Put on him many great outrage,
Wrongly howe he had done offence
To a Cardinal born of the lynage
(*c*) De Columpnys *a kinrede of reverence*;
For which cauſe he kept him in abſence,
Out of the Court drough where he was born,
By which occaſion the Pope his lyf hath lorn.

c Boniface was a mortal enemy to the Family of the *Colonne*, baniſhing the Cardinals, and making them and others of that houſe incapable of any preferment; and it may be they might provoke him to it: they were reſtored again by *Benedict* IX and *Clement* V.

De

1300.

De Columpnys *the Lynage hath ſo wrought,*
(d) Toke Bonyface *for his cruelte;*
With great force and power they have him brought
Unto a Caſtel which ſtode in the Cite,
Called Sancta Angeli, *gave auctorite*
To Cardinal, and by commyſſion,
Power to do full Execution.

d Sciarra Colonna & others ſuddenly ſeized upon the Pope in Anagni: ſome ſay they carryed him priſoner to Rome; others ſay that he was reſcued, and went to Rome of his own accord; and if ſo, then he was not impriſoned in Caſtello S. Angelo.

Of theſe maters hangynge in balaunce,
A twene partyes, were it right or wronge;
Both of Romayns, *and Prelates eke of* Fraunce:
The Pope ay kept within the Caſtel ſtronge,
Of aventure abydynge there nat longe;
Fyll in a flixe, and afterwarde for nede,
For hunger (e) ete his handys as I rede.

e So ſaith Boccace; Treviſa, Walſingam; but ſome others deny it.

Howe af his dyeinge it is made mencion,
Aboute the Caſtel was mervelous lightnyng;
Where the Pope lay fettred in priſon,
None ſuch a form was ſeyn in their lyvynge, &c.

The death of Pope *Boniface* might be reckoned for a bleſſing to Chriſtendom: for if this quarrel between him and the King of *France* came to ſuch an height and extravagancie in the ſmall time of two or three years, with what combuſtion and miſeries would it in all likelyhood have fill'd *Europe*, had the lengthning of this Popes life prolong'd, and ſo more ſtir'd up the miſchief?

Boniface VIII dying, *Benedict* IX ſucceeded, who ruled not long, being taken away as is ſuppoſed by poyſon. Then after him was elected *Clement* V, though no Cardinal; and beſides, he baſely and illegally obtain'd the Chair, by the intereſt of this King *Philip*; to whoſe feet he humbled himſelf, not onely Simoniacally promiſing, but alſo *(f)* ſwearing before the Euchariſt, and giving farther ſecurity too, that if he would let him be Pope (for the King then carryed a main ſtroke) to gratifie *Philip* in ſeveral Conceſſions, as to condemn or raſe out the very memory of *Boniface*, &c.

f Jo. Rubens pag. 288. Bzovius; Spondanus.

Clement V having thus obtain'd the Popedom, removes the Papal Seat from *Rome* into *France*, where it continued many years. At his Coronation at *Lyons* there was a great deal of hurley-burley by the falling of an old Wall, whereby *Charles* the Kings Brother, the Duke of *Britanny*, with ſeveral others, were hurt; the Pope himſelf tumbled from his *Roſanante*, by which fall he loſt a rich Jewel from his *Tiara*, or Pontifical Diadem. And the King hardly eſcaped the ſcowring, having like a dapper Page on foot waited on his Holineſs and his Horſe, holding the (g) reins of the Bridle; and when he was weary of that unkingly ſlavery, or thought he had done enough, *(h)* his two Brothers, others ſay *Charles*, and the Duke of *Britanny*, one on one ſide of his Horſe, and the other on the other, performed the ſame humble ſervice; but the ſtones of the old Wall ſo knockt them for their pains, that

g Spondan. 1305. ſ. 6.

h Coeffet. pag. 1018.

1300. ten to one they repented of their ſervility, and wiſhed themſelves farther off his Holineſs.

After all theſe glories, *Clement* reconciles all between *France* and the Popedom, abſolving thoſe whom *Boniface* had Excommunicated; reſtored the Family of the *Colonni*, vindicating the King from any bad intentions in his actions againſt *Boniface*; yet he would not be as good as his Oath to daſh out the very memory of *Boniface*, though *Philip* ſeveral times urged him earneſtly to it. But *Boniface* he makes no Heretick; yet as unwilling that his actions in this quarrel ſhould be remembred, he commands under pain of Excommunication, all (*i*) Acts, Writings, Regiſters, *&c.* of theſe things to be taken off the File, aboliſhed, and razed out; nor never for the future to be re-aſſumed, or diſcovered to any. And we are told that he alſo granted, that the (*k*) *Kings and Kingdom of* France *ſhould never for the future be Excommunicated or Interdicted*. The which, if true, muſt be thought a brave priviledge in thoſe wrath-denouncing times.

i Spond. an. anno 1310. § 3.

k Coeffet. p. 1024.

To conclude with this *Clement*, take one ſtory: ſeveral Monks had bought great priviledges of the Pope, of which they were as proud, as he glad of their Caſh. The Fryar *Minorites* go to Market too, and offer *Clement* above forty thouſand *Florences* of Gold, for a diſpenſation to poſſeſs Riches contrary to their Order. *Clement* bites at this goodly bait, asked them where their Money was; they reply, In the Merchants hands, and ready: The Pope bids them come again the third day. In the mean time the Pope abſolves the Merchants of their Bond made to the Fryars, and commanded them to deliver him the Moneys. The Merchants abſolved, obey; and the Pope tells the Fryars, that he would not violate the Rule of S. *Francis*. And ſo the poor Fryars went ſneaking away gull'd of their Moneys. *Clement* being too cunning for ſuch hoorders up of Wealth. And ſo much for *Clement*, who was a lover of Women as well as Riches.

Tho. Walſingham in *Eam.* I. p. 19. *Fox*, p. 480.

CHAP.

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Chap. IV.

1. *The Murther of the Emperour* Albert.
2. *The death of the Emperour* Henry *the Seventh.*
3. *The troubles of the Empire by reaſon of the Papal arrogancy.*
4. *The ſtrange Tumults acted at* Rome *by* Nicholao di Renzo, *and* Franciſco Barencello.
5. *The Dog-trick uſed by the* Venetians *to take off the Popes Cenſures againſt them.*
6. *The bloudy actions in* Hungary.

Sect. 1.

The Murther of the Emperour Albert.

YOu were formerly told how *Adolph* the Emperour was depoſed and ſlain by Duke *Albert*, which *Albert* now carryed himſelf as Emperour, having the voice and conſent of the *Germans*; and though at firſt Pope *Boniface* VIII refuſed his confirmation, yet at laſt, hoping to make uſe of him againſt King *Philip* the *fair* of *France*, he alſo acknowledged him for Emperour, confirm'd him in the Throne, approved of all that he had 1303.
done, and commanded him to be obey'd; and ſo according to their Rule, he is now a lawful Emperour, and we need not queſtion but a good and clear man, being thus abſolved, and fortified with the Popes bleſſing.

But we ſhall ſee his end to be miſerable: for *John* his own Nephew troubled that he kept ſome lands from him, conſpired with ſome others his death, which thus they brought to paſs: *Albert* riding once out to take the Air, accompanied onely with theſe Conſpirators, who ſeem'd his great friends, at laſt they took their opportunity, ſo that the Nephew *John* ſtab'd him into the 1307.
Throat, another cleft his head; nor did his body eſcape without ſeveral wounds, ſo that there they left him dead, and fled for it.

Sect. 2.

The death of the Emperour Henry *the Seventh.*

THe Imperial Chair being now void, after ſome canvaſſing, the Electors by the Popes Inſtigation, (fearing they otherwiſe

1300. wiſe they would have elected *Philip* of *France*) choſe for Emperour *Henry* VII Earl of *Lutzenburg*; which Election is confirmed by *Clement* V, then at *Avignion* in *France*, provided *Henry* would go into *Italy*, there to do his drudgery.

The Emperour marcheth for *Italy* (which no Emperour had done for many years before, and at *Buonconvento* in *Tuſcany*, not far from *Sienna*, dyeth, not without great ſuſpition of being poyſoned, (and that too at the receiving of the Sacrament) as many of their (*a*) Hiſtorians do confeſs, though others will allow of no ſuch thing.

a Platina, vit. *Clement* V. *Genebrard*, pag. 1011. *Jo. Bapt. Egnat.* lib. 3. *Raph. Volaterran.* lib. 23. fol. 279. *Mexias*, p. 459 *Naucler.* p. 876. *Da. Bergamo*, fol. 383. *Anton. Sabellicus*, En. 9. fol. 261. Compilatio Hiſtorica apud Scriptor. *Germ.* anno 1113. *Paul. Langius*, Chron. Citizenſ. *Wern. Rolewinck* faſcic. Temp. *Albert. Argent.* chron. *Jo. Cuſpinian*, de Cæſaribus. *Alb. Krantz*, in *Saxon.* l. 9 c. 7. *Gabr. Bucelin. German.* Annal. anno 1313. *Hubert. Goltz.* & *Caſp. Gevert.* Icones Imperatorem. *Gonzal de Illeſcas*, Hiſt. Pont. part. 2. fol. 8.

As for any to be poyſoned by the Euchariſt, it is not impoſſible; and they report the like to have hapned to (*b*) *Henry Murdack* Archbiſhop of *York*, and alſo of Pope (*c*) *Victor* III. Of the Emperours being poyſoned at the receiving the Sacrament, by a ſacrilegious Prieſt, thus laments one of their old Poets:

b Matt Paris, anno 1154. p. 91. *c Alph. de Carthagena.* Anacephal.

Jure dolet mundus, quod ſit Jacobita *ſecundus*
Judas, quod reſtat, mors Cæſaris *hoc manifeſtat*
Anno milleno tercenteno duodeno
Uno non pleno, privati luce Veneno.

Another as good a Rimer as the former, thus:

Cæſaris Henrici *mortem plangamus amici,*
Qualiter hic vitam finiſſit per Jacobitam,
Per Corpus Chriſti *venenum tradidit iſti,*
Hinc in laude Dei moritur die Bartholomæi,
Eſt Piſam *latus, & cum fletu tumulatus*
Anno milleno Tricenteno Terdeno.

But methinks that famous and learned *Henry Eſtiene* (to whoſe Family the Common-wealth of Learning oweth very much,) upon this ſubject is moſt unluckie and biting.

Apol. pour *Herod.* pag. 284.

Les Pagens nec vouloyent mettre au nombre des Dieux
Ceux qui au genre humain eſtoyent pernicieux.
Si le Dieu de Paſte, eſt un Dieu qui empoiſonne
(Dont l' Empereur Henri *teſmoignage nous donne)*
Que diroyent les Pagens de ces gentils Docteurs,
Qui les hommes ont faict de luy adorateurs?
Car ſi leur Dieu ne fait de meurdris Conſcience,
Entre leur Diable & Dieu quelle eſt la difference?

Heathens no Gods ordain'd, but ſuch as did
Do good to man, and wickedneſs forbid.
If your Cake be a God that takes away
By poyſon life, what may the Pagans ſay?
For if he thus will murther and do evil,
What difference 'twixt your God then and your Divel?

Sect.

1300.

Sect. 3.

The troubles of the Empire, by reaſon of the Papal arrogancie.

After the death of this *Henry* VIII (be as it will) ſome account the Empire to be void for above XXX years. Others eſteem *Lewes* of *Bavaria* for the Emperour, whilſt ſome think no leſs of *Frederick* of *Auſtria*, though ſeveral, as aforeſaid, reject them both. However, by this diſſention Chriſtendom ſuffer'd much, and may juſtly be ſuppoſed, that much bloudſhed and miſchief had been ſaved, had the Popes been leſs ſtubborn, and more ſtudious for the benefit of Religion, than their private paſſions and intereſts.

For the Electors diſſenting, one part choſe *Lewes* of *Bavaria*; the other *Frederick* Duke of *Auſtria*; the firſt having (*a*) four to the latters third; though *Fredericks* party retorts, that the Duke of *Brandenburgs* Ambaſſador or Repreſenter (for himſelf could not come) voted againſt his Maſters commands, and ſo would have it null. Be it as 'twill, Authors differ in their Narrations, and (*b*) *Spondanus* ſcarce knows what to think of it. However, both parties declared himſelf Emperour, and was Crown'd, both ſent to the Pope for Confirmation, and both denyed; nor did he trouble his pate with the mending of the buſineſs, ſo that it ſeems 'twas all one to him, fight Dog, fight Bear; the bleſning of Emperours, being ſome cauſe of his greatneſs.

a Cenebrard, pag. 1015.

b An. 1314.

By theſe diviſions *Germany* was pitifully rent to pieces: for now the ſword muſt try the buſineſs; and at laſt *Lewes* is *Victorious*, and takes his Antagoniſt *Frederick* priſoner, whom ſome thought he would have put to death, but he was more noble, onely retaining him for his own ſecurity [though 'tis ſaid that *Frederick* at firſt hired a Villain to aſſaſſinate *Lewes*, who was diſcover'd, and puniſhed for his deſert.] 1322.

Lewes now thought all was done, but he found another ſort of warfare; for Pope *John* XXII favouring *Frederick*, pulls out his tools againſt *Lewes*, accuſing him of ſeizing upon the Empire (and why did not the Pope then long before provide for this?) aſſiſting of Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, (and no wiſe man but will look every where for aſſiſtance) and ſo gave him three months time to appear before him, and clear himſelf of thoſe things alledged againſt him. *Lewes* ſends Ambaſſadors to him, to vindicate himſelf; but the Pope careth not for this, and ſo Excommunicates him, declares him deprived of the Empire, and curſeth all thoſe who take his part. Againſt theſe, *Lewes* vindicates himſelf, and the Imperial Authority, and appeals from the Pope to a General Council.

And now the Pens fall to work, every man vindicating as he was perſwaded: The Pope had *Alvarus Pelagius* a Spaniard, *Petrus de Palude* a *Frenchman*, but above all, *Auguſtinus Triumphus* of *Ancona*, a Mendicant *Italian* Fryar, who by the commandment of this Pope *John* XXII, undertook to diſplay the Papal Authority; who according to his Maſters humour, hath made him ſo great, powerful, and ſupreme above all things, that,

but

1300. but that a Cat may look upon a King, no mortal eye durſt behold his Holineſs.

On the other hand, *Lewes* wanted not learned Champions, ſuch as were *Marſilius Patavinus*, *Johannes de Janduno*, *Dante* famous for his Poetry, Wit and Memory, and our famous Country-man *William Ockam*, who uſed to ſay to this *Lewes* (*a*) *Protect me with your Sword, and I will defend you with my Pen or learning*; but the Pope uſed his uſual tool to confute their Arguments, *viz.* curſing and Excommunication.

(*a*) Defende me gladio, & ego te defendam verbo.

1325. In this hurly-burly, *Lewes* makes peace with *Frederick* his Priſoner, and ſets him at liberty: ſome ſay that *Frederick* retain'd the Title of Emperour, others deny it; however it was, they were both good friends; by which means the Pope by uſing more moderation, might have ſhewn himſelf a good friend to Peace and Chriſtendom. But though it ſeems that theſe two were agreed on the buſineſs, Pope *John* would not by any means permit *Lewes* to be Emperour, but damned him again with his Cenſures: Which made *Lewes* reject *John* as much, proceeding alſo againſt him with his Cenſures, nulling all that he had done againſt him, and at laſt by advice declares him to be no Pope, and ſo caſheers his Holineſs: which made ſome wags call him but *Preſbyter-John*, or *Preſter-John*; which being done, he creates a new

1328. Pope, who calls himſelf *Nicholas* V.

1329. The quarrel having gone ſo far, *Frederick* of *Auſtria* dyeth, and ſo *Lewes* remains alone, and peace might have been concluded at an eaſie rate: to which purpoſe alſo *Lewes* himſelf writes to Pope *John*, but nothing is done in the buſineſs; and ſome time after

1335. *John* dyeth, and *Benedict* XII is elected to ſit in the Papal Chair. And in it was he ſcarce warm, when he began to follow the foot-ſteps of his Predeceſſor, renewing his Cenſures againſt him, and approving of, and confirming all that *John* had done. However,

1336. *Lewes* ſends to him that an Agreement might be ſtruck up; which *Benedict* ſeem'd to hearken too; but the conditions were ſo intollerable, that the deſign fell to the ground. Yet the Biſhops of *Germany* pitying the diſtractions and miſeries of Chriſtendom by theſe diviſions, ſend alſo to the Pope, to deſire him to hearken to peace; but the Meſſengers after long ſtay, return'd home as wiſe as they went, nothing being granted them.

Lewes ſeeing nothing would do, ſummons a *Diet* (or Parliment) where the ſtate of the Queſtion being canvas'd, he vindi-

1338. cateth his Imperial Authority, denies the Popes juriſdiction over him or it, and ſhews the Incroachments of the Pope: The Decree it ſelf being manly (not after the Papal Bulls *Canting* and *Quakering* ſtile) and worth the reading, but too large for this Breviary,

(*a*) Generat. 49 pag. 886, 887, 888. I ſhall refer you to (*b*) *Nauclerus*.

Benedict dying, *Clement* VI ſucceeds, who alſo renews the Thunderbolts againſt *Lewes*, who ſends to his Holineſs, deſiring an Agreement. *Clement* ſhews himſelf willing, provided *Lewes* will

1343. declare ——*himſelf no Emperour, acknowledge all the Errours, Hereſies affirm'd againſt him, and that he was a Schiſmatick; to renounce all right to the Empire, reſign it up unto the Pope, nor to undertake it again, unleſs the Pope thought good to give it him; and farther, that* Lewes *his perſon and his ſons ſhould be at the Popes diſpoſing.*——*Lewes* his Ambaſſadors, how circumventing I know not, ſubſcribe and ſwear to theſe intolerable

Articles

Articles, at which the Pope did not a little wonder. 1300.

But when they were brought to *Lewes*, he was amazed to the purpose at such an action done without his acquaintance, and, forsooth, summons a *Diet* at *Franckford*, where by the unanimous voice of all that Assemble, these Articles were declared intolerable, destructive, and pernicious to the Empire, and by no means to be consented to; though *Lewes* offer'd himself then ready to obey the Pope, if they pleased, but they would not yeild upon such harsh and severe conditions. 1344.

Pope *Clement* informed of this, runs to the Papal Dog-trick, pulls out his tool of Censure, declares *Lewes* an Heretick, Schismatick, and what not? pronounceth him deprived of the Empire, curseth all those who take his part; for which cause also he deprives *Henry* III Archbishop of *Mentz*, and commands the Electors to look upon *Lewes* as no Emperour, and so to go to the Election of another; recommending to them *Charles*, son to *John* King of *Bohemia*. Some of the Electors obey the Pope, meet, and elect accordingly the said *Charles*; which is confirmed by the Pope. And not long after, to the great comfort of *Clement* and *Charles*, *Lewes* unfortunately ended his days by an unluckie fall from his Horse, which was hastned and occasioned by poyson given him a little before. For whose death *Te Deum laudamus* was sung to the People. 1347.

And *Bellarmine* makes these Censures an Argument of the Popes Temporal Authority to depose Princes. *Bellarm.* de Rom. Pont. lib. 5. cap 8.

Thus, after above XXX years troubles and vexations, ended *Lewes*, whom I finde greatly commended for his Devotion towards the (*b*) Virgin *Mary*: yet did not *Germany* injoy peace and happiness; for several of the Electors not submitting to *Charles*, elected and sent to *Edward* III King of *England* for Emperour, but he for some reasons refused it; then they chose *Frederick* Marquess of *Misnia*, who also desired to be excused; then by a Majority of the Electors was nominated *Gunther* Earl of *Swarzenburgh*, who accepted of it, and was Crowned, and had many followers; but he at last being poysoned, *Charles* obtain'd his desires. But of these things an hint is sufficient.

b Gononus, pag. 312.

Sect. 4.

The strange Tumults acted at Rome *by* Nicolao di Renzo, *and* Francisco Barencello.

WHilst these things were acting in *Germany*, there hapned an odd passage in *Rome*, that had it gone on, would have alter'd and non-plus'd all the Counsels and Contrivances both of Pope and Emperour; which being somewhat strange, not unlike the late bravado of *Thomas Anello* at *Naples*, take it thus in short for a diversion.

Whilst *Lewes*, *Charles*, and Pope *Clement* were bandying it for the Empire, there started up at *Rome* one *Nicolaus Gabrinus*, son to one *Laurentius* or *Rentius*, and so by some *Italians* call'd *Nicolao di Renzo*, who was by profession a publick Notary, but one well seen in History, politick, and bold to any undertaking. This man considering that the Popes for several years had lived at *Avignon* 1347. *Raynius. Spond.*

1300. *vignion*, at which he knew the *Romans* to be ſomewhat diſcontented, took this opportunity, perſwades the people to redeem their ancient Priviledges and Liberties. They apt to change, joyn with him, whereby he became ſo ſtrong, as to ſeize upon the Capitol, depoſe the Senators, and take all the Government to himſelf.

Having thus got abſolute Authority, and all the people obedient to his beck, through an odd humour he would have himſelf again baptized; which was performed with great ſolemnity in the *Lateran* Church. And the more to advance his own vain-glory, in all his Letters and Deeds he appropriated to himſelf lofty and ſwelling (*a*) Titles, as *the Candate Souldier of the Holy Ghoſt, the Tribune of Peace, Liberty and Juſtice, the Redeemer of the* Roman *Common-wealth, Auguſtus*, and ſuchlike.

a Nicolaus candidatus Spiritus Sancti miles, ſeverus & clemens, liberator Urbis, zelator Italiæ, Amator orbis, Tribunus, Auguſtus.

He made and Ordain'd Senators, diſpoſed of all places as he pleas'd; yet behaved himſelf ſo, that the people admired and loved him as one ſent from Heaven: and for that time, never was there more Peace and Juſtice in *Rome*, ſo that all men remain'd ſatisfied; and by conſequence he grew ſo ſtrong and powerful, that his fame ran all *Europe* over; the inferiour people loved him, the greater ſort, and Princes of *Italy*, feared him, ſent Ambaſſadors to him, ſought his friendſhip and favour.

And being thus rais'd to the top of greatneſs, he thought himſelf ſecure and ſtrong enough, and ſo inlarged his pretended juriſdiction; he ſent to Pope *Clement* to come to *Rome* by ſuch a time, or elſe he would depoſe him, and elect another: he alſo ſent to *Lewes* and *Charles* to appear before him, and to ſhew by what title and pretence they laid claim to the Empire; and alſo commanded the Electors to come to him too. He declares *Rome* to be the Head of the world, and the Foundation of Chriſtianity; all the Cities of *Italy* to be free, and *Rome* and all *Italy* to belong to the Imperial Monarchy.

This vanity having continued a few months, he perceives great deſigns againſt him, and the people weary of their own Idol; wherefore he ſteals from *Rome*, and is found with *Charles*, who ſends him to the Pope, by whom he is impriſoned.

He remain'd a priſoner about VI years, at latter end of which he grew into great favour with Pope *Innocent* VI. About which time there hapned an action ſomwhat like the former.

One *Franciſcus Baroncellus*, a Notary too, conſidering the greatneſs and glory that *Nicolao di Renzo* once had, fancyed, had he been in his Authority, he ſhould have kept it better: full of theſe thoughts, he reſolves to play the ſame game, contrives his Confederates, raiſeth a Tumult in the City, cryeth up Liberty, ſeizeth upon the Capitol, thruſts out the Senators; by his fair ſpeeches charmes the people to applaud him, who finds fault with ſeveral Tyrannies and Vices, and rails dapperly againſt the Pope at *Avignion*. Thus having brought all to his lure, he becomes their Governour under the ſpecious (*b*) title of *Tribune* and *Conſul* of *Rome*. This being done, he writes to the Princes of *Italy* to joyn with him, and to *Charles* to come and receive the Empire. And he did not forget to do Juſtice, that is, to have any one kill'd and rob'd whom he pleas'd.

a Franc. Baroncellus Dei gratia, ſecundus Tribunus Almæ urbis ac *Romanus* Conſul.

Pope *Innocent* informed of theſe mad-pranks, by advice, thinks it beſt to drive out one Peg with another; and ſo having made

made *Nicolas Renzo* his friend, ſends him for *Rome* with Cardinal *Ægidius* to quiet theſe Tumults. 1300.

The people hearing of *Renzo's* coming, turn with the Tide, and joyn with him, and kill their late favourite *Barencellus*, after he had ſcarce triumphed four months. *Renzo* and the Cardinal are received with all joy that can be imagin'd; Olive-branches carryed before them, Triumphal Arches erected; the Streets ſtraw'd with Flowers, and all ſorts of Muſick and Hymns. *Renzo* is made *Tribune* again, and the people think themſelves now the moſt happy in the world under ſuch a Governour.

But this joy laſted not long: for *Nicolas* turns Tyrant, oppreſſeth them to the purpoſe; whereupon they riſe up againſt him, ſeize upon him, and kill him, and happy was he that could get a ſtroke at his body, which for more reproach they hang up by the feet for two days and a night, then burn it to aſhes, and threw them into the River. And thus much by the by for the giddy-headed *Romans*.

Sect. 5.

The Dog-trick uſed by the Venetians *to take off the Popes Cenſures againſt them.*

AND here cometh into my memory a pretty Dog-trick of the *Venetians* to redeem themſelves from the Cenſures of a ſtubborn Pope. *Azzo da Eſte* II Marqueſs of *Ferrara*, having by his firſt Wife one *Friſco*, upon her death Marries again. *Friſco* upon ſome account fearing by this means to be out of favour, and at laſt to looſe his right of Government, by the advice of ſome of the *Ferrarians*, ſeizeth upon his Father, impriſons him; where he dyes, and then takes the Government upon himſelf. *Ant. Sabel. En. 9. l. 8. fol. 261. Petr. Marcel Hiſt. Venet.*

The people upon this is divided, ſome for *Friſco*, whilſt other oppoſe him: in this condition, *Friſco* not being ſufficient of himſelf to conquer all, deſires the aſſiſtance of his Friends the *Venetians*; they yeild to his requeſt, by which means *Ferrara* is reduced. Pope *Clement* the V (of whom we ſpake formerly) informed of this, Excommunicates the *Venetians*, and perſwades all people to be their enemies, as oppoſing a City which the Pope declared to belong to the Protection of St. *Peter*. By this means the *Venetians* either in Travail or Traffick are abuſed every where; and, as ſome ſay, people thought they could do no better ſervice than kill them where ever they met them.

However it was, the *Venetians* ſtill went home by weeping croſs; they ſue, ſend and intreat for pardon, but it will not be granted. At laſt they ſent *Franciſco Dandalo*, one of great repute amongſt them, to uſe all his endeavour to get off this Interdict: *Dandalo* goeth to *France*, where the Pope then kept his Court, and after much intreaty, was admitted in, but denyed. *Dandalo* reſolved, if any thing could do it, not to return without it; gets a great Iron chain, one end of which he puts about his neck, with which like a Dog, under the Popes Table, he lyeth on the ground ſo long, that

1300. the Pope being thus overcome, recals his Cenſures, and nulls the Interdict. A great ſign of the Ambaſſadors patience; but 'tis need makes the Old Wife trot: and the *Venetians* were forced to this Slavery, by the great miſery they were brought into by the Popes *Interdiction*, whereby every one looked upon them to have no benefit of Chriſtian Law or favour. And if every one ought thus to truckle, that either ſeized upon other mens Dominions, or aſſiſts others ſo to do, how many Popes before this time had had their necks honour'd with an Iron-collar, and drag'd a Chain after them to the Table of Kings and Emperours? And a worſe puniſhment and ignominy doth he deſerve, that diſpoſſeſſeth another wrongfully. But the Pope after ſo many intreaties and confeſſions of fault, might have indulged this renowned Common-wealth, without this Dog-like diſgrace: And ſome accordingly are apt to think, that the *Venetians* were not onely freed from theſe Cenſures, but alſo favour'd with a Priviledge, never to be Excommunicated, Cenſured, or Interdicted again: Which if true, Pope *Paul* V, of late days, looked upon it but a piece of nonſence, and of no validity, by his contrary actions againſt that Republick.

Fulgoſ. Hiſt. of *Venice.*

Sect. 6.

The bloudy actions in Hungary.

Bzov. 1327. *Spond.* 1330

AND here might I ſpeak of the miſeries of *Hungary*, what diſſentions and broyls that Kingdom was troubled withal, by the Popes intermedling with their affairs, betwixt whom and the Natives there was no ſmall ſtrife, whether they or he ſhould nominate the King. What great danger their King *Charles* I. was in by the treaſon of one *Felicianus*, who entred the Preſence-Chamber, draweth his Sword, wounds the King, cuts off four of the Queens fingers; and if he had not been ſlain by *Johannes Palochus*, had deſigned to have murdred the King, Queen, and their Children? And from him might I go to *Charles* II; who *Lewes* I. dying, and leaving his Eldeſt Daughter *Mary* for Queen, by the inſtigation of ſome Nobles, cometh from *Naples*, and thruſt her from the Throne.

Nor did his injoy this honour long: for *Elizabeth* the Widow of *Lewes*, and Mother to *Mary*, takes her opportunity, and invites him to a private meeting, where he was ſlain or poyſoned; in revenge of which, *Johannes Banus de Horvath* hath the Heads of the Aſſaſſinates cut off, and *Elizabeth* drowned in the next River; and had proceeded againſt *Mary* too, but that he was terrified by the approach of *Sigiſmond* Marqueſs of *Brandeberg* her Husband, with a great Army to her relief. Which *Sigiſmund* was then made King of *Hungary*, and was after that Emperour of *Germany*.

CHAP.

1300.

Chap. V.

1. *The depoſing and Murther of* Edward *the Second*, King *of* England.
2. *The depoſing and death of King* Richard *the Second.*
3. *The grand diſpute and troubles amongſt the* Cordeliers, *concerning the trifling and childiſh Queſtions of the largeneſs of their Capuchin or Hood, and the uſage and right of the Bread and meat which they eat.*

Sect. 1.

The Depoſing and Murther of Edward *the Second, King of* England.

BUt leaving theſe miſchiefs abroad, if we look at home, we ſhall not finde *England* better or more Chriſtian, yet as much *Roman* Catholick as their Neighbours.

Here now ruleth *Edward* II, ſirnamed of *Carnarvan* in *Wales* the place of his birth, and ſon to *Edward* I. A Prince too apt to be abuſed by his ſelf-ended Courtiers, and, as the Nation thought, too much complying to the Dictates of the *Spencers*; by which means he obtain'd the diſpleaſure of ſome of the people; and which was more, ſeveral of the Biſhops turn'd his Enemies; but which was moſt of all, his own Queen *Iſabel*, Daughter to *Philip le Bel* King of *France*, was his greateſt Enemy, and made it her whole buſineſs to procure his depoſition and ruine.

And to make the way more eaſie for this their wicked deſign, they had ſpread abroad that Pope *John* XXII had (*a*) abſolved all the *Engliſh* of their Allegiance to their King *Edward*. A brave World and Faith, that people ſhould be ſo Antichriſtian, as to think the Pope had really any ſuch power: but when the Biſhops of *Rome* had the Impudence to affirm as much, well might the ſimple people be gull'd and cheated by ſuch Popes, and ſuch a faith, to any Villany or Rebellion.

a Bzov. an. 1326. & 10. *Spond.* & 3.

The Nation thus abuſed, the King was not able to defend himſelf; whereupon the Queen and the reſt march boldly to *Oxford*, where *Adam de Orlton* Biſhop of *Hereford* preacheth to them a Comfortable but wicked Sermon, taking this for his Text — *My head grieveth me* —— : From which words he declared to them, that a bad King ought to be removed, though by the ſame rule his head ought to be cut off for aking.

From thence they marched to *London*, where they were joyfully received; and a Parliament being held, King *Edward* II

1300. is judged unfit for the rule, and ſo declared depoſed, and his Eldeſt Son *Edward* III, (the Father being at laſt forced to conſent) made King; the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* making a Sermon as bad as the former, from theſe words: —*Vox Populi, vox Dei.*— When the King had thus been forced to reſign, being a cloſe Priſoner, (ſome Lords and others being ſent down to him at *Kenilworth* Caſtle to procure his reſignation) S. *William Truſſel* Knight and Speaker to the Parliament, thus beſpake the King,——

Treviſa, 17. cap. 43. *I* William Truſſel, *in name of all men of the Lond of* Engelond, *and of alle the Parlement Procuratour, I reſigne to the* Edwarde *the homage that was made to the ſomtyme. And from this time forthward I dyffye the, and* (a) *pryve the of all Royal Power, and I ſhall never be tendaunt to the as for Kynge after this time.*

a Deprive.

And then Sir *Thomas Blunt*, Steward of the Kings Houſhold, brake his white Rod, reſigned his Office, and thereby ſignified that the Kings Houſhold had free liberty to depart, and ſerve *Edward* no more.

Tho. de la Moore, Hiſt. de vita & Morte *Edw.* II. *Jo. Stow's* Chron. *Galfrid. le Baker* de *Swynabroke* cler. de vita & morte Regum *Edwardorum* I. & II. fol. 107. Manuſcript. Cod. XL ſuper A. B. Art. in *Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.*

King *Edward* II being thus deprived of his Dominions, *Iſabel* his Queen, who is thought to hate him mortally, thinks he is too well uſed at *Kenilworth* Caſtle, by *Henry* Earl of *Leiceſter* his Kinſman; and therefore with the advice of the Biſhop of *Hereford*, he is thence removed, and delivered to the cuſtody of Sir *Thomas Gurney*, and Sir *John Maltravers* his mortal Enemies, who convey him to *Corf*-Caſtle, thence to *Briſtol*, and ſo to *Barkly*-Caſtle. In which private journeys, the King indured all manner of ignominy and ſcorn by theſe two villanous Knights; as they made him ride bare-headed, would ſcarce allow him any ſleep or victuals, and contradicted and croſs'd him in every thing. One time *Gurney* made him a Crown of Hay, and put it on his Head, and crying with the reſt——*Tprut avant Syr King*, and *Fare forth Syr King*; (*i.e.* go on.) Another time they would ſhave as well the hair of his head as his Beard: for which purpoſe they made him light from his jaded Horſe, ſet him on a Mole-hill, took water out of a Ditch cloſe by, ſaying, that ſhould ſerve for that time: which ſo overwhelmed the King with grief, that he told them, That *would they nould they, he would have warm water for his head*; and ſo at their inhumanity began to weep and ſhed tears plentifully.

And when he was a Priſoner in *Barkly* Caſtle, they uſed him much after the ſame way, (though *Thomas Barkley* then Lord of the place, greatly pittyed his ſad condition, wiſhing it in his power to redreſs it). At laſt Queen *Iſabel* and her ſure friend in miſchief *Adam de Orlton*, upon advice thought it beſt to have him taken out of the world; whereupon they chid his keepers for keeping him ſo delicately, and gave hints enough to diſcover their meaning; but the moſt cunning of all was, the direction which the crafty Biſhop of *Hereford* ſent down to them, in theſe words:

Edwardum *occidere nolite timere bonum eſt.*

To kill *Edward* will not to fear it is good.

Or thus rendred into verſe by *Stow*,

To ſeek to ſhed King Edwards *blond*
Refuſe to fear I think it good:

All

1300.

All which being written without any *Point* or *Comma*, carries a double ſence like the Pagan Oracles, either to kill or ſave *Edward*; by which means the knaviſh Biſhop could interpret it for his own vindication, if he were queſtioned for it.

Gurney and *Maltravers* receive the direction, and interpret it according as it was deſired; and ſo they bend their ſtudies to procure his Murther. Once they indeavoured to ſtifle him by the ſtench of Carkaſſes and ſuchlike Carrion ſmell; but that failing, they went a ſure way to work; for one night, they, aſſiſted with ſome fifteen other villains, ruſh'd into his chamber, he being in bed, and with many Feather-beds and Tables laid upon him they ſmothered him; and for more ſure work and torment, they thruſt an hot piece of Iron into his bowels, through a certain inſtrument like a Glyſter-pipe in at his fundament; and that inſtrument they uſed, that no wound might be found upon him.

As for the Murtherers, they found (contrary to their expectations) *Iſabel* and the Biſhop of *Hereford* their mortall enemies, conſtruing their directions for the preſervation of the King, by which means they indeavoured to vindicate themſelves to the people; but *Gurney* and *Maltravers* being thus overpower'd by their own Patrons, fled for it.

Such another like double-meaning ſentence as this, are we told of concerning *Gertrude* Queen of *Hungary* and Mother to S. *Elizabeth*, ſo famous amongſt the *Germans*. *Jo. Fox* Mon. Tom. 1 pag. 348.

Reginam interficere nolite timere bonum eſt, & ſi omnes conſenſerint non ego contradico. To kill the Queen will ye not to fear it is good, and if all men conſent thereunto (*yet*) not I (*I*) my ſelf doe ſtand againſt it.

And theſe devilliſh knaveries and double dealings, poſſibly took their firſt thoughts from ſuchlike deluſions as theſe of the Pagan Oracles, let Satan or Man be the inventor and ſpeaker,

Ibis, redibis nunquam per bella peribis.

Thus *Cræſus* that wealthy King of the *Lydians* was ruined by truſting to this Oracle,

Cræſus Halyn *penetrans magnam pervertit opum vim.*

as *Pyrrhus* King of *Epire* was by this of *Apollo*,

Aio te Æacide Romanos *vincere poſſe.*

But to leave Heathen Fables, let us return to *Romaniſh* Rebellions.

Sect.

1300.

Sect. 2.

The depoſing and death of King Richard *the Second.*

AND here paſſing by King *Edward* III, ſo famous in Wars, and that impudent Rebellion of *Wat Tylor*, *Jack Straw*, and ſuch-like beggerly Villains in King *Richard* II's time; a Prince unfortunate to be left to rule very young, and under bad counſel, which brought him into ſome inconveniencies in his after-Reign; which procured him the ill will of many, whereby he was made more capable of looſing not onely his Kingdom, but his life.

For having Reigned ſome twenty two years, and whilſt he was in *Ireland*, in quelling the Rebellion there, *Henry Bullenbrook* Duke of *Hereford* and *Lancaſter* landed in *York-ſhire*, whither moſt of the Nobility and Biſhops flockt to him, raiterouſly owning him as their Lord: and to make his way more eaſie, *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* preached to the people againſt King *Richard*; and (which Rebellion never can want,) ſhew'd a Bull procured from *Rome*, promiſing remiſſion of ſins to all thoſe who ſhould aid the ſaid *Henry* againſt King *Richard*; for which treaſon they ſhould be placed in Paradiſe. Brave Papal Doctrine from the Infallible Tripos of the *Romiſh* Biſhop, who is priviledged with an unerring ſpirit.

Stow, p. 320.

1339.

By ſuchlike irreligious tricks as theſe, the Duke increaſed to an hundred thouſand ſtrong, ſeizeth upon the King, who upon this news was return'd out of *Ireland*; hath him up to *London*, where a Parliament being call'd, he is overperſwaded to reſign his Crown, which the Duke claimeth, and hath it: The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* making a Sermon upon this Text:

J. Haywardes Hiſt. *Hen.* IV. pag. 96.

1 *Sam.* 9. 17. *Behold the man whom I ſpake to thee of, this ſame ſhall reign over my people.*

Henry being Crown'd, King *Richard* was removed to *Pontfract* in *York-ſhire*, where he dyed: ſome hint as if for grief he pined away; others, that every day he had good cheer ſet before him, but not permitted taſte of it; but the common Opinion is, that (and by the deſire and hints too of *Henry*) he was murdered violently by (*b*) Weapons; the wicked Author of which, they ſay to be Sir *Piers* of *Exton*, a Knight and favourite of *Henries*.

b Spond. an. 1399. ſect. 8. *Will. Caxton* continuat. of Polycron. lib. ult. cap. 9.

However it was, for diverſion ſake, take it thus from the Poems of *Samuel Daniel*, one held to be very knowing in our *Engliſh* Hiſtories and Antiquities.

* * * * * * * * * *

(*c*) Book II. ſect. 99.

And now the whilſt (*d*) *theſe Princes ſorrowed,*
Forward ambition came ſo near her end,
Sleeps not, nor ſlips th' occaſion offered
T' accompliſh what he did before intend:
A Parliament is forthwith ſummoned
In Richards *name, whereby they might pretend*

c The Wars of *York* and *Lancaſter*.

d King *Richard* II and his Queen *Iſabel* meeting together and lamenting their conditions.

A

A form to grace diſorders, and to ſhow 1300.
Of holy right, the right to overthrow.

100.

And could not Majeſty be ruined
But with the fearful power of her own name?
And muſt abus'd obedience thus be led
With powerful Titles to conſent to ſhame?
Could not Confuſion be eſtabliſhed,
But Form and Order muſt confirm the ſame?
Muſt they who his Authority did hate,
Yet uſe his ſtile to take away his State?

101.

Order, how much predominant art thou,
That if but onely thou pretended art,
How ſoon deceiv'd mortality doth bow
To follow thine, as ſtill the better part?
'Tis thought that reverent Form will not allow
Iniquity, or Sacred Right pervert:
Within our ſouls, ſince then thou dwel'ſt ſo ſtrong;
How ill do they that uſe thee, to do wrong?

102.

So ill did they, that in this formal courſe
Sought to eſtabliſh a deformed right:
Who might as well effected it by force;
But that men hold it wrong, what's wrought by might:
Offences urg'd in publick are made worſe;
The ſhew of Juſtice aggravates deſpight:
The Multitude that look not to the Cauſe,
Reſt ſatisfi'd, ſo it be done by Laws.

103.

And now doth Envy *Articles object*
Of Rigor, Malice, private favourings,
Exaction, Riot, Falſhood and neglect;
Crimes done, but not to b' anſwered by Kings:
Which Subjects may complain, but not correct;
And all theſe faults which Lancaſter *now brings*
Againſt a King, muſt be his own, when he
By urging others ſins a King ſhall be.

104.

For all that was moſt odious was deviſ'd
And publiſh'd in theſe (a) Articles abroad; a 32. or 38.
All th' errors of his youth were here compriz'd,
Calamity with Obloquie to load:
And more to make him publickly deſpiz'd,
Libels, Invectives, Rayling Rimes were ſow'd
Among the Vulgar, to prepare his fall
With more applauſe, and good conſent of all.

107.

Upon theſe Articles in Parliament
So heinous made, inforc'd and urg'd ſo hard,
He was adjudg'd unfit for Government,
And of all Regal Power and Rule debar'd:
For who durſt contradict the (b) Dukes intent? 6 Henry IV.
Or if they durſt, ſhould patiently be heard?

De-

1300. Deſire of change, old wrongs, new hopes, freſh fear,
Being far the major part the cauſe muſt bear.

The King being thus depoſed, the Poet goeth on to declare how *Henry*, the better to keep himſelf ſecure, wiſh'd the death of *Richard*, and how his meaning being underſtood, the murther was barbarouſly accompliſhed.

Book III. ſ. 56.

He knew his time, and yet he would not ſeem
Too quick to wrath, as if affecting blood;
But yet complains ſo far, that men might deem
He would 'twere done, and that he thought it good,
And wiſh'd that ſome would ſo his life eſteem,
As rid him of theſe fears wherein he ſtood:
And therewith eyes a (a) Knight, that then was by,
Who ſoon could learn his leſſon by his eye.

(a) Sir *Piers Exton.*

57.

The man he knew was one that willingly
For one good look would hazzard ſoul and all;
An Inſtrument for any villany,
That needed no Commiſſion more at all:
A great eaſe to a King that ſhould hereby
Not need in this a Court of Juſtice call,
Nor ſeem to will the Act; for tho' what's wrought
Were his own deed, he grieves ſhould ſo be thought.

58.

So foul a thing O thou Injuſtice *art,*
That torment both the doer and diſtreſt:
For when a man hath done a wicked part,
How doth he ſtrive t'excuſe to make the beſt,
To ſhift the fault, t'unburthen his charg'd heart,
And glad to finde the leaſt ſurmiſe of reſt;
And if he could make his ſeem others ſin,
What great repoſe, what eaſe he findes therein?

59.

This Knight, but yet why ſhould I call him Knight,
To give Impiety this reverend ſtile?
Title of honour, worth, and vertues right
Should not be given to a wretch ſo vile:
But pardon me if I do not aright,
It is becauſe I will not here defile
My unſtain'd Verſe with his opprobrious name,
And grace him ſo to place him in the ſame.

60.

This Caitif goes, and with him takes eight more
As deſperate as himſelf, impiouſly bold,
Such Villains as he knew would not abhor
To execute what wicked act he would;
And haſtes him down to Pomfret *where before*
The reſtleſs King convaid, was laid in hold:
There would he do the deed he thought ſhould bring
To him great grace and favour with his King.

61. *Whether*

61. 1300.

Whether the ſoul receives intelligence
By her neer Genius *of the bodies end,*
And ſo imparts a ſadneſs to his ſence
Foregoing ruine whereto it doth tend:
Or whether Nature elſe hath conference
With profound ſleep, and ſo doth warning ſend
By prophetizing dreams what hurt is near,
And gives the heavy careful heart to fear.

62.

However ſo it is, the now ſad King
Toſt here and there, his quiet to confound,
Feels a ſtrange weight of ſorrows gathering
Upon his trembling heart, and ſees no ground;
Feels ſudden terror bring cold ſhivering:
Liſts not to eat, ſtill muſes, ſleeps unſound;
His ſenſes droop, his ſteady eyes unquick,
And much he ails, and yet he is not ſick.

63.

The morning of that day which was his laſt,
After a weary reſt riſing to pain;
Out of a little gate his eyes he caſt
Upon thoſe bordering Hills and open Plain;
And views the Town, and ſees how people paſt,
Where others liberty makes him complain
The more his own, and grieves his ſoul the more,
Conferring Captive Crowns with Freedom poor.

64.

O happy man, *ſaid he*, that loe I ſee
Grazing his Cattle on thoſe pleaſant Fields!
If he but knew his good, how bleſſed he
That feels not what affliction Greatneſs yeilds,
Other than what he is he would not be,
Nor change his ſtate with him that Scepters weilds:
Thine, thine is that true life that is to live,
To reſt ſecure, and not riſe up to grieve.

King *Richards* complaint in *Pomfret*.

65.

Thou ſit'ſt at home ſafe by thy quiet fire,
And hear'ſt of others harms, but feeleſt none;
And then thou tell'ſt of Kings, and who aſpire,
Who fall, who riſe, who triumphs, who do mone:
Perhaps thou talk'ſt of me, and doſt inquire
Of my reſtraint, why here I live alone,
And pitieſt this my miſerable fall;
For pity muſt have part, envy not all.

66.

Thrice-happy you that look as from the ſhore,
And have no venture in the wrack you ſee,
No int'reſt, no occaſion to deplore
Other mens travails, whilſt your ſelves ſit free.
How much doth your ſweet reſt make us the more
To ſee our miſery, and what we be?
Whoſe blinded greatneſs ever in turmoyl,
Still ſeeking happy life, makes life a toyl.

1300.

66.

Great *Diocleſian*, and more great therefore,
For ſcorning that whereto vain pride aſpires,
Reckoning thy Gardens in *Illyria* more
Than all the Empire, all which th' earth admires:
Thou well didſt teach, that he is never poor
That little hath, but he that much deſires;
Finding more true delight in that ſmall (*a*) ground,
Than in poſſeſſing all the Earth was found.

(*a*) His Garden in *Solonia*, a City in *Dalmatia*, after he had reſigned up the *Roman* Empire.

67.

Are Kings that freedom give, themſelves not free,
As meaner men, to take what they may give?
What! are they of ſo fatal a degree,
That they cannot deſcend from that and live?
Unleſs they ſtill be Kings, can they not be,
Nor may they their Authority ſurvive?
Will not my yeilded Crown redeem my breath?
Still am I fear'd? is there no way but death?

68.

Scarce this word death *had ſorrow uttered,*
But in ruſht one, and tells him how a Knight
Is come from Court, his name delivered.
What news with him, *ſaid he*, that trayterous wight?
What, more removes? muſt we be farther led?
Are we not ſent enough yet out of ſight?
Or hath this place not ſtrength ſufficient
To guard us in? or have they worſe intent?

69.

By this the bloudy troop were at the door,
When as a ſudden and a ſtrange diſmay
Inforc'd them ſtrain who ſhould go in before;
One offers, and in offering makes a ſtay;
Another forward ſets, and doth no more;
A third the like, and none durſt make his way:
So much the horrour of ſo vile a deed,
In vileſt mindes hinders them to proceed.

71.

At length, as to ſome great aſſault, the Knight
Cheers up his fainting men all that he can,
And valiantly their courage doth incite,
And all againſt one weak unarmed man.
A great exploit, worthy a man of might!
Much honour, wretch, therein thy valour wan!
Ah poor weak Prince! yet men that Preſence fear,
Which once they knew Authority did bear.

72.

Then on thruſts one, and he would formeſt be
To ſhed anothers bloud, but loſt his own;
For entring in, as ſoon as he did ſee
The face of Majeſty to him well known;
Like Marius *Souldier at* Minternum, *he*
Stood ſtill amaz'd, his courage overthrown:
The King ſeeing this, ſtarts up from where he ſate,
Out from his trembling hand his weapon gate.

73. Thus

73. 1300.

Thus even his Foes that came to bring him death,
Bring him a weapon that before had none,
That yet he might not idly looſe his breath,
But dye reveng'd in action not alone:
And this good chance that this much favoureth,
He ſlacks; not for he preſently ſpeeds one,
And Lyon-like upon the reſt he flies,
And here lyes one, and there another lies.

74.

And up and down he traverſes his ground,
Now wards a felling blow, now ſtrikes again,
Then nimbly ſhifts a thruſt, then lends a wound,
Now back he gives, then ruſhes on amain:
His quick and ready hand doth ſo confound
Theſe ſhameful beaſts, that four of them lies ſlain:
And all had periſht happily and well,
But for one act, that O! I grieve to tell.

75.

This coward Knight ſeeing with ſhame and fear
His men thus ſlain, and doubting his own end,
Leaps up into a Chair that loe was there;
That whilſt the King did all his courage bend
Againſt thoſe four that now before him were,
Doubting not who behind him doth attend,
And plyes his hands undaunted, unaffear'd,
And with good heart, and life for life he ſtir'd.

76.

And whilſt he this, and that, and each mans blow
Doth eye, defend, and ſhift, being laid to ſore;
Backward he bears for more advantage now,
Thinking the wall would ſafe-guard him the more;
When loe with impious hand, O wicked thou!
That ſhameful durſt not come to ſtrike before,
Behind him gav'ſt that woful deadly wound,
That laid that moſt ſweet Prince flat on the ground.

'Tis ſaid that ſome of the ſtrokes of the Swords were to be ſeen in the Walls, till theſe late times when the Caſtle was demoliſht; & that King *James* by reaſon of this murther had no mind to take ſo full a view of the Caſtle at his coming out of *Scotland*, as he at firſt intended, being told of it as he was beholding the Caſtle.

77.

Monſter of men! what hath thy fury done
Upon an overpreſſed Innocent,
Lab'ring againſt ſo many, he but one,
And one poor ſoul, with care, with ſorrow ſpent?
Could thine own eyes indure to look upon
Thy hands diſgrace, or didſt thou not relent?
But what thou didſt, I will not here Divine,
Nor ſtain my thoughts to enter into thine.

78.

But leave thee wretch unto black Infamy,
To dark eternal horror and diſgrace;
The hateful ſcorn to all Poſterity:
The out-caſt of the world, laſt of the Race,
Of whoſe curſt ſeed, Nature did then deny
To bring forth more, her fair-works to diſgrace:
And as aſham'd to have produc'd that paſt,
She ſtays her hand, and makes this worſt her laſt.

1300.

79.

There lyes that comely body all imbrude
With ſacred blood, amidſt the foul he ſhed;
Thoſe holy ſtreams became with that vile, rude
Unhallowed ſtains confuſedly interſpred:
Ah! why was groſneſs with ſuch grace indude,
To be with that ſweet mixture honoured?
Or ſerv'd it but for ſome vile grave, ordain'd
Where an unbalmed Corps ſhould be contain'd?

80.

Thoſe fair diſtended limbs all trembling lay,
Whom yet, nor life, nor death their own could call;
For life removed had rid all away,
And death, though entring, ſeiz'd not yet on all:
That ſhort-tim'd motion (that ſoon finiſh ſhall,
The Mover ceaſing) yet a while doth ſtay.
As th' Organ ſound a time ſurvives the ſtop,
Before it doth the dying note give up:

81.

So holds thoſe Organs of that goodly frame
The weak remains of life a little ſpace;
But ah! full ſoon cold death poſſeſt the ſame:
Set are thoſe Sun-like Eyes, bloudleſs that face,
And all that comely whole a lump became;
All that fair form which death could ſcarce diſgrace,
Lyes periſht thus, and thus untimely Fate
Hath finiſht his moſt miſerable ſtate.

Though King *Richard* II thus loſt his Kingdom and life by the Invaſion of *Henry* IV; yet no ſooner came *Henry* V to the Crown, but he ſhew'd his reſpect to *Richard*, having his Corps convey'd from *Langley* to *Weſtminſter*, where he had him honourably buryed, cloſe by his Queen *Anne* his firſt Wife, according to his deſire when living; and, which was more, obſerved yearly a day in memory of the ſaid *Richard*. The Epitaph of the ſaid King *Richard* runs thus, according to the Monkiſh mode of Poetry in thoſe times.

Stow p. 343, 344.

R Holinſhed vol. 3.

Prudens & Mundus Richardus *jure Secundus,*
Per factum victus, jacet hic ſub marmore pictus,
Verax ſermone, fuit & plenus ratione,
Corpore procerus, animo prudens ut Homerus;
Eccleſiæ favit, Elatos ſuppeditavit,
Quemvis proſtravit, Regula, qui violavit.

And ſo much for King *Richard* II his miſeries and murther; and as for his Epitaph, the ignorance and well-meaning of the Rimer ſhall pardon his Poetical faults, being held famous, and of great eſteem in thoſe times. As of later times, *Ortuinus Gratius*, and the reſt of the *Magiſtri noſtri* and *Virtuoſi* in the *Epiſtolæ obſcurorum virorum*, thought their own Latine and Learning far above that of *Eraſmus*, *Reuchlin*, and ſuch others, truely famous and immortal for their Learning and Oratory.

Sect.

1300.

Sect. 3.

The grand diſpute and troubles amongſt the Cordeliers, *concerning the trifling and childiſh Queſtions of the largeneſs of their Capuchin or Hood, and the uſage and right of the Bread and meat which they eat.*

AND now amongſt all theſe Tragedies, take one piece of fooliſh gravity, where you ſhall finde the Pope and his Cardinals as ſerious about meer trifles, as if in the Conſiſtory they were met, onely to invent the Game of *Gooſe*; and his Holineſs ſitting, conſulting, and troubling his head as wiſely, as *Pantagruel* in *Rabelais* in deciding the non-ſence Law-caſe between the two fooliſh Lords.

I have heard of two *Italian* Brothers, who fell out and kill'd each other, upon the diſpute which of them ſhould poſſeſs the Heavens, and command the Stars; and Hiſtory tells us, that the *Ætolians* and *Arcadians* had cruel Wars for a Wild-Boar; that the *Carthagenians*, and the people of *Piraca* for a Sea-rovers-ſhip; that the *Scots* and *Picts* for a few Maſtiff-Dogs; and that the Wars between *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* and the *Switzers*, began for a Cart-load of Sheep-skins. And ſome will tell us, that that great hatred and antipathy betwixt the (*a*) *French* and *Spaniards*, began meerly becauſe the *French* were not ſo gloriouſly clad as the the other, at an interview betwixt *Lewes* XI, and *Henry* IV the King of *Caſtile*. And the *Indian* Hiſtories aſſure us, that the King of *Pegu* having three white Elephants, wanted a fourth for his Coach: which to obtain from the King of *Siam*, who had one, (*b*) rais'd an Army of a Million of men; in which were three thouſand Camels, five thouſand Elephants, and two hundred thouſand Horſes; whereby he deſtroy'd the Kingdom of *Siam*, and forced the poor King to kill himſelf for the loſs of his whole Empire; and all this ado for one white Elephant to joyn to his other three.

Though theſe actions might perſwade ſome to pitty, others to ſmile at them; yet here we ſhall have a Papal Controverſie or two more ridiculous; which I ſhall give you in the words of a late ingenious Author, as it is now rendred out of *French*, whereby we may ſee how obſtinate people are in meer trifles.

Sir *Hen. Wottons* State of Chriſtend. p. 147, 148.

a Car. Garcia Antipatia de los *Franceſes* y *Eſpannoles*, cap. 17. page 226. Epit. of the *French* Kings, p. 280 this hapned *anno* 1463.

b Myſt. of Jeſuitiſ. Part 3. pag. 54.

'For there is no queſtion but that when the *Cordeliers* were at 'a difference between themſelves concerning the form of their 'Capuchin (Cowl or Hood) when thoſe who would be call'd the 'Spiritual Brethren would have their Hood narrower, and others 'which they named the *Brothers* of the *Communalty* would have 'theirs of a larger ſize; they thought their diſpute wonderful con'ſiderable: And in good earneſt the quarrel laſted almoſt a whole 'Age, with infinite heat and animoſity on both ſides, being at 'laſt with much ado determin'd by the *Bulls* of four Popes, *Ni'colas* IV, *Clement* V, *John* XXII, and *Benedict* XII. But now it 'looks, as if really it had been to make the world ſport, when 'men but mention this Diſpute; and I verily believe there is 'hardly a *Cordelier* at preſent that cares a Ruſh for the ſize of his

Myſt. of Jeſuit. part 3. pa. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66.

1300. ‘his *Capuchin*. For ſo in truth a wiſe Fryar would have ſaid, ‘when the Conteſt was at the higheſt,— *Let us but have patience* ‘*a while, and we ſhall both be laught at.*

‘The ſame might likewiſe have been ſaid upon another *Queſti-* ‘*on* ſprung about the ſame time, and which is of a nature ſo ‘thin and airy, that it almoſt vaniſheth with a touch.

‘'Tis a certain truth, that what the *Cordeliers* eat and drink, ‘is as well devour'd, as that which is eaten or drank by thoſe who ‘never made profeſſion of their Rule: This is undeniable. But ‘there ſprang a Queſtion amongſt them, whether the *right* to ‘thoſe things which were conſum'd by the uſage, as *Bread* and ‘*Wine*, appertain'd to them or not; or whether they had onely ‘the ſimple *uſage* of them, without any *right*. The greater part ‘perceiving this to be a certain degree of Perfection, which coſt ‘them nothing but their quitting of all *right* to thoſe things ‘which they devour'd by the *uſe* (ſince this Renunciation did not ‘at all hinder the *uſage*, for which they were onely intereſſed) ‘greedily embrac'd the Opinion, that the *Cordeliers* had indeed ‘but the ſimple *uſage* of things, without any *title* to them: That ‘the *right* appertain'd to the *Roman Church*, and that theirs ‘was the Poverty, of which *Jeſus Chriſt* gave them an Ex-‘ample.

‘(*a*) *Nicolas* IV, who had been taken out of the *Order* of the ‘*Cordeliers*, made a (*b*) *Bull* wholly advantagious to this preten-‘ſion, and defin'd, that in effect they had but the ſimple uſage; ‘and that *Jeſus Chriſt* had given us the Example of this preſent ‘Poverty, which conſiſts in the general Renunciation of all *Right* ‘to Temporal goods.

‘Thus continued matters for ſome time; the *Cordeliers* eat and ‘drank as well as other men, though without *Right* or *Title*. But ‘*John* XXII, who was of a fiercer humour, being rais'd to the ‘Pontificate, found himſelf importun'd with this unprofitable ‘*Right* which the *Cordeliers* attributed to the *Roman Church*, ‘from whence he ſaw no profit to come; and therefore he took ‘a fancy to end this *Queſtion*, without any regard to the Deciſion ‘of his Predeceſſor *Nicolas*.

‘The *Cordeliers* alarm'd at this, being aſſembled in their ‘General *Chapter* at *Perouſe* [*Perugia* in *Tuſcany*] ſolemn-‘ly proteſted to adhere to the Definition of Pope *Nicolas* ‘the IV.

‘But for all this, *John* took the adverſe party, (*e*) declaring that ‘he cared not for this *Right* to the *Bread* and *Wine* of the *Corde-*‘*liers*, and other things which they conſumed by the uſage, ſince ‘there accru'd no profit by it to the *Church* of *Rome*; that the *Cor-*‘*delier Fryars* were never the poorer; and that their (*d*) intention ‘was, that none but themſelves ſhould derive any profit from it: ‘That it was a diſhonour that the *Roman Church* ſhould intereſt ‘it ſelf for an *Egg* or piece of *Cheeſe*: That in things which they ‘devour'd after that manner, the *Uſage* and the *Right* of *Uſage* ‘was not to be diſtinguiſh'd; and that all this aiery and ſpiritu-‘al refinement was but a pure illuſion. In fine, he (*e*) deter-‘min'd, that it was a plain Hereſie to affirm that *Jeſus Chriſt* ‘poſſeſs'd nothing in this World, neither in particular nor in com-‘mon; and that he ſhould have no *Title* to the things which he ‘uſed.

‘Theſe

a Some call him *Nicolas* III.

b Sext. de verbor. ſignif. c. *Exiit qui.*

c Extrav. a *Jo.* XXII. de verbor. ſignif. c. *Ad conditorem.* & c. *Cum inter nonnullos*, & *Bzov.* anno 1322. ſect. 4.

d Nec Fratrum ipſorum intentio fuerit, quod ad quemcunq; alium quam ad Fratres dictarum rerum perveniret compendium.

e Extrav. *Jo.* XXII. de verbor. ſignif. c. *Cum inter nonnullos.*

'Theſe Diviſions of *John* XXII appeared quite repugnant to 1300.
'thoſe of *Nicolas* IV: and the difference did ſo perplex Cardi-
'nal *Bellarmine*, as he really profeſs'd they were not to be through-
'ly reconcil'd.

'(a) He acknowledged that *Nicolas* IV did teach that one a De Rom. Pont. 4. c 14.
'might ſeparate the *Right* from the *Uſage*; and that *John* XXII
'had declared the contrary.

'He confeſs'd alſo that *Nicolas* has determin'd that this
'is a holy Poverty; and on the other ſide, that *John* XXII look'd
'upon it as Hypocriſie. And upon theſe two points unluckily
'takes the part of *Nicholas* againſt *John*.

'But for as much as in the third point that concerns the Pover-
'ty of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the *Cordeliers* opinion is taxed of *Hereſie*
'by *John* XXII; that the two *Popes* ſhould not ſeem at variance
'in a point of Faith, he endeavours to piece them together by
'diſtinguiſhing of the times.

'He ſays therefore that *Jeſus Chriſt* did poſſeſs Temporal
'things at one time, and that he was abſolutely bereav'd of them
'at another: That ſo it is true, that as to one ſeaſon he pre-
'ſcrib'd us an Example of perfect Poverty, by an abſolute re-
'nunciation of the poſſeſſion of all things, as ſays *Nicolas*:
'And that it is true, he at another time poſſeſs'd Tempo-
'ral goods which he made uſe of, as *John* XXII had decided
'it.

'But this way of according the Deciſion of the two Popes,
'does not appear ſo ſolid: for *John* XXII doth not pretend
'that *Jeſus Chriſt* was Maſter of the Temporal things he us'd
'at one certain time onely, but that he was ſo always, as ap-
'pears by the general Principle which he makes uſe of to
'prove it, which is, that the *Uſage* is unjuſt, which is unaccom-
'panied with *Right*: Whence it is eaſily infer'd, that *Jeſus*
'*Chriſt* having made uſe of Temporal things, and never ha-
'ving uſed them unjuſtly, he had always a *Right* to the *Uſe* of
'them.

'But however the matter was, divers of the *Cordeliers* did
'take themſelves to be juſtly condemn'd, and *maugre* the Pope,
'they obſtinately maintain'd that their *Bread* belong'd to the
'Church of *Rome*; ſo as the Emperour *Lewes* of *Bavaria* [*of*
'*whom we ſpake ſo much formerly*] being then at variance with
'the Pope about his Election to the *Empire*, they joyned them-
'ſelves to him, and ſtoutly ſuſtain'd his Right againſt *John*
'XXII. The *Emperour* on his part upheld the *Cordeliers*, reproach-
'ing to the Pope as a foul error, his Deciſion touching the Pover-
'ty of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

'In ſum, the Animoſity of both theſe *Antagoniſts* came at
'laſt to that height, that the Pope (according to the ſtile of
'that Age) (b) Excommunicated the Emperour, declared him b 1324.
'*Heretick*, favourer of *Hereticks*; depoſed him from the Em-
'pire, and caus'd all the poor *Cordeliers* to be burnt that he
'could lay hands on. On the other ſide, the Emperour (c) en- c 1327.
'ters *Italy* with a puiſſant Army, (d) ſeizes on *Rome*, declares d 1328.
'Pope *John* (then at *Avignion*) unworthy of the *Pontificate*,
'creates a new Pope, or rather Anti-pope, namely a *Cordelier*,
'call'd *Peter* (e) *Ramuceus* of *Corbaria*, who choſe the Title of e Rainal-
'*Nicolas* V, and who for the firſt action of his Pontificate, vacated tius.
the

1300. 'the *Bull* of *John* XXII againſt the *Cordeliers*, himſelf Excom-
'municating and depoſing him.

And thus in ſhort have we taken a view of this tedious and bloudy quarrel about a mouthful of Bread and Cheeſe; a Controverſie not worth a wiſe mans thought: for let me but have my belly full, and eat and drink when I pleaſe, let his Holineſs or any body elſe that hath ſuch a longing humour, take the Excrements, I, and if he pleaſe, wrapt up or ſawced in the Notions of *Right* or *Uſage*, and twenty ſuchlike diſtinctions, if by this means both parties are pleas'd; for I am confident to be no looſer, and his worſhip hath an eaſie Stomack that is thus ſatisfied. All which being as meer fopperies, as he that was angry that his Hat was button'd up on the wrong ſide.

Though *John* XXII got the better of the Emperours New Pope *Nicolas*, yet was he ſo much incenſed againſt the *Cordeliers*, that he was once thinking to (*a*) extirpate the very Order; for which, and his ſtrongly oppoſing them in this trifle, he hath ſince been vilified by their pens to the purpoſe: Of which (*b*) *Lucas Waddingus* will afford you ſome inſtances: But as ſimple and ridiculous as the diſpute is, yet even at this day cannot the *School-men* leave off troubling their mouldy Cobweb-heads, and the world about it. And thus much for this blockiſh Quarrel and diſpute.

a Spondan. an. 1322. ℳ 14.

b Annal. Minorum, Tom. 3. an. 1322, 1323.

CHAP.

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Chap. VI.

1. *The great Schiſm amongſt the Popes, with ſome Reflections on ſome of their Actions.*
2. *The troubles of* Naples; *and the wicked deſign againſt the* Medici *and* Florentines; *with the murther of* Juliano de Medici.
3. *The murther of* James *the Firſt, and* James *the Third, Kings of* Scotland.
4. *The deaths of* Henry *the Sixth and* Edward *the Fifth, Kings of* England.
5. *The troubles in* Spain, *and the miſeries of* Don Henry *the Fourth King of* Caſtile *and* Leon, *by reaſon of his proud and rebellious Nobility.*

Sect. 1.

The great Schiſm amongſt the Popes, with ſome Reflections on ſome of their Actions.

WE have ſeveral times ſeen how the Popes of *Rome* have diſturb'd the peace and happineſs of other mens Dominions, and have been the ruine and deſtruction of many Princes; and now methinks it will not be amiſs to take a ſleight view of the deſtruction of *Rome* it ſelf, where many wiſe men, through variety of pretenders, could not diſcover the true Vicar, and Infallible Biſhop.

Part of this ſtory belongs to the former Century, yet 'tis more convenient to place it all together here, the greater portion of it belonging to this.

Clement V being (*a*) choſen Pope by his Simoniacal Promiſes to *Philip le Bel* King of *France*, and being before his Election Archbiſhop of *Burdeaux*, and alſo that Country-man, being in *France* when he was choſen Pope by the Cardinals at *Perugia*, would not for ſome reaſons remove out of *France*, but (though the Cardinals earneſtly perſwaded him for *Italy*) ſetled the Pontifical Seat at (*b*) *Avignion*. *a* 1305. *b* 1308.

By this removal into *France*, *Rome* was deprived of the Popedom or Papal Seat above LXX years, till what time *Gregory* XI (*c*) reſtored it again to *Rome*.

This *Gregory* dying, the Cardinals choſe *Urban* VI; but preſently after declaring they were forced by the *Romans* to ſuch an Election, they declared this void, and choſe *Clement* VII; by *c* 1377.

1300. which means the Schism began; the story of which being large and intricate, take this following Chronologie to make it more plain and intelligible.

		Gregory XI dyed 1378.		
	Emperours.	A.C.	Popes.	Popes.
‖ *Onuphrius.*	*Wencesslaus.*	1378	(a) *Urban* VI.	(b) *Clement* VII.
* *Cognatus*, Tom. 2. pag. 228.	2	1379	2	2
	3	1380	3	3
	4	1381	4	4
‖ *Onuphr.*	5	1382	5	5
	6	1383	6	6
	7	1384	7	7
	8	1385	8	8
	9	1386	9	9
	10	1387	10	10
	11	1389	11	11
	12	1390	(c) *Boniface* IX.	12
* Scribendi atq; canendi imperitus. *Theod. à Niem* de Schismat. l. 2. c. 6.	13	1391	2	13
	14	1392	3	14
	15	1393	4	15
	16	1394	5	(d) *Benedict* XI or XIII.
	17	1395	6	2
	18	1396	7	3
	19	1397	8	4
	20	1398	9	5
	21	1399	10	6
	Ruperstus.	1400	11	7
	2	1401	12	8
	3	1402	13	9
	4	1403	14	10
	5	1404	(e) *Innocent* VII.	11
	6	1405	2	12

(a) The ‖ *Germans, Hungarians, English*, and part of *Italy* stood for *Urban*. Some say he was * legally Elected, others doubt it. He created LIV Cardinals.

(b) The ‖ *French* and *Spaniards* stood for him. He kept his Seat at *Avignion*, and created XXXVI Cardinals.

(c) He was * unskilful in singing (then much look'd after in a Church-man) and also in writing; a great Seller of Indulgences, and very guilty of Simony. He created XI Cardinals.

(d) He promis'd to resign up his Popedom, if *Boniface* would do so too, so that another Pope might be chosen, and the Schism ended, but had no minde to do so: so he held himself for Pope, and created VIII Cardinals.

(e) Before his Election he sware to resign the Popedom, if *Benedict* would: but neither of them had any stomack to it. He created XI Cardinals.

(f) He

Emperours.	A.C.	Popes.	Popes.
7	1406	(f) *Gregory* XII.	13
8	1407	2	14
9	1408	3	15
10	1409	4	16
Jodocus.	1410	5	17
Sigismond.	141	6	18
2	1412	7	19
3	1413	8	20
4	1414	9	21
5	1415	●	22
6	1416		23
7	1417	*Martin* V.	24
8	1418	2	25
9	1419	3	26
10	1420	4	27
11	1421	5	28
12	1422	6	29
13	1423	7	30
14	1424	8	(i) *Clement* VIII
15	1425	9	12
16	1426	10	3
17	1427	11	4
18	1428	12	
19	1429	13	
20	1430	14	
21	1431	(k) *Eugenius* IV.	
22	1432	2	
23	1433	2	
24	1434	4	
25	1435	5	
26	1436	6	
27	1437	7	
Albertus II.	1438	8	

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(f) He also before his Election sware to resign his Popedom for union-sake, if *Benedict* would; but how long in this he jugled, *Theodorick à Niem* will tell you. He created XIII Cardinals.

Popes.

14 (g) *Alexander* V. 15 16 17 (h) *John* XXIII. 2 3 4 5 ● 22 23

(g) The Cardinals thinking to end this Schism, call'd a Council at *Pisa*, where they declared *Gregory* and *Benedict* guilty of many crimes, and pronounce them deposed; and so chose this *Alexander* V: Though neither *Gregory* nor *Benedict* obey'd the Council, but would be Popes still. And *Alexander* dyed before he had sat a year.

(h) Some say that by force he nominated and chose himself Pope, *Fel. de Bargamo*. He created XVI Cardinals.

24 25 26 27 28 29 30

● To break this Schism of three Popes at a time, a Council is held at *Constance*, where *Gregory* deprives himself, and *John* with much ado is overperswaded to deliver up his Popedom; but *Benedict* would by no means submit; yet he is there declared no Pope, and so the Council elects *Martin* V.

(i) *Benedict* * XI dying in *Spain*, the Cardinals there of his Faction chose for Pope this *Clement* VIII. But at the four years end, seeing he could not make good his party, he quietly yeilded up his Pontifical name and honour.

* Some say he was poysoned: see *Grimstons* History of *Spain*, l. 18. p. 687, 688.

(k) A Council being held at *Basil*, *Eugenius* took distaste at them, calls another at *Ferrara*, which he removes to *Florence*; declares that to be none at *Basil*. Against this the Council of *Basil* protests, declares the Pope to have no power to dissolve or remove that Council, and that a Council is above the Pope: lay several Accusations against *Eugenius*, and so pronounce him deposed and no Pope; in whose stead they elect *Felix* IV. But *Eugenius* would not obey this, ranted as much against them and *Felix*, and created XXVII Cardinals.

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Emperours.	A.C.	Popes.	Popes.
2	1439	9	(l) *Felix* IV.
Frederick III.	1440	10	2
2	1441	11	3
3	1442	12	4
4	1443	13	5
5	1444	14	6
6	1445	15	7
7	1446	16	8
8	1447	*Nicolas* V.	9
9	1448	2	10
10	1449	3	
11	1450	4	

(l) *Felix* was formerly Duke of *Savoy*, and had many that adher'd to him, and several stood Neuters; he created XXIV Cardinals.

● *Felix* upon the earnest intreaty of the Emperour *Frederick* III, and other reasons, resigned up all his interest to the Popedom, and so *Nicolas* V remain'd sole Pope; and thus this Schism ended.

By this Schism or Schisms which continued so many years, Christendom received much detriment, each Party and Faction maintaining it self with all earnestness. *Urban* VI to strengthen himself, because *Joan* I. Queen of *Naples* (a lover of change) adher'd to *Clement*, pronounceth her deposed from her Kingdom, which he gives to *Charles Durazzo*. To counterpoise this, *Joan* (by the counsel of *Clement*) declares *Lewes* Duke of *Anjou* Heir to the Kingdom, (and Pope *Martin* V confirm'd it afterwards) which increas'd the trouble: But in brief, *Durazzo* proves too strong, enters *Naples*, seized upon Queen *Joan*, and caused her to be hanged.

And with that severity did *Urban* persecute those of whom he was any way jealous, that he took (*) five Cardinals, had them tyed up in sacks, and so thrown into the Sea: but others tell worse things of him.

* *Platin.* p. 270.

Nay, so zealous were the people of those days for Schism, that neither the Councils of *Constance* or *Basil* could presently end this disturbance; for what Pope soever they nominate or approve of, falleth presently out again with them, concerning whose Authority is greatest, the Councils or the Popes; they declaring themselves to be above the Bishops of *Rome*, whilst on the other side his Holiness pronounceth himself above all.

And these disputes went so far, till at last it came to an equal Muster, *Felix* and the Council of *Basil* against *Eugenius* and the Council of *Florence*, so that either party was back'd with a Pope and Council.

As for the Council of *Constance*, I may fancy that they took no great care for the preservation of Kings, since they decreed onely this, that it was not lawful to kill Tyrants, with this knavish condition, *Without the command or sentence of a Judge*; yet this Council (and so did *Basil*) declare it self above the Pope, and that he ought to be obedient to a Council: yet will not all the *Romanists*

manists believe this, though thus decreed by a lawful Council, as they say; for if this be not legal, how can *Martin* V be a true Pope, being set up and chosen by it? and if he fail, there cannot have been a true one since. And besides this, we may suppose that there hath been a notable jumbling of Cardinals, when in this very Schism there was about two hundred created, besides those who were made by *Martin* V, and *Nicolas* V.

But though this Schism was some trouble to Christianity, yet the succession of the Emperours went peacebly on; onely *Wenceslaus* was deposed for his vitious life, as if the troubles of the Popes were the peace of the Empire; and at these times, probably, the Popes are too busily imploy'd to disturb the *German* Government.

As for the Council of *Basil*, *Æneas Sylvius*, afterwards Pope *Pius* II, hath wrote much in its vindication: But when he came to be Pope, he changed his note, and declared against his former writings, decreeing that the Pope is above a Council: thus *Interest* can work Miracles; but for his unconstancie he is pointed at by this Proverb, *What* Æneas *approves of, that* Pius *condemns*. And to this Proverb which others made of him, we will add this saying of the Clergy—— (*a*) *Mariage hath been for great reason taken away from Priests; but yet for greater, it ought to be restored to them.*

Quod *Æneas* probavit, *Pius* damnavit.

a Sacerdotibus magna ratione sublatas Nuptias, majori restituendas videri. *Platin.* edit Antiqu.

After *Pius* sat in the *Roman* Chair, *Paulus* II, such an Enemy was he to all good Learning, that (*b*) *Platina* tells us he used to call Scholars *Hereticks*; and the better to carry on his design of *Ignorance, he perswaded the Romans from bringing up their children in Learning, to write and read being knowledge enough.*

b Humanitatis autem studia ita oderat & contemnebat, ut ejus studiosos, uno nomine *Hæreticos* appellaret. Hanc ob rem *Romanos* adhortabatur, ne filios diutius in studiis litterarum paterentur, satis esse si legere & scribere didicissent. *Plat.* p. 340.—— Is enim. nec literatur nec moribus probatus. *Volaterran*, lib. 2. fol. 259.

He would have been an excellent companion for the Emperour (*c*) *Domitian*, that banish'd all Learned men, and had one kill'd for making a Map of the World: yet if in this he came not near him enough, he might for greedines of money; for which in his time at *Rome* all Church-preferments were publickly (*d*) sold. However, he loved something else as well as Money, or else he is shrew'dly belyed. For *Janus Pannonius*, who lived in his time, and was Bishop of *Funfkirken* [by the *Hungarians* call'd *Eutegyhazac*, commonly known by its Latine name *Quinque-Ecclesiæ*] in lower *Hungary*, and well acquainted with the affairs at *Rome*: This *Janus*, I say, as soon as this *Paul* II came to his Popedom, sent him good (*e*) advice: but a little after we finde the matter alter'd; for thus he quits his Holiness.

c *Suetor.* in vita *Domit.* § 10.

d *Platin.* ib. *Genebrard*, l. 4 p. 1080. *Carranza* sum. Concil. pag. 879.

e Delit. Poetar. *Hungar.* pag. 250.

Ib. pag. 284.

Pontificis Pauli *ne testes* Roma *requirat*,
Filia quem similis te docet esse marem.

Pope Paul's *a man*, Rome, *seek no farther tryal*;
He got a daughter makes it past denial.

And

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And again thus:

Sanctum non poſſum, patrem dicere poſſum,
Cum video natam, Paule *ſecunde, tuam.*

I cannot call thee Holy, Paul, *but rather*
Now I your Daughter ſee, can call you Father.

And in another place thus he ſings to the ſame purpoſe:

Cum ſit filia Paule, *ſit tibi aurum;*
Quantum Pontifices habere raros
Vidit Roma *prius:* Pater *vocari,*
Sanctus *non potes, at potes* Beatus.

To him ſucceeds *Sixtus* or *Xyſtus* IV, of whom *Cornelius Agrippa* gives this noble Character, *That he built at* Rome *a very famous* (a) *Bawdy-houſe*: but this, you may ſuppoſe, was for the profit of his Holineſs; for the ſame Author goeth on and tells us, that *every Curtiſan of* Rome *payes every week to the Pope a Julio* [every *Giulio* is about an *Engliſh* Sixpence] *which yearly rent ſometimes ſurmounts the ſum of twenty thouſand Ducats.* And how his Diſciples gain'd under him, the ſame *Agrippa* aſſures us, that he hath heard them thus caſt up their Incomes and Rents,—— *He hath two Benefices, one Cure worth twenty Ducats, a Priory worth forty Ducats, and three Whores in the Brothal-houſe, which every week brings him in the gain of twenty* Giulios, *i. e.* ten ſhillings.

a Sed & recentioribus Temporibus *Sixtus* Pontifex Maximus *Romæ* Nobile admodum Lupanar extruxit.—*Romana* ſcorta in ſingulas Hebdomadas *Julium* pendent Pontifici, qui cenſus annuus non nunquam viginti millia Ducatos excedit; adeoq; Eccleſiæ procerum id munus eſt, ut uno cum Eccleſiarum proventibus etiam lenociniorum numerent mercedem. Sic enim ego illos ſupputantes aliquando audivi. Habet (inquientes) ille duo Beneficia, unum curatum aureorum viginti alterum prioratum ducatorum quadraginta, & tres Putanas in Burdello, quæ reddunt ſingulis Hebdomadibus *Julios* viginti. *Hen. Corn. Agrippa* de vanitat. ſcientiarum, cap. 64.

This *Agrippa* was in this time ſo famous for all manner of Learning, that he was courted by all Perſons and all Countries, though ſome object to him the *Magick* Art; but to quit him from this, Monſieur (b) *Naude* hath lately written a large Apologie, whither I refer the Reader. And (c) *Volaterran* tells us, that this Pope *Sixtus* IV loved his kindred ſo well, that to prefer them he would go againſt and violate all Laws Humane and Divine; a great pity that ſuch a fault ſhould over-cloud ſo excellent a vertue.

b Apologie pour les Perſonages ſoupçonnez de Magie, cap. 15. pag. 400, 401, &c.

c Lib. 22. fol. 259.

1483. To him ſucceeded *Innocent* VIII, who is ſaid to have followed on the ſame trade, and thereby to have clearly gain'd ſixteen Children, eight Boys, and as many Daughters, before his Popedom; but to mend the matter, they now ſay he was (d) marryed, and ſo honeſtly had them before he obtain'd the Papal dignity. But (e) *Volaterranus* doth more than hint that they were Baſtards, by comparing him and them to Pope *Alexander* VI and his off-ſpring.

d *Coquæus*, Tom. 2. pag. 204. *Coeffet.* p. 1209.

e Lib. 22. fol. 261. in vita *Alexand.*

As for Pope *Alexander* VI, who ſucceeded this *Innocent*, I need not ſay much, ſeeing all the *Roman* Hiſtorians themſelves do confeſs him to have been a Monſter amongſt men; and that as he baſely got his Popedom, *viz.* by *Simony*, ſo lived he ever after

after very wickedly. Before his Popedom he enjoyed one (*a*) *Zanoccia*, and afterwards reſerved her for his eſpecial Curtiſan; he had by his love to Women four Sons and Daughters; the beſt of the latter ſort was call'd *Lucretia*, with whom he was thought a little too familiar (as her two Brothers were alſo:) wherefore upon her was this Epitaph. 1300.

a Or *Vanoccia*, or *Vannocia*, or *Lanoſia*, or *Lanozia*. *Onuphrius* in vita *Alex. Jo. Marian.* e rebus *Hiſpan.* lib. 26. cap. 2.

Hoc jacet in Tumulo Lucretia *nomine, ſed re*
Thais, Alexandri *filia, ſponſa, nurus.*

Lucrece *by name*, Thais *indeed lyeth under this ſtone*,
Alexanders *Daughter, his Sons Wife, and his own.*

At *Tournay* in *Flanders* there is an Epitaph, which will ſomewhat out-riddle this of *Lucretia*. *Fran. Sweert.* pag. 515.

Cy giſt le Pere, cy giſt la Mere,
Cy giſt la ſoeur, cy giſt le Frere,
Cy giſt la famme & le mary,
Et n'ya que deux Corps icy.

Here lyeth the Father, and here lyeth Mother,
Here lyeth the Siſter, and here lyeth Brother,
Here lyeth the Husband, and here lyeth the Wife;
Tet here are but two bodies to make all this ſtrife.

Many biting Verſes might be collected againſt this *Alexander* out of the works of that ſo famous *Italian* Poet, *Jacobus Sannazarius* [or *Actius Syncerus*, being call'd both wiſe] *Mantuan*, and ſuch other like Scholars that then flouriſh'd; but it would be to no purpoſe, ſeeing they confeſs the worſt of him, and all ſince are aſhamed of him.

As for the manner of his death, take it thus according to (*c*) *Guicciardin*. *Cæſar Borgia* his Son, reſolving to poyſon *Adrian* Cardinal of *Corneto*, ſends ſome Flagons of poyſoned Wine to the *Vineyard*, where they with the Pope were to ſup. The Pope coming too ſoon, before any other Wine was brought, and being very thirſty, *Borgia*'s man, (not knowing of his Maſters deſign, but thinking it to be moſt excellent Wine) fill'd ſome of it to the Pope, who drank heartily. It chanced at the ſame time *Borgia* came, and through ignorance pledged his Father; who having took ſome Antidotes before, and being young and luſty, lived, though he indured an hard ſickneſs; but his old Father *Alexander* VI dyed upon it. c Lib. 6.

But Dr. (*d*) *Coeffeteau* will rather follow *Onuphrius*, *viz.* that it was the Pope himſelf that contrived the poyſon to take away ſeveral Cardinals, the better to inrich himſelf by the ſeizing upon their wealth, and that the man through miſtake gave onely the poyſoned cup to *Alexander* and his Son *Borgia*, whereby the reſt eſcaped: and this makes the Pope more wicked, and may well enough be believed; for *Guicciardin* confeſſeth that this Pope and his Son uſed this trick ſeveral times, to the murthering of ſeveral Cardinals, againſt whom they had but the leaſt pick. d Pag. 1. 122.

Here I might tell the ſeveral miſchiefs that this *Alexander* brought upon the World, for the preferring of his wicked Baſtard

Cæſar

1400. *Cæſar Borgia*; but it will be too tedious for this place. And he that would ſee any more of the former Schiſm (the Story of which would fill a large Volume) may peruſe (*f*) *Theodoric à Niem*, who was Secretary to ſeveral Popes in that Rupture.

d De Schiſmate, & Nemus unionis.

Sect. 2.

The troubles of Naples, *and the wicked deſigne againſt the* Medici *and* Florentines, *with the murther of* Juliano de Medici.

AND now a glance at ſome State-troubles and murders will not be amiſs: Yet here paſſing by the murder of *Galiazzo* Duke of *Milan*, the troubles and dethroning in *Bohemia*, and the leap-frog-government of the Kingdom of *Naples*; though we might tell what a coyl the Popes made to have one King to thruſt out another; to which *Charles* VIII of *France* was aſſiſting.

This *Charles* was ſo well bred up, that he could not (*a*) read a word; for which want of Learning, he might thank his Father *Lewes* XI, ſo great an Enemy to good Literature, that he would have his Son know no more *Latine* but theſe (*b*) five words:

Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit Regnare.

a Tam male inſtitutus, ut ne legere quidem noſſet, aut pingere. *Jo. de Buſieres* Tom. 3. p. 81.
b Ib. p. 82. *Genebrard.* Tom. 2. pag. 1082. 1085.

This *Charles de Valois* VIII of *France* pretending a right to the Kingdom of *Naples* upon the *Anjouan* account, marcheth into *Italy*, carries all before him. Pope *Alexander* VI is out of his little wits, but fortifies himſelf in *Caſtel St. Angelo*. *Charles* enters *Rome* a Conqueror; ſeveral Cardinals apply themſelves to depoſe the Pope; but they are both made friends: *Alexander* inveſts *Charles* with the Kingdom of *Naples*, and intitles him Emperour of *Conſtantinople*. On the other ſide, *Charles* humbly in the *Vatican* (*c*) kiſſeth his Holineſs Foot, and another day (*c*) held the Baſon of Water whilſt *Alexander* waſh'd his hands: which humble Ceremonies, leſt they might be forgot by Poſterity, the Pope appointed to be painted in a Gallery in the *Caſtel St. Angelo*.

Phil. de Commines cronique du *Ch.* VIII. c. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 24, 25.
c *Guicciard.* l. 4.

Thence *Charles* marcheth to *Naples*, whence the young King *Fernando*, and his Father *Alphonſo* [though the Pope had inveſted that Kingdom in the Houſe of *Aragon*] were forced to flee, and *Charles* was there Crown'd; and ſtay'd there ſome time, and ſo return'd for *France*. In the mean time, the *French* behaved themſelves ſo oddly, that there ('tis ſaid) *Europe* firſt knew the *Venerian* diſeaſe; and by their behaviour, the *French* loſt the love of the People, and ſo the *Neapolitan* Kingdom; for no ſooner was *Charles* departed, but *Fernando* returns, and retakes the Kingdom: The Pope at this time (for all his former diſſembling Agreement with *Charles* at *Rome*) having a greater kindneſs to the *Aragonians* than the *French*; *Alexander* himſelf being a Neighbour of *Valentia* in *Spain*: yet Dr. (*d*) *Robert Gaguin*, a good Orator and Hiſtorian [but it ſeems his (*e*) Poetry was too uncivil to our *Engliſh Henry* VII, when he was Ambaſſador from the ſaid *Charles* hither] affirms that the *French* King took this expedition

d De geſtis *Franc.* lib. 11. fol. 162. & la Cronique *Martiniene*, fol. 302.
e Lord *Verulam's* Hiſt. *Hen* VII. pag. 94.

pedition into *Italy* at the intreaty of Pope *Alexander* VI. Though it appears that his Holineſs preſently turn'd his note, and not onely ſecretly wiſh'd him farther off, but at laſt became his open Enemy. 1490.

But leaving theſe hurly-burlies, as being too common in Hiſtory, let us take a ſhort glance of the Popes wicked deſign upon *Florence*, where Murder and Sacriledge we ſhall finde raging in their height.

The City and Common-wealth of *Florence* now flouriſh'd under the *Medici*; at which proſperity, not onely ſome rich Male-contented Citizens, but Pope *Sixtus* IV alſo looked with an envious eye. And his Holineſs took every occaſion to thwart the intereſt of that City, and leſſen its Credit and Reputation. *Onuphrius in Xyſto* IV. *Machiavelli Hiſt. Flor.* l. 8. *Coeffet.* pag. 1206. *Spondan.* an. 1578. § 4, 5, 6, 7.

At this time the two Brothers, *Lorenzo* and *Giuliano de Medici*, ſons to *Pietro*, ſon to *Coſmo*, bare the greateſt ſway and love over the *Florentines*. At this the Houſe of *Pazzi* (a rich and powerful Family there) took exceptions; and in this diſtaſte the Pope joyns with him. And their reſult was, that nothing would bring their deſigns about, but the deſtruction of theſe two Brethren.

Many Conſultations they had how to bring this damnable deed to paſs, and many great men had they drawn to this Conſpiracy; inſomuch, that *Fernando* King of *Naples* conſented to the deſigne againſt the *Medici*, though I cannot ſay that he knew of the intended Murther: Though *Franceſco Salviati* Archbiſhop of *Piſa* was a great ſtickler in this inhumane action.

After long Conſultation, the Conſpirators go to *Florence*; the chief of which were, the *Pazzi*, the *Salviati*, *Giovan Baptiſta da Monteſecco* a noted Commander under the Pope, *Giacopo di Poggio* ſon to the famous Orator, and many others. The better to cover the villany, they perſwaded Cardinal *Riario* to come towards *Florence*; which he doth, and is nobly feaſted by *Giacopo de Pazzi* at his Town *Fieſole* about four Miles from *Florence*, whither the *Medici* were invited, with a deſign there to murther them: but *Julian* not coming, that plot fail'd. 1478.

Upon this they had the Cardinal to *Florence*, where they doubted not, but by this means to obtain their ends. Being there, they vizarded their numbers and meetings, under their waiting upon and civilities to the Cardinal, and againſt the next Sunday prepare a great Feaſt; but being informed that *Giuliano* could not be there, they reſolved to put their black deſign off no longer, fearing to be diſcover'd by their lingring. The place appointed by them for this Murther, was the Cathedral Church of St. *Reparata*, where they knew both the Brethren would not fail to be: And they thought no time fitter for them, than when *Maſs* was ſingng: as for the manner how, they order'd *Antonio de Volterra* and *Stephanus* a Prieſt to kill *Lorenzo*, and *Franceſco de Pazzi* with *Barnardino Bandini* to do the ſame to *Juliano*; and that upon this uproar, *Salviati* the Archbiſhop of *Piſa*, with *Giacopo de Pazzi*, and their followers, ſhould ſeize upon the Palace and Senate.

This day (Sunday the 26 of *April*) and time being come, they go to Church, where they ſee the Cardinal and *Lorenzo de Medici*, and the Church full of people, and Service begun, but *Giuliano* not come; wherefore *Franceſco de Pazzi*, and *Barnardo Bandini*,

1400. who had the charge of killing him, went to his Houſe, and perſwaded him to Church, talking merrily to him all the way; and in a gayety and friendſhip, *de Pazzi* took *Juliano* in his arms, whereby to feel if he had any privy Armor on.

Being come to Church, *Bandini* with a Dagger ſtab'd *Giuliano* to the heart, and *de Pazzi* wounded him in other places, and by chance himſelf alſo in the Leg. *Giuliano* thus ſlain, *Bandini* ſlew *Franceſco Noxi*, a great friend to the *Medici*. In the mean time *Antonio Volterra*, and *Steffano* the Prieſt, aſſault *Lorenzo*, and wound him a little in the Throat; and thus hurt, he eſcapes from them into the Veſtry. And the Cardinal retires himſelf to the high Altar.

In the mean time the Archbiſhop *Salviata*, with *James Pazzi*, and a number of their gang, went to the Palace; he and ſome others going up (leaving the reſt below) and found the Senate ſat down to dinner: *Ceſare Petrucci*, that year *Gonfaloniere di Guiſtitia*, perceiving ſome miſchief by the Archbiſhops carriage, and amazed countenance (for now when he ſhould be deſperate he began to be fearful) boldly thruſt *Salviati* out of the Chamber, and ſeiz'd upon *Giacopo de Pazzi* by the hair of his head, and delivered him to the Serjeants. The reſt of the Senators at this taking alarm, with what weapons they had, fall upon thoſe who went up with *Salviati*, and plyed themſelves ſo well, that they preſently overcame thoſe Conſpirators, killing ſome, throwing others alive out of the Palace-Windows; and the Archbiſhop had the reward of hanging.

Whilſt this was doing, the Citizens incouraged with the news of the preſervation of *Lorenzo de Medici*, hurry in Arms to the Church, conduct him from the Veſtry to his own Houſe, and recover the Palace from the Conſpirators, who had poſſeſt the door and the lower Rooms of it, killing all of the plot they could meet with.

And having thus redeem'd themſelves and City, nothing was cryed about but *Medici*, *Medici*, every one ſtriving who ſhould ſhew their hatred moſt upon the Traytors; inſomuch, that the parts of their dead bodies were carryed about the ſtreets, ſome ſtuck upon Lances, others upon Swords, others drag'd along; and not any of them eſcaping that could be laid hands on. And ſo the people having thus for ſome time ſatisfied themſelves upon their Enemies, the Corps of *Giuliano di Medici* were buryed with a great deal of ſtate, and lamentations of the Citizens.

The Popes Forces, who had lurked upon the *Florentine* Borders, to have taken advantage of their ſurprizal, to have fallen into their Territories, and ſo to have made a perfect Conqueſt, hearing of the miſcarriage, retreated: But Pope *Xiſtus* ſeeing this murther and hidden treaſon would not bring his deſigns about, pulls off his Vizard, and ſhews himſelf an open enemy, draws out his Pontifical Weapon, and firſt falls a Curſing and Excommunicating them, and then with the aſſiſtance of *Ferdinando* of *Naples*, reſolves to over-run them by War. Againſt theſe the *Florentines* oppoſe themſelves: as for the *Interdict*, they neglect and deſpiſe it, and commanded their Prieſts to continue their Celebration of Divine-Service; and for the other, they ſtrengthen themſelves by Arms: But the ſtory of the War I ſhall wave, as

too

too tedious for this place. This being ſufficient to ſhew what wickedneſs their Holineſſes will perpetrate, to bring their abominable deſigns about. 1300.

Sect. 3.

The murther of James *the Firſt and* James *the Third, Kings of* Scotland.

BUt now let us look a little neerer home, and we ſhall behold the murther of a Prince in *Scotland*, famous by their Writers for his Vertues, Learning, ſweet diſpoſition, Valour, and what not? And this is King *James* I. The chief of this Conſpiracie was the Earl of *Athole*, aſſiſted with his Nephew *Robert Stuart* and *Graham*. *Will. Drummonds* Hiſt. of *Scotland*. *Georg. Buchanan*, lib. 10.

The firſt inckling that the King had of this Treaſon, was whilſt he was beſieging *Roxbourgh* in *Teveot-dale*, then defended by Sir *Ralph Gray* and his *Engliſh*: for when he had brought the Caſtle to that extremity, that they were conſulting of yeilding; his Queen in all haſte poſſible ſpeeds to him, and gives him ſome hints of the Treaſon, and that it was ſuch, that if not quickly prevented, would indanger him and his. Upon this he raiſeth the Siege, through jealouſie disbands moſt of his Army, and with thoſe whom he thought he might truſt, much troubled in minde with this villany, he goeth to *Perth* (now call'd St. *Johnſtons*) where he remains in the *Black Fryars*, a Covent neer the Town-Walls belonging to the *Dominicans*.

Here the King bends all his wits to finde out the bottom of the Treaſon: which deſign of his being known to the Traytors, they reſolve for a ſpeedy execution, leſt delay might bring a farther diſcovery, and a ſtop to their wickedneſs. Accordingly, aſſiſted by the darkneſs of a night, they got undiſcovered to the *Black-Fryars*, one *John* belonging to the Court being their guide, and had alſo procured them entrance into the Gallery before the Kings Chamber-door, where they attended ſome of their Confederates, who ſhould have let them in farther in, by taking out the Bar on the in-ſide of the door; and *Robert Stuart*, being a favourite with the King, and ſo familiar at Court, took off all jealouſie, and was a main aſſiſtant to their approach and entrance.

Whilſt they were thus in expectation, Fortune was favourable to their Treaſon; for *Walter Stratoun*, one of the Kings Cupbearers, having not long before carryed in ſome Wine, came forth of the Chamber, and finding ſome armed men rudely ruſhing to force their entry, with a loud voice cryed out Treaſon; upon which they fall upon him, whom whilſt they were killing, a young Maid of Honour, named *Douglaſs*, others ſay *Lovel*, claps to the Door; but not finding the Bar, and ſeeing no other remedy for their preſervations, thruſt her Arm in the hole or ſtaple, thereby to keep the Door faſt. But this tender Bolt being ſoon broke, the Traytors ruſh into the Chamber, killing all ſuch as they found to make any aſſiſtance; amongſt which

1400. was *Patrick Dumbar*, Brother to *George* ſometimes Earl of *March.*

1436. At laſt they ſtrike down the King, whom they there left dead with XXVIII wounds. Nor did it go well with the Queen, who thinking to ſave her Husband, interpoſed her own body, whereby ſhe received two wounds, but not Mortal.

As for the Traytors, the common ſort of them were hanged, *Robert Stuart* was hang'd and quarter'd, *Walter* Earl of *Athole* was thus puniſhed for three days together:

The firſt day, he was ſtript naked to his Shirt, and by a Crane fixt to a Cart, after hoyſted aloft, his joynts put out; and thus hanging, ſhew'd to the people: and thus dragged along the high Street of *Edinbourgh.*

The ſecond day, he was mounted on a Pillar in the Market-place, and Crown'd with a Diadem of hot Iron, with this Inſcription:

THE KING OF ALL TRAYTORS.

And this they ſay was done to him, to make his words good, he confeſſing one motive to this deſign was, becauſe he had been told by ſome South-ſayers or Witches, that he ſhould once be Crown'd King.

The third day, he was laid naked along upon a Scaffold, his Belly was ript up, his Bowels taken out and thrown into a fire, he looking upon them: then was his heart taken out and thrown in alſo; laſtly, his head was cut off and fixt upon the moſt eminent place of the City, and his body divided, and parts of it ſent to the chief places in the Kingdom.

As for *Robert Graham*, he was thus puniſhed: a Gallows was raiſed in a Cart, then he had his right-hand nailed to it, and ſo drawn along the ſtreets, whilſt the Executioners with burning Pincers tore pieces from his Shoulders, Thighs, and ſuchlike fleſhy places which were fartheſt from his Vitals, thereby to keep him the longer alive, and in greater pain: yet did theſe terrors bring little repentance to him, as may be gheſt by his impious anſwer; for being asked, during all theſe tortures, *How he durſt lay hands on his Prince?* made this Reply, —— *That, if he had Heaven and Hell at his choice, he durſt leap out of Heaven and all the joys there, into the flaming bottom of Hell.*—— At laſt, having all his fleſh almoſt pull'd off, his Heart and Intrails were thrown into the fire, his Head ſtuck up, and his Quarters ſent to ſeveral places for a terror to others.

And here I ſhall haſtily paſs by the unfortunate Raign of King *James* III; how his own Subjects covenanted againſt him, confined or forced him to *Edinbourgh* Caſtle, and at laſt came to open Battel againſt him at *Bannoch-Burn*, not far from *Sterlin*, where his Army being beaten, he was after in cold blood murdered in the Mill: but whether this abominable murther was done by *Patrick* Lord *Gray*, *Robert Sterling* of *Keer*, or *Andrew Borthwick* a Prieſt, or all of them, muſt be left as their Hiſtories hath it, uncertain.

Sect.

1400.

Sect. 4.

The deaths of Henry *the Sixth and* Edward *the Fifth, Kings of* England.

BUt leaving *Scotland*, here might I treat of the miſeries of *England* at the ſame time, of the long but unfortunate Raign of good *Henry* VI, of his dethronement, and, which was worſt, of his murther in the Tower of *London*, as the common opinion goeth, by (*a*) *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, afterwards call'd *Richard* the III. Though Mr. (*b*) *Buck* of late would deny the fact, and clear the ſaid *Richard* from this, and all other imputations laid to him by all other Hiſtorians. 1471.

a Bacons Hiſt. *Hen.* VII, pag. 2.

b Hiſt. *Rich.* III pag. 20. *Spondan* calls him a *Martyr*, an. 1471. n. 6.

The body of this King *Henry* was carryed to *Chertſey* in *Surrey*, and there buryed in the Monaſtery belonging to the *Benedictines*. And 'tis ſaid that many Miracles have been done at his grave, above two hundred of which was gather'd into one (*c*) Volume; nor was there any diſeaſe, but they ſay was cured by him, Blind, Lame, Dumb, Kings-evil, and what not? And as if theſe were not enough, they make him cure another Miracle, *viz.* a Woman that uſed to go with Childe above (*d*) two years.

c Vd. *Harpsfield* Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 595.

d Ib. p. 596.

Richard III (envying the fame of *Henry*, if we may believe King (*) *Henry* VII) removed the Corps from *Chertſey* to the Chappel of *Windſor*, where he was alſo worſhipped by the name of *Holy* King *Henry*; and here they ſay that his Red-velvet-Hat (*e*) heal'd the Head-ach of ſuch as put it on their heads: there his body reſted for a time; but now his Tomb being taken thence, it is not commonly known what is become of his body. 'Tis true, King *Henry* VII had a deſire to have it removed to *Weſtminſter*; to which purpoſe the Abbot deſired the (*f*) conſent of Pope *Alexander* VI.

* *Spelman.* Concil. tom. 2. pag. 712.

e Stow, pag. 424.

f Spelm. Concil. pag. 712, 713.

King *Henry* VII alſo deſired to have this *Henry* VI Canonized: to which purpoſe he wrote to the ſaid *Alexander*, who gave the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Durham* (*g*) Authority to inquire into his Miracles and Life. Nor did *Henry* VII ceaſe here, but *Alexander* dying, he ſollicited (*h*) *Julius* II very earneſtly; and ſome think, that had the King lived a little longer, he had obtain'd his requeſt: But this I ſhall leave with theſe words of *Edward Hall* —— *Theſe and other like Offices of Holineſs cauſed God to work miracles for him in his life-time (as old men ſaid,) By reaſon whereof King* Henry VII, *not without cauſe, ſued to* July *Biſhop of* Rome *to have him Canonized, as other Saints be: but the fees of the Canonizing of a King were ſo great a quantity at* Rome *(more then the Canonizing of a Biſhop or a Prelate, although he ſate in St.* Peters *Chair) that the ſaid King thought it more neceſſary to keep his money at home, for the profit of his Realm and Country, rather then to impoveriſh his Kingdom for the gaining of a new Holy-day of St.* Henry: *remitting to God the judgement of his will and intent.* ——

g Spelm. pag. 720.

h Harpsfield pag. 594.

Ed. Hall's Chron. fol. 223. b.

And here paſſing by the cruel death of the young Innocent Prince *Edward*, eldeſt Son to this King *Henry* VI in cold bloud, after

1400. after the fight at *Tewkes-bury*, I might come to *Edward* V, and shew how he was deposed by his Uncle *Richard*, by means of his wicked Instruments, *Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, Dr. *John Shaw*, Brother to *Edmond Shaw* Gold-smith, then Lord Mayor of *London*, and suchlike; and from this I might lead you to the making away of the said young Innocent Prince, *Edward* and his Brother, by the means of the said *Richard* III: but because all Histories will not exactly agree upon the manner how, I shall refer you to the Chronicles themselves, where the juggle, if not the murthers, may be seen at large.

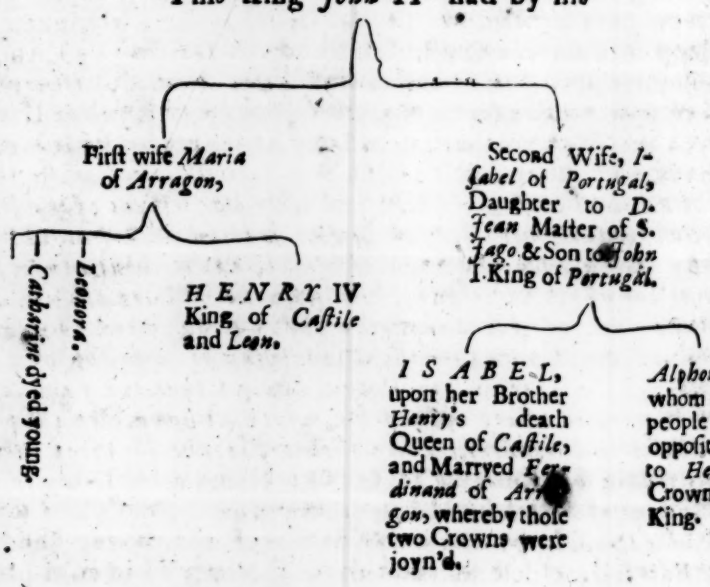
Sect. 5.

The troubles in Spain, *and the miseries of* Don Henry *the Fourth King of* Castile *and* Leon, *by reason of his proud and rebellious Nobility.*

IF we look into *Spain*, we shall finde those Territories miserably wasted by Tumults and Rebellions; we might see how the young King of *Castile Henry* III was so neglected by his proud and greedy Nobility, who pocketed up his Revenues, that once he was forced to pawn one of his Robes for two Shoulders of Mutton to help out his Supper. And we might see their Rebellions against his Son King *John* II, whose troublesome Reign might be an *Item* to Kings to beware of confiding in and favouring too much one Subject, by the neglect of the rest: And the unhappy end of the Constable *Don Alvaro de Luna*, may be a caution to the greatest favourites in their carriage; for Kings at last (in whose protection lyeth their greatest safety) may be perswaded to leave them to Justice; and then no mercy can be expected from the so-long-abused Law and People. But proceed we to greater troubles and misfortunes then these.

L. de Mayerne Hist. d' *Espagne*, lib. 18, 19, 20, 21.

This King *John II* had by his



This

This *Henry* IV ſucceeded in the Kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, after the death of his Father *John II.* *Henry* was civil and courteous, never *Thou'd* any body, were he never ſo mean; he was alſo liberal, a lover of peace; but that which ſpoil'd all, he was too careleſs in his Government, not deſiring to trouble himſelf much with the affairs of his Kingdom: which with his Clemency made his proud Nobles neglect, and in the end deſpiſe him. 1400. 1454.

To tell all his misfortunes, would be too tedious: In ſhort, ſeveral of his Nobility made a League againſt him, one of the chief of whom was *Don Alphonſo Carillo* the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*. They carryed their plot cunningly and ſecret; and if a diſcovery ſhould happen, they had either fair pretenſions, or a jugling carriage, with which they knew it was an eaſie matter to pacifie the King.

The King had notice of their *League*, and deſired to confer with the Marqueſs *De Villena*, one of their Chieftains, and ſome others: they refuſe to come to him. At laſt, *De Villena*, upon Hoſtages given to his party, and a ſafe-conduct, meets the King, but comes well provided and guarded with his Faction and Friends, by whoſe aſſiſtance he was ſo ſtrong, that he reſolved to ſeize upon the King, and the *Infanta's* [*Iſabel* and *Alphonſo*] and once made a violent attempt upon the Court: but finding the King (who had notice of the Plot) too well provided, turn'd all off with a fair excuſe; and the King was too apt to pardon and believe all to be for the beſt. 1464.

Another time they had laid a plot to be let in ſecretly into their Lodgings, there to ſeize on the King, the Queen, the *Infanta's*, and to diſpatch their Enemies; but this was by chance alſo diſcover'd, and ſo prevented: yet would not the King puniſh *Villena*, becauſe he had given him his word of ſecurity.

Theſe failing, they contrived to ſeize upon him, under pretence of a Conference; but of this alſo the King having intelligence, he prevented their Treachery. The *Covenanters* finding their plots diſcover'd, flee to open Arms, and draw up ſeveral Articles againſt the King; and the better to countenance their Cauſe, they pretended great care and friendſhip to the Kings Brother *Alphonſo*. At laſt a kinde of peace is ſtruck up; *Alphonſo* declared Heir to the Crown, and Commiſſioners on both ſides appointed to end all differences; and *Alphonſo* is ſent to the Confederates, to render them more peaceable by his preſence, and their thus enjoying of what they deſired.

Now the King hoped nothing more than an happy peace; but he found himſelf betray'd on all hands. For whilſt the Commiſſioners were conſulting, the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and *Don Frederick* the Admiral, made ſhew as if they had fallen out with Marqueſs *De Villena*, were weary of the League, and ſo came over to the King, to whom they profer'd their ſervice. His Majeſty rejoyceth at this; but was preſently in troubles again, by reaſon of the treachery of his Commiſſioners, who being won over by the Confederates, had conſented to a diſhonourable peace, whereby nothing remain'd to the King ſave onely the name.

And this grief was doubled by another misfortune; for he having ſent to *Don Gomes de Caceres* Maſter of *Alcantara*, and *Don Pedro Puertro Carero* Earl of *Medillino*, his truſty friends, to come

to

1400. to him; it fortuned that whilſt they were upon their journey, they met with *Alvaro Gomes* Secretary to the King, and *Ganzalo* of *Sahavedra*, one of the Kings Commiſſioners, both now turn'd to the Confederates. Theſe two Traytors told the other two Nobles a ſmooth and ſad ſtory of the Kings diſpleaſure againſt them, how he had given order to have them ſeiz'd on, and ſo it would not be ſafe for their Lordſhips to fall within the reach of the King. Theſe Lords thus falſely perſwaded of the Kings diſpleaſure, forgot their honours, and joyned themſelves alſo with the Leaguers.

But yet the Kings misfortune grew worſe and worſe; for the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and the Admiral, carryed themſelves ſo cunningly, that *Henry* ever put his greateſt confidence in them. And though he was ſecretly adviſed not to truſt too much to them, nor to commit any Forces to their charge, aſſuring him that they waited but that opportunity, and then would deliver them with themſelves over again to the Leaguers; yet to all theſe Informations would he give no credit, but confer'd upon them ſeveral places of ſtrength, furniſh'd them with money, and gave them Commiſſions to raiſe Souldiers, with an Order to meet him with their Forces at *Arevalo*, which place he deſigned with their aſſiſtance to beſiege.

To this Siege the King goeth; and wondering the Archbiſhop came not, he ſent *Fernand Badajos*, one of his Secretaries, to haſten his March. The Secretary meets him and his Troops marching towards *Avila*, the Rendevouz of the Confederates, delivereth his meſſage; but from the Archbiſhop gets nothing but this anſwer —— *Tell your King from me, that I am weary both of him and his affairs; and that ſhortly the true King of* Caſtile *ſhall be known.*

This was ſad news. At the ſame time cometh information, that the Admiral alſo had play'd the knave, ſeiz'd on *Valladolid*, proclaimed young *Alphonſo* King, ſo joyned himſelf alſo with the Rebels. At which the King, full of grief and amazement, kneel'd upon the ground, lifting up his hands to Heaven, thus humbly pray'd.

O Lord God! unto whom belongeth the defence and protection of Kings, and by whom they reign: I recommend my Cauſe unto thee, and commit my life into thy hands: I yeild thee infinite thanks, that it hath pleas'd thee thus to puniſh me for mine offences, which are worthy of a ſharper ſcourge: And I confeſs, that the ſame which I ſuffer is very ſmall in reſpect of my deſerts. May it pleaſe thee (O Lord!) that theſe troubles may diminiſh the pains which are due to my ſoul, in regard of my ſins; and if it be thy will that I ſhall paſs through theſe miſeries and afflictions, I beſeech thee from the bottom of my heart, to give me patience to endure them, and reaſon and underſtanding to guide my ſelf in them.

June, 1465. In the mean time the Confederates meet before *Avila*, before which City, in the plain fields, they erect a great Scaffold, on which was placed the Statue of King *Henry* in a Mourning Habit, ſitting in a Regal Throne, the Crown on his head, the Scepter in his hand, and the Sword laid before it. Upon the Scaffold the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, with ſome others aſcended, and

a

a Paper was read, by which *Henry* was degraded: it contain'd four chief points. 1400.

I. *As deſerving to be deprived from the dignity of a King:* at which the Archbiſhop took the Royal Crown from its head.

II. *That he was no more worthy to adminiſter Juſtice:* at which the Earl of *Placencia* took away the Sword.

III. *That he was unfit to govern the Kingdom:* then the Earl of *Benevent* took the Scepter out of its hand.

IV. *That therefore he was deprived juſtly of his Royal Throne:* then was the Statue thrown down from the Seat, with many unworthy and outragious ſpeeches, by *Diego Lopez*, brother to the Earl of *Placencia*.

This done, the other Lords, with *Henries* young brother *Alphonſo* (who had ſtood a little off as ſpectators) mounted the Scaffold, took and lifted *Alphonſo* upon their Shoulders, crying out *Caſtile, Caſtile* for the King *Don Alphonſo*; ſo the Trumpets ſounded, and they all went to kiſs his hand as their true King.

Poor King *Henry* received this news patiently, ſaying with the Prophet *Eſay* ---- *I have nouriſhed and brought up children, and they have deſpiſed me.* ---- *But although theſe treacherous and diſloyal ſervants have ſo wrong'd and ſcorned me by the Statue which they have degraded, and thrown away all reſpect and duty which they owe unto me; yet they cannot keep me, who am the true King, from having ſtrength and courage to chaſtiſe and diſperſe them: For I hope in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who is the juſt Judge of Kings, that their wickedneſs ſhall be deſtroyed, and mine innocencie made known to the whole World.* And then conſidering how many Places and Nobles revolted from him, and the powerfulneſs of his enemies, he would oftentimes ſay, ----*Naked I came out of my Mothers Womb, and the earth muſt receive me naked; no man can become ſo poor as he was born: And if God doth now chaſtiſe me for my ſins, he will comfort and preſerve me hereafter: for his infinite power killeth and giveth life; hurteth and healeth; giveth kingdoms, and taketh them away; lifteth up Kings, and throweth them down again, even as he pleaſeth.*

Yet did not the diſconſolate King abſolutely deſpair, but ſent to all places he had any hopes in to aſſiſt him againſt the Rebels; and amongſt the reſt, *Don Garcia Alvares de Toledo* Earl of *Alva de Tormes*, was very active for his ſervice.

In the mean time, the Confederates lay ſiege to *Simancas* upon the River *Duero* in *Leon*; which was valiantly defended by *Don Juan Fernandes Galindo*, and other Royaliſts. And here the very boyes and Lackeys ſhew'd their zeal againſt Rebellion; for underſtanding that the Archbiſhop of *Toledo* was the chief of the Faction, in deriſion of him and the League they made an Image repreſenting him, which they named the *New Don Opas the Apoſtate*.

The Reader may here underſtand by the by, that about the years 712, 713, 714, *Julian* Governour of *Ceuta* in the *Streights* on the *African* ſhore, falling out with his Lord *Roderigo* the laſt King of the *Goths* in *Spain*, in revenge joyns himſelf with the *Moores*; with them enters *Spain*, routs his Prince; and by this treachery the *Moores* became Maſters of all that Continent, excepting the mountanous parts in *las Aſturias*, *Biſcay* and *Navar*;

1400. and ſo retain'd it for many hundred years, till by degrees they were beaten out: And thus was the name and rule of the *Gothick* Government loſt.

In this wicked treachery againſt their own Country and Chriſtian Religion, was as a principal Actor *Opas* or *Oppa* Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, who joyned himſelf with unbelieving *Moores*, to the ſhame of himſelf, and the loſs of Chriſtianity in thoſe parts. And this is that *Don Opas* to whom theſe boys alluded.

The Image of the Archbiſhop being in all ſort prepared, one of the boys ſat down as Judge; and the Treaſon being palpable, commanded the Image to be impriſoned, and at laſt pronounced ſentence againſt it; thus:

Whereas Alphonſo Carillo *Archbiſhop of* Toledo, *following the ſteps of the ancient Biſhop* Opas, *the ruine of* Spain, *for that he had betray'd the King his Natural Lord, rebelling againſt him, and detaining his Money, Towns and Fortreſſes, which he had committed to him, is therefore condemned to be drawn up and down the ſtreets, and publike places of* Simancas; *a Trumpet to go before, proclaiming that the King did command this juſtice to be done to the Traytor* Opas, *as a recompence due for his Treacheries and Treaſons; and that then it ſhould be burn'd.*

This ſentence pronounced aloud, we need not queſtion but the young Judge was obey'd in every thing. Then was the Image carryed out of the Town, attended on with above three hundred boyes, and burned with a great deal of triumph in the very ſight of the Confederates Army: which at laſt deſpairing of taking the Place, rais'd the ſiege.

King *Henry* we may well ſuppoſe was not idle, having in a little time got an Army of near upon an hundred thouſand men. This vaſt ſtrength terrified the Leaguers; ſo they fell to private plots, and inſtigated one *Juan Carillo* to kill the King: but this *Carillo* being taken priſoner in a skirmiſh, and perceiving he could not live long by reaſon of his wounds, was ſorry for what he had undertaken, deſired to ſpeak with the King, ask'd pardon of him, had it, confeſs'd how his life was ſought after, and revealed to him other wicked practices againſt him; and the next day *Carillo* dyed of his wounds.

The King with his potent Army might have quel'd all before him; but through his love to peace, and careleſneſs, he loſt all opportunities; allowed of a Conference, where it was concluded, that every man ſhould lay down his Arms, and return home; a Truce to continue for five Months, and that in the mean time Commiſſioners ſhould treat of a Peace.

Thus the King loſt his cauſe; his Army by his negligence waſting and ſlipping away. Nor did the Confederates disband according to promiſe; *De Villena* watching all occaſions to ſee if he could get the credulous King into his clutches. In the mean time *Don Alphonſo* led a miſerable life with the Leaguers; and ſuſpecting either their bad intentions, or the ſucceſs of his cauſe, would willingly have agreed with King *Henry*, and go to him; but they kept him ſtrictly, threatning to (*a*) poyſon him, if he receded from his Government.

(*a*) Periturum veneno, niſi regnaret. Jo. Marian. l. 23. cap. 9.

Both parties now ſeem'd weary; ſo another peace is clapt up, but very diſhonourable to the King, conſidering what an Army he lately had: But this quiet laſted but a while; they flee to Arms; both

both Armies meet by *Olmedo* in *Old Caſtile*, where the Archbiſhop of *Toledo* appears in his Arms, upon which he wore his white *Stole* poudred with red Croſſes: The Battel is fought, and both parties cry victory; but the Kings party daily waſted, inſomuch that moſt forſook him; and like a private Gentleman hew as content to skulk up and down accompanyed with ſome (*b*) ten horſemen. 1400. 1467.

b Mariana, cap. 11.

At laſt, after ſome trouble, *Alphonſo* dyeth about XVI years old; upon this, the Confederates conſult about a new Head: they generally agree upon *Donna Iſabella* his Siſter, ſend to her to accept of the Government, and they would proclame and Crown her Queen. She upon good advice refuſeth all ſuch profers, declaring her obedience to her King and elder Brother *Henry*; and conjures them alſo to loyalty, to throw away all private Intereſts and Factions, and conclude in a firm peace and union. 1468.

The Confederates perceiving that they wanted an Head, and ſo a main pretence to countenance their Arms to the people; and that, whatever they had hitherto gained, was more by their diſſembling then ſtrength; that alſo the Pope *Paul* II had cenſured them if they continued in open wars: For King *Henry* was held an obedient ſon to the Biſhops of *Rome*, for which *Calixtus* III had ſent him formerly an Hat, and a conſecrated Sword (which they uſe to bleſs upon *Chriſtmas*-Eve at night, laying them upon the Altar, where they ſay Maſs.) And farther, they recollected, that upon *Henries* death, *Iſabella* was like to be Queen; whereby they could procure no favour or benefit to themſelves, by oppoſing her peaceable deſires.

Upon theſe conſiderations they conſented to an Agreement; ſo Articles are drawn up, a Peace concluded on: *Donna Iſabella* is declared Princeſs of the (*c*) *Aſturias*, and lawful Heir to the Kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Leon* with their dependants.

c Las Aſturias formerly of a larger extent, is now, a little Province between *Galicia*, *Leon* and *Biſcay*, lying upon the *Cantabrian* ſea. ('Tis twofold; *Aſturia de Ouiedo*, and *Aſtur. de Santillana.*) As the Heirs of *England* are called Princes of *Wales*, and thoſe of *France* of *Dauphins*; ſo are thoſe to the Crown of *Caſtile*, call'd Princes of the *Aſturias*. Upon what occaſion, this ſhort Scheme may ſhew.

Alphonſo XI, had amongſt other Children

Don Pedro el Cruel, had, amongſt others, a baſtard, call'd

Conſtancia; ſhe was marryed to *John* of *Gant*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, ſon to *Edward* III King of *England*.

Henry a Baſtard, Earl of *Tranſtamara*, took the Kingdom from the Tyrant *Pedro*, and ſtab'd him with his dagger: he had

John I. who had

Henry III.

Upon the death of *Don Pedro* ſirnamed the *Cruel*, though his baſtard-Brother *Henry* II. ſeiſed upon the Crown, and was acknowledged for King; yet *John of Gant*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, pretended the right to lye in him, by reaſon of his Wife *Conſtance*: and made ſome buſtle about it. *Henry* dying, there ſucceeded his ſon *John* I. with whom and *Lancaſter* a peace was concluded; *Lancaſter* to renounce all his Title to *Caſtile*, and King *John* to marry his ſon *Henry* to *Lancaſter*'s Daughter *Catherine*; which accordingly was accompiſh'd, ſo both their pretenſions united. And for more honour, *Don Henry* the young ſon was to be call'd Prince of the *Aſturias*; ſince which time the eldeſt ſons of *Caſtile* were call'd *Princes*, and the younger are titled *Infantes*. This hapned about the year 1388. And ſo much by the way concerning the Title of Prince of *Aſturias*; yet do I finde *Johan Froiſſart*, who lived at this time, to tell us that *Henry* was call'd Prince of *Gallicia*; in his *French* Edition, 1530. *vol.* 3. *fol.* 95. and *fol.* 143. In the old *Engliſh* Edition, *vol.* 2. *cap.* 154. *fol.* 170. and *cap.* 176. *fol.* 214.

1400. What troubles hapned in *Castile* after this treaty, being not considerable, I shall pass over. *Donna Isabella* now declared Heir, several matches were consulted of; but she secretly joyned her self with *Don Fernando* Prince of *Girona*, and the eldest son living to *John* II King of *Arragon*. At this marriage King *Henry* was greatly vext, as being contrary to his desire, and without his knowledge. But at the long run, the King becomes more pacified; and
a 1474. at last (*a*) dying, she succeeds as Queen of *Castile* and *Leon*; although some bussled for *Joane*, the supposed Daughter of King *Henry*; but she is generally thrown by as a bastard, being begot of his Queen *Joane*, by one *Don Bertrand de la Cueva*, afterwards prefer'd for his kindness, being created Earl of *Ledesma*, Master of *Santiago*, and Duke of *Albuquerque*. As for *Henry* himself, he is by all esteem'd as frigid, and uncapable of such loves. Not long
b 1479. after, *John* II. King of *Arragon* (*b*) dying, that Kingdom was united to *Castile*, by the fortunate former marriage of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*.

Here might I descend into the troubles of *Navar*, and tell how *Don Carlos* Prince of *Viana*, took up Arms against his Father *John* King of *Navar* and *Arragon*. Upon which quarrel began the great Factions of those of *Beaumont* and *Grammont*; the first adhering to the Prince, and the latter to the King: and the feuds of these two potent Families, was one of the main causes of the loss of *Navar* to the *Spaniard*, those of *Beaumont* assisting *Don Ferdinand* in the conquest, against their own King and Country: Of which more hereafter.

In short, the Prince being not able to keep the field, withdrew himself to *Naples* for some time; thence returns, endeavours new troubles, upon which he is taken and secured. Upon this the *Catalonians* rebel; and though Prince *Carlos* was set at liberty, and
c Some say he was poyson'd by his Step mother D. *Joane*, to make way for her son *Ferdinand*, to the Crown of *Arragon*.
(*c*) dyed presently after, yet they continue their Treasons: The people of *Barcelona* publickly declare King *John* an Enemy to his Country, and so they would withdraw themselves from his obedience: And the *Catalonians* sent to *Henry* IV. of *Castile*, to desire him to take them under his protection, they being resolved no more to obey the Crown of *Arragon*.

Don Henry accepts them; so they set up the Banners of *Castile*. At last, after a tedious War, they are vanquish'd, forced to submit; and King *John* giveth them all freely a pardon. But of *Spain* more in the next Century.

A CONTINUATION OF THE REBELLIONS AND Treaſonable practices OF THE ROMANISTS,

Particularly in *Spain*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*:
From the year MD. to MDC.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

1. John *and* Catherine *King and Queen of* Navar *deprived.*
2. *Pope* Julius II.

Sect. 1.

John *and* Catherine *King and Queen of* Navar *deprived.*

THE Conqueſt of *Navar* being acted ſuddenly, we ſhall make the ſtory of it but very ſhort. 1500.

At the beginning of this Century, we finde *John d' Albret* (or *Don Juan de la Brit*) and *Donna Catherina*, King and Queen of *Navar*, which had boaſted it ſelf a Kingdom almoſt DCCC. years.

Ferdinand II King of *Arragon*, having by his marrying with *Iſabella* Queen of *Caſtile*, enlarged his Authority and Dominions, as alſo by his baniſhing the *Jews*, and ſubduing the *Moores* to him in *Granado*, made his Government more ſecure; caſt many a greedy (*a*) thought upon the

(*a*) *Jo. de Buſſieres*, lib. 15. & 16. *Spondan.* an. 1512. & 21.

1500. the ſeiſing the Kingdom of *Navar*; and then all of *Spain* (*Portugal* excepted) would be his own.

At laſt opportunity (good enough, as he thought) offer'd it ſelf, which was thus:

Pope *Julius* II. (a zealous Hotſpur) falling out with *Lewis* XII. King of *France*; *Fernando* ſides with the Pope, and having rais'd an Army, not onely demands paſſage for it through *Albrets* Territories, but the command of his ſtrongeſt Caſtles and Fortifications; and, which was moſt, the poſſeſſion and cuſtody of Prince *Henry*, eldeſt ſon to *Navar*; and all theſe as a ſecurity of *Albrets* good behaviour to him; and to be reſtored again, when *Ferdinando* thought good.

King *John* thought theſe demands unreaſonable, juſtly ſuſpecting a difficulty of ever outing the *Caſtilians*, if they were once ſo ſtrongly ſetled in his Dominions: eſpecially at this time, when the Factions of the two Families *Gramont* and *Beaumont* had made ſome diſturbance with him at home, and the laſt of them wiſhing too well to *Fernando*. Add to this, there was no neceſſity of ſuch demands for paſſage, ſeeing they might march ſeveral ways into *France* without troubling *Navar*. Thus *Albret* fearing the worſt, by ſmelling out the deſigne, thought to ſtrengthen himſelf by joyning intereſts with the *French* King.

The backwardneſs of *Navar* being known, Pope *Julio* falls a *Bulling*, with the conſent of his Cardinals, declaring *John d' Albret* and *Catherine* his Wife, with their Poſterity, for *Hereticks* and *Schiſmaticks*, ſo *deprived* of all *Royal Dignity* and *Honour*; freely giving their Kingdom and Dominions to *Ferdinand*, or any that will take the pains to have them.

Ferdinand now thinking that the Popes *bleſſing* and *curſing* gave him right and title good enough to the Kingdom: And having his Army ready in *Alava* (a little Province between *Biſcay* and *Navar*) made it march on a ſudden under the command of *Don Fadrique de Toledo* Duke of *Alva*, Grand-father to *Don Fernando d' Alvarez de Toledo*, Duke of *Alva*, ſo noted in the Netherlandiſh Hiſtories, and who after that, in a little time conquer'd *Portugal* to the obedience of his Maſter *Philip* II. For the Narrative of which, I ſhall refer thoſe that deſire to read it, to *Jeronimo Coneſtaggio* of *Genuoa*. But the *Portugais* 1640 make quicker work in regaining of it from *Philip* IV. And ſo they might without a wonder, if they ſurpaſs the *Caſtilians* ſo much in courage, as (*b*) *Antonio de Souſa de Macedo* relates it.

a *Luſitania* liber. 1. 3. c. 9.

But to return: the *Caſtilians* made ſuch haſte, that they entred *Navar* before *Albret* expected them; which ſo amazed his unprovided Court, that he preſently (*b*) fled for it into *France*, leaving his Queen, Children, and People to ſhift for themſelves. All hopes thus loſt, the Queen, with her ſon Prince *Henry* and three Daughters, two days after quits *Pamplona* to follow her husband; whom having overtaken, ſhe thus (amongſt other ſpeeches) tartly upbraids.

b *July* 22. 1512.

——— (*c*) *O King! King! thou ſhalt remain* John d' Albret, *and never think more of the Kingdom of* Navar; *for that having been ſuperfluouſly good, you have been the leſs eſteem'd of your ſubjects, and have undone your ſelf and your Realm.*

c — O Roy! vous demeurerez *Jean d' Albret*, & ne penſez plus au Royaume de *Navarre*, d' Autant que pour avoir eſté ſuperfluement bon, vous en avez eſté moins eſtimé des voſtres, & vous eſtes perdu vous & voſtre Royaume. *L. de Mayerne*, l. 25. pag. 1191. ——— O Roy! vous demeurez *Jean d' Albret*, & ne penſez plus au Royaume de *Navarre*, que vous avez perdu par voſtre nonchalance. *Olhagaray*, p. 455.

Thus

Thus the Kingdom of *Navar* became an eaſie prey to *Ferdinando*, from which time it hath continued an *Appendix* to the Crown of *Spain*, whilſt the *French* are forced to be content with its empty title. 1500.

As for *Albret*, though he was a lover of ſplendour and learning, himſelf being well skill'd in Heraldry, and a great Collector of Books for his Libraries; yet he made himſelf *cheap*, by being two good-natur'd, and too familiar even with the meaneſt of his Subjects; ſo that, when it came to a ſtreſs, his former freedom rendred his name of Majeſty contemptible. Nor gain'd he a little Ill-will by his wholly affecting the *French* modes and humours, too light and Airy for a Mountanous, rough-hewn people; eſpecially ſuch, who breath nothing but the *Spaniſh* air: but, which was moſt, his preferring many Strangers or Forreigners, not onely by giving them good Eſtates, but by intruſting them with the greateſt Offices and Places in his Kingdom; whereby the Natives grumbled to ſee themſelves ſo neglected and ſleighted.

To theſe we might add the Factions amongſt the Nobility; but that which was the fountain of all, was his giving of himſelf up ſo much to his (*a*) pleaſures, that he wholly neglected the Government, not troubling himſelf with the management of any thing in it; nor caring how things went right or wrong, ſo they would but let him alone to his own fancie; ſo thus (like ſome other Kings) he had the Title, others the ſway and Authority: ſo that he himſelf loſt nothing by the want of theſe his Dominions, ſeeing he carryed the name of King along with him, whilſt the *Spaniard* took the trouble and care of Government upon him. And all ſuch are but pictures of Kings.

(*a*) Vid. *Michel Baudier* Hiſt. du Cardinal *Ximenes*, pag. 106, 107.

Francis I. King of *France*, [who ſucceeded *Lewis* XII. to whom our *Albret* fled] who, for his great love and care to the Church, Learning, and his people, is ſo renown'd by all Hiſtorians; upon his death-bed, with his bleſſing gave his ſon [*Henry* II.] theſe two Rules.

Firſt fear God:
Then be careful for the good of your ſubjects.

Upon which excellent advice, the famous *French* Antiquary Lawyer and Poet, *Steven Paſquier* (by the folly of *Latinizing* names call'd *Paſchaſius*) compos'd this following *Epigram.*

Nato hæc Franciſcus *dixiſſe noviſſima verba*
Fertur, & in gemitus proſiluiſſe pios.
Imprimis venerare Deum, Chariſſime Fili;
Mox tibi ſit Populi cura ſuprema tui.
Dixit & occubuit. Duo ne Præcepta putato:
In duo peccat, qui peccat in alterutrum.
Nam cui nulla Dei cura eſt, nec cura ſuorum eſt;
Et cui non populi eſt cura, nec ulla Dei eſt.

St. *Paſchaſ.* Epigram. lib. 5. & vid. Delit. Poet. *Gal.* vol. 2. pag. 971.

Frances (*whilſt death was cloſing his heavenward eyes*)
Bequeath'd unto his Heir, thus, his advice:
Firſt worſhip God, dear ſon: Then, ſee you bend
Your ways, as moſt to your ſubjects good may tend.

This

1500. *This ſaid, he dyed. Nor think theſe Rules but two;*
For who breaks one, muſt break the other too.
Since, who loves not God, loves not his own affair;
And, who ſlights his peoples good, for God can't care.

Thus was *Albret* the loſs of himſelf and Kingdom; it being a certain Rule, that ſubjects take their influence from the actions of their Princes; an active, vigorous and valiant King infuſing courage into his meaneſt vaſſal: whilſt the negligent and effeminate [and all ſuch are obſerved to be too good natur'd, and ſo negligent, which in a King is worſe then tyranny] renders the people unactive, and though jealous, yet careleſs; which ſtupidity makes them more ſtubborn, becauſe they ſee themſelves tyrannized over and abuſed by ſuch baſe-ſpirited cringing favourites, as uſually domineer under the Protection of ſuch breathing Statues of Kingſhip.

But to return. And yet who can be but troubled at the ſad fortune of poor *Albret?* who dyed of grief 1517. his Queen *Catherine* ſome eight months after; both of them out-living their Conquerour *Ferdinando* about a year, who dyed 1516.

a An. 1512. & 23,24, 25.

b Annales, an. 1512.

(*a*) *Spondanus* here takes upon him to deny that Pope *Julio* II made any ſuch Cenſure of deprivation againſt *Albret* and his Queen; and in this opinion he is ſo earneſt and prolix, that (*b*) *Brietius* the Jeſuite and his Countryman, twits him of being a better *Frenchman* then an Hiſtorian.

But ſeeing this Biſhop of *Pamiers* (one very well read, but byaſs'd in Church-hiſtory) was the firſt (I know of) that hath call'd this Papal deprivation in queſtion, and that but the other day too. And again, perceiving that ſo many (*c*) *Romaniſts* themſelves do confeſs and acknowledge it, I ſhall trouble my ſelf no more about it.

c *Prud. de Sandoval* vida del *Carlos* V. *André Favyn* Hiſt. de *Navarre*, l. 12. *Gonzalo de Illeſcaſ.* Hiſt. Pontifical y Catholica, *lib.* 6. *cap.* 23. & 3. *Alphonſ. Ciacon.* in vita *Julii* II. *Pierre Olhagaray* Hiſt. de *Foix, Bearn & Navarre*, pag. 455. *Phil. Briet.* Geograph. *part* 2. *l.* 5. *pag.* 284. *P. Berthault* Florus *Francicus*, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 8. *Ceſare Campana* Arbori delle Famiglie Regali de *Spagna*, *pag.* 89. *Onuphrius* in *Julio* II. *Johan. Mariana* de Rebus *Hiſpan. lib.* 30. *cap.* 8. *Pierre d' Avity* le Monde, & *Navarre*. *Æl. Anton. Nebriſſenſis*, de bello *Navar. lib.* 1. *Gaſp. Sciop.* Eccleſiaſt. *cap.* 141. *pag.* 512. *Camill. Borellus* Comment. de *Hiſpanica* Legatione ad ſum. Pont. *cap.* 4. & 73,74. Id. de Regis Catholici Præſtantia, *cap.* 46. & 109,110. *Lud. Nonius* de *Hiſpania*, *cap.* 80. *Giovanni Botero* le Relationi Univerſali, *part* 1. *lib.* 1. *pag.* 13. & *Navarra*. De *Ivigne* dictionair. v. *Navarre*.

However, it happens no better to his ſon *Henry*, who was excommunicated, and declared (*a*) deprived by Pope *Leo* X, as a Zealous *Romaniſt* aſſures us. And thus much for the loſs of the Kingdom of *Navar*, by the Chriſtian Fatherly care and Charity of their ſpiritual Infallibility; the *French* thinking the caſe very hard, whilſt the *Spaniard* looks upon it as lawful enough, not ſo much by (*b*) Conqueſt, as by a juſt and legal Title.

a D. *Michel Lonigo da Eſte*, delle Corone de Principi Chriſtiani, Tavola IV. di *Navarra*.

b—Que el Catholico Rey Don *Fernando* quinto lo gano, y ayuntò con los Reynos de *Caſtilla* y *Leon*, cobrandolo con juſto Titulo, y no de hecho, como algunos penſaron. *Pedro de Medina* de Grandezas y coſas memorables de *Eſpanna*, *cap.* 128. *fol.* 131. *b.*

Sect.

1500.

Sect. 2.

Pope Julius II.

AND as for Pope *Julio* II, we need not queſtion but that he was apt enough to act miſchief againſt any that had not an affection for him, having been the Author of many (c) Diviſions and Wars before he attain'd to his Pontifical greatneſs, being naturally of a furious and turbulent humour, inſomuch that he is Characteriz'd to be one more fit for a (d) ſword than the Popedom. And we ſhall finde him oftner commended for his feats in (e) War, than his Devotions; not but that it might be as lawful for him or any of his Succeſſors, to defend by Armes the rights of his Chair and Territories, as any other Temporal Prince.

c *Spond.* an. 1500. § 6.

d *Julius* Papa non tam Apoſtolicæ ſedis claviger, quam Armiger. *Paulus Langius* Chron. *Citizenſe*, anno 1513.

e Bellico nomine clarus ſeptuagenarius ſenex. *Michael Bucchingerus* Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica, *pag.* 279. —— A nullis parum probatus, quod armis magis, quam ſacroſanctum Pontificem decerat, deditus eſſe videretur. *Onuphrius* Continuat. *Platinæ.* —— *Julius* II. Papa Egregius Bellator. *Abrah Bucholcerus* Iſagoge Chronologica, an. 1503. —— Et certes il faut confeſſer que *Jules* aima trop les Armes & la Guerre, pour acquerir la qualité & la gloire de parfait Pontife. *Nic. Coeffeteau* Reſponce au *du Pleſſis*, *pag.* 1224. —— Bellica gloria clarus. *Barth. Caranza* ſumma Concil.

Certain I am, that it is deliver'd to us by good Authority, that after he was Pope, at the ſiege of *Mirandula*, without any conſideration of his age, infirmity, or peaceable Office, he proſecuted that War clad in his (f) Armor, or Coat of Male, with a Sword girt to him, now and then mounting the Cannons, and lying in his Tent obvious to all danger, not at all regarding the extremity of the cold or ſnow.

f *Jo. de Buſſieres*, Tom. 3. pag 206, 207. *Spond.* anno 1511. § 1. *Guil. Barcla.* de Poteſtate Papæ, *pag.* 295. *Paul. Long.* Chron. *Citizenſe*, anno 1503.

Above all other people, he had the greateſt Pique againſt the *French*, for which they twit him with ingratitude. However, to ſhew his zeal againſt that Nation, he did not onely (f) *Interdict Lewis* XII. and his Dominions, but (g) abſolveth his Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, giveth his Kingdom to any that can take it; and by Decree in the *Lateran* Council, takes away the Title of (h) MOST CHRISTIAN from the *French* King, and confers it upon the King of *England*.

f *Spond.* anno 1512. § 19.
g *Will. Drummond's* Hiſt. of *Scotland*, pag. 138.
h *Will. Drum.* ib. *Jo. de Buſſieres*, Tom. 3. pag. 231. lib. 15. *Fr. Guicciardin*, l. 11. *Spondanus*, anno 1513. § 2. Sir *Rich. Bakers* Chron. of *England*. *Laur. Banck* de Tyrannide Papæ, *pag.* 495.

Nay, ſome ſay that his fury was ſuch, that at his marching out of *Rome* againſt the *French*, he threw his Keys into the River *Tiber*, ſaying,--- *Since St.* Peters *Keys would do him no good, he would make uſe of St.* Paul's *ſword*. That the ſtory was really true, I ſhall not be poſitive, though many have exercis'd their wits upon it; amongſt the reſt, they tell us that the well-temper'd *Melanthon* made theſe following verſes, though I do not remember any ſuch amongſt his Poems.

Morney's Myſterium Iniquitatis, *pag.* 555.

Cum contra Gallos *bellum Papa* Julius *eſſet*
Geſturus, ſicut Fama vetuſta docit:
Ingentes Martis turmas contraxit, & urbem
Egreſſus ſævas edidit ore minas.

1500. *Iratuſq; ſacras claves in flumina jecit*
Tibridis, hic urbi pons ubi jungit aquas,
Inde manu ſtrictum vagina diripit enſem,
Exclamanſq; truci talia voce refert:
Hic Gladius *Pauli* nos nunc defendit ab hoſte,
Quandoquidem clavis nil juvat eſſe *Petri.*

But ſhorter is *Gilbertus Ducherius*, thus:

In Gallum *(ut fama eſt) bellum geſturus acerbum,*
Armatum educit Julius *urbe manum;*
Accinctus Gladio, claves in Tibridis amnem
Projicit, & ſævus talia verba facit:
Quum *Petri* nihil efficiant ad Prælia claves,
Auxilio *Pauli* forſitan enſis erit.

This latter is comprehended in the deſigne or project of the firſt, ſomewhat to this purpoſe.

When fierce Pope Julio *(as fame declares)*
Reſolv'd againſt the French *to wage his Wars;*
He muſter'd up his men of War ſo ſtrong,
Threatning deſtruction as he march'd along;
And mad that here his Prieſthood did no good,
He whirl'd his Keys into proud Tibers *flood:*
Then brandiſhing his glittering blade on high,
Thus to his Troops with direful voice doth cry;
Since *Peters* Keys will here no help afford,
I'll now defend and quell with *Pauls* ſharp Sword.

And to ſhew that this *Julius* was of no peaceable diſpoſition, not onely the *French*, as (*a*) *Hadrians Turnebus*, but alſo his own Countrymen, as (*b*) *Cælius Calcagninus*, who poetizeth upon his Statue melted into a Cannon: Nay, his own friend and admirer, (*c*) *Johannes Pierius Valerianus*, could not think of his Picture, but as a dreadful ſpectacle to terrifie the beholders. (*d*) *Euricius Cordus* alloweth him no place in Heaven, as if he had formerly ſold it. And *Huldricus Huttenus*, a good Scholar for his time, and as great a Souldier; nor need we queſtion his courage, he confeſſing to us how he once encounter'd and beat (*e*) five *Frenchmen*: This German Knight is very fiery againſt Pope *Julio*; and indeed his too much zeal was one of his greateſt faults; and his verſes and railings are ſo many againſt this Pope, that I ſhall rather refer you to (*f*) himſelf, then trouble my ſelf to tranſcribe them.

Amongſt the multitude of others, who imploy'd their pens to upbraid this *Julius*, for his warlike humour, was our (*g*) *John Owen*, who according to his uſual brevity thus girds at him.

Ecce duo Gladii *Chriſto* Petrus *enſifer inquit*;
Ecce duo Claves, *O* Petre, *Chriſtus ait:*
Depoſuit Petrus *Gladium, Claveſq; recepit;*
Deponis Claves Tu, Gladiumq; rapis.

And yet for all this, I meet with one *Italian* Poet (*h*) *John Antonius Flaminius*, who doth not onely commend this *Julius*,

as

a Delit. Poet. *Gal* vol. 3. p. 1098.
b Poet. *Itall.* vol. 1. p. 527.
c Poet. *Itall.* vol. 1. p. 1334. & Poem. poſt Hieroglyph. p. 105.
d Poet. *Germ.* vol. 2. p. 734.
e Poet. *Germ.* vol. 3. p. 673.
f Id. *pag.* 666, 667, 668, 669, 674.
g Epigram. *vol.* 2. *lib.* 1. Epigr. 77. *pag.* 140.
h Poet. *Ital.* *vol.* 1. *p.* 972, 973, 974, 975, 976.

as an excellent incomparable perſon; but alſo, as if his Temper were too peaceable, he earneſtly ſolicits his Holyneſs to wars, and ſeems (as it were) grieved and troubled, that his Country *Italy* is like to ſuffer, by the too much placable and ſweet diſpoſition of the Pope. 1500.

'Tis ſtoryed of this Pope, that one hinting to him the unagreeableneſs of his holy calling, with his warlike actions and humour, by telling him that Chriſt ſaid to St. *Peter*, ----*Put up thy ſword into the ſheath*: That the Pope ſhould reply, ----- *'Tis true; but that was not till after St.* Peter *had ſtruck with the Sword.*--- Propos Memorables, p. 1.

I have formerly hinted of the hatred which this Pope carryed againſt the *French*; nor did their King *Lewes* XII. ſhew himſelf inſenſible, calling a Council at *Piſa* to depoſe him; which *Julius* counterplotted by another of his ſummoning at the *Lateran*: where it was odd ſport to ſee theſe two curſing and degrading one another. Nay, the *French* King went ſo far, as to ſtamp upon his Golden Coyn this Inſcription:

PERDAM BABYLONIS NOMEN.

'Tis true, of late, ſome are willing to deny this, becauſe they ſay they cannot meet with any ſuch Coyn now-a-days. But this Argument is not ſtrong enough to quaſh the Teſtimony of the famous and faithful Hiſtorian *Monſieur de Thou* (and a *Romaniſt*) who (*a*) affirms, there were many of them to be found in his time.

a— Cuſo etiam aureo nummo, qui Titulos Regis *Francia* Regniq; *Neapol.* cum Effigie ſua ex una parte, & inſignia *Francia* ex altera referebat, cum hoc Elogio, PERDAM BABYLONIS NOMEN. Quales adhuc hodie multi reperiuntur. *Jac. Aug. Thuanus* Hiſtor. *lib.* 1.

In behalf of the *French*, I ſuppoſe, theſe following verſes were made upon the Pope, who uſed to call them *Wine-Piſſers*.

Genua *cui Patrem, cui Matrem* Græcia, *partum*
Pontus & unda dedit, num bonus eſſe potes?
Sunt vani Ligures, *&* *Mendax* Græcia, *Ponto*
Nulla fides; tute hæc ſingula ſolus habes.

Who's born at Sea, whoſe Mother's of Græcian *blood,*
Whoſe Sire's of Genoa *can ne'er be good:*
For th' Sea's inconſtant, Ligurians *are vain,*
The Greeks *are lyars; all theſe in thee remain.*

The latter Editions of *George Buchannan*'s Poems amongſt the (*b*) *Miſcellanea*, afford us this Copy under his name; but the ſo doing doth not render him the Poet. I am apt to think they were made whilſt *Julius* was living; and certain I am, that at the death of the ſaid Pope, *Buchanan* could not be above ſeven years old: and (*c*) *Belleforeſt*, who flouriſhed at the ſame time with our *Scotiſh* Poet, gives us the verſes, but nothing of the Author: But this by the by. However it be, we finde the Pope thus vindicated by ſome of his friends.

b Pag. 376.

c Les Chroniques de *France*, fol. 536. *b.*

1500. *Eſt* Venus *orta mari*, Graium *ſapientia*, *ſolers*
Ingenium eſt Ligurum; *Qui malus eſſe poteſt*,
Cui genus ut Veneri? *a* Graiis *ſapientia*? *ſolers*
Ingenium a Genua *eſt*? Mome *proterve tace.*

Greece *fam'd for Wiſdom*, Ligurians *have wit at will*,
Fair Venus *ſprang from th' Sea*; *then he's not ill*;
Whoſe Wit's from Genoa, *learning from* Greece,
Whoſe birth is Goddeſs-like. Mome *hold your peace.*

But to conclude with this *Julio* II; we are told by (*a*) *Papirius Maſſonus*, and (*b*) *Alphonſo Ciaconius*, that he was the firſt of the *Roman* Biſhops who wore a long beard; ſince which time, they ſay, the cuſtom hath been in force amongſt them, though (*c*) before him, they are ſaid to have ſhaved all off.

a De Epiſcopis urbis, *lib.6.*
b In vita *Julii* II. *Phil. Briet.* anno 1503.
c Nullus enim antea Pontifex barbatus extiterat. *Pap. Maſſ.*

But whether this be true or no, is nothing to my purpoſe; though certain I am, that the bearded Portraitures in the laſt Editions both of *Ciaconius* and *Cherubinus* his *Bullaria* and other Copies do ſufficiently contradict the foreſaid Aſſertion. However, a little after this, ſome were ſo zealous againſt the Beards of Eccleſiaſticks, that the famous (*d*) *Pierius Valerianus* a zealous *Romaniſt* thought himſelf obliged to write a Vindication of Prieſts Beards. In which having now and then to do with their Councils and Decrees, concerning this ſmall matter of Beards; yet he findes ſuch (*e*) cheatings, falſifications, Forgeries and corruptions in thoſe very Books and Copies, that the good man cannot withhold from putting up his complaint to God againſt ſuch villanies.

d Pro ſacerdotum barbis.

e Bone Deus! quam multa ea ſunt quæ omnibus in Antiquorum Codicibus paſſim mendoſiſſime leguntur? quot immutata, quot adempta? quot inculcata? Atq; utinam multa quorundam iniquitate quotidie non perverterentur. Id. *pag.*9.

Chap.

1500.

CHAP. II.

The Holy Junta, *or the rebellious League of* Spain *againſt* Charles V.

TO relate at large all the troubles of *Spain*, would be endleſs, eſpecially thoſe agitated againſt the famous Cardinal *Ximenes*, whilſt he govern'd thoſe Dominions.

This great Miniſter of State, of the Family of the *Ciſneres*, was firſt Chriſtned *Alfonſo*, which afterwards in his Cloyſter he changed to *Francis*: being a *Franciſcan* by Order, firſt he ſtudyed at *Alcala de Henares*, then read the Laws at *Salamanca*: for ſome time acted as an Advocate in the Court of *Rome*: In ſhort, he grew ſo famous for his learning and integrity, that he roſe to be Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, got a Cardinals Hat, and the Government of all *Spain* to be in his hands.

This Grandeur from a mean beginning, procured him no ſmall envy and ill-will from many of the Nobility; but he kept his ground, nor would he loſe an inch of his Authority: he was civil where he met with civility; but was ſo great a friend to Juſtice, that he would not let the Laws be like Spiders webs, for he made no diſtinction, the greateſt Grandee lying as open to Chaſtiſement, as the meaneſt Vaſſal.

It would be too tedious to relate how he reduced the revolted *Moores* in *Granada*; how he conquer'd *Merſalcabir* and *Oran* in *Africa*: the latter of which they ſay was not acted without ſome miracles; as how a *Croſs* appear'd to them at their landing, and that the Sun ſtood ſtill for above four hours, as an Aſſiſtant and Spectator of their Victory.

At home he was ever now and anon allarm'd with Conſpiracies and Seditions, but ſtill he was himſelf undaunted and victorious. One of the firſt who flew out, was *Don Pedro Portocarrero*, brother to the Duke *Del Eſcalona*, who made ſome diſturbance to make himſelf Grand Maſter of St. *Jago*; but this uproar the Cardinal over-topt. The next was more formidable, the Ring-leader being *Don Pedro Giron*, eldeſt ſon to the Earl *Uregna*, who by force of Arms would ſeiſe upon the Dukedom of *Medina Sidonia*; and in this he was ſeconded by many of the chief Nobility. But this was alſo quell'd by the prudence of our Cardinal.

But that which threatned him moſt, was the inſurrections of *Valladolid*, and the other chief Cities in *Old Caſtile*, perſwaded to this Revolt by many of the Nobles; I, ſo zealous were they, that they mounted their Cannons, fortified themſelves, crying along the ſtreets----- *This is againſt* Ximenes *the peoples Tyrant:* But this faction he alſo over-topt; yet he is not quiet, for thoſe of *Malaga* mutiny, beat out the Judges and the Admiralty, fortifie

1500. tifie themſelves, mount their Cannon, making one piece bigger then all the reſt, with theſe words Ingraven on it;

Malacitanæ libertatis Aſſertores F.C.

The Defenders of the Malaquins *liberty have cauſed this Gun to be made.*

This he alſo ſuppreſt, as he did the Sedition of D. *John Velaſques* of *Cuellor*, who would right or wrong keep the Town of *Arevalo*: Nor did it fare any better with thoſe Noblemen, who had affronted the Cardinal, and violated all juſtice in *Villefratre*; and the Duke of *Alva's* contention for the Priory of St. *John* of *Hieruſalem*, came little better off, being conquer'd, and forced to ſubmit.

In ſhort, this great Cardinal held up his head againſt all oppoſition; and the better to ſtrengthen his Authority, he firſt rais'd in *Spain* the *Train-bands*, conſiſting of above thirty thouſand ſubſtantial houſe-holders, all which he had ready at a ſmall warning. And though many dependants of the Nobility, who muſt follow their Lords Example, hated him, yet never was there any favorite in all *Spain* better beloved then he, by the generality of people; ſuch was his impartiality to Juſtice, Charity to the Poor, and care for the well-fare and honour of his Maſter and his Dominions.

One time, ſome of the diſcontented Nobility deſired to know by what right he acted as he did; the Cardinal replyed, *By the will and power of his Catholick Majeſty.* This not ſatisfying, he ſhew'd them his *Guards*; then ſhewing his *Franciſcan* Girdle, and knacking his Fingers, added---*This is enough to tame the proudeſt Vaſſals.* And laſtly, the better to inform their curioſity, he order'd a Train of Artillery to be diſcharged, concluding, --- *This is the power by which I do, and will govern* Spain, *until the Prince our Lord come to take the charge of it himſelf.*

And in this he was as good as his word. King *Charles* arrived in
a 1517. the *Aſturias* in (a) *September*, and the Cardinal dyed in *November* after, not without a grand ſuſpition of poyſon: he was buryed at *Alcala de Henares*, where he had built an excellent Colledge, and where, to his immortal honour, and vaſt expenſes, he had cauſed his *Biblia Complutenſia* to be printed in diverſe Languages, as *Hebrew*, *Caldee*, *Greek* and *Latine*; to accompliſh which, he had procured many Copies from the *Vatican*, and hired many excellent Linguiſts from ſundry places.

And thus much in ſhort of this great Cardinal, of whom you may ſee more in *Alvaro Gomez*, and *Michael Baudier*; the firſt having writ his life at large in *Latine*, and the other in *French*: who in him endeavours to pattern out an exact Miniſter of State, to the great Cardinal *de Richelieu*: Nor doth envie it ſelf finde any fault in him, but that ſome fancie him to be one too lofty, and one that could not brook an oppoſition; qualifications which ſome think agreeable enough with a Governour.

Prud. de Sandoval Hiſt. del *Carlos* V. part 1. lib. 6. *Ja. Wadſworth.*

But leaving him (though I could ſay no leſs, ſeeing he was ſuch a grand Patron to Learning) let us take a view of a more formidable Rebellion.

In *Spain* we finde ruling *Don Carlos* I. a young Prince not well acquainted

acquainted with the Kingdom, having been brought up in *Flanders* [he was born there in *Gendt* 1500.] where the *Flemings* had ſo inveagled themſelves into his favour, that at his coming into *Spain* for the Crown, they ruled all as they pleas'd, and got the chiefeſt Preferments and places for themſelves, to the no ſmall grief and trouble of the Natives. 1500.

Of the Forraigners *Guillermo de Crouy* Lord of *Xeures* or *Cheures* [Duke of *Sora* in *Naples*, and of *Arſchot* in *Brabant*] was the chiefeſt favourite, and indeed ſway'd the King and Kingdom as he pleas'd; and in his actions was ſo partial and covetous, that he became abominable to the *Spaniards*, who for his faults leſſen'd their Affection and Loyalty to their King. And here, by the way, take one merry and inſtructive ſtory of a favourite.

A Petitioner having preſented this *Xeures* with an handſome Mule with rich Furniture, that his deſire might be the ſooner granted: *Xeures* being asked preſently by another Gentleman, where he had got that curious Beaſt, replyed, *He knew not*. The poor Petitioner being by, and ſeeing himſelf ſo ſoon forgotten, and ſo his buſineſs neglected, went his ways; and orders his Mule to be cryed, declaring all her Marks and Furniture. Which the other Gentleman hearing, went preſently and told *Xeures*, that according to the Marks it muſt needs be, that this Mule had been ſtoln: by which device the poor Petitioner recovered his Mule, which he had given before to ſmall purpoſe. Thus much for *Cheures*, though related to the Royal Bloud of *Hungary*, yet baſe, cruel and covetous; as moſt Favourites are, by ſuch vices getting their preferments: All ſuch grand Flatterers, Pimps and Pick-thanks, being the greateſt bane and curſe that can happen to a King and Kingdom.

Carlos had not been long King in *Spain*, but the Emperor *Maximilian* I. (his Grand-father) dying, he was choſen Emperour at *Franck-fort* by the Electors, and ſo was call'd *Charles* V. The Electors ſend him news of it, deſiring him to come into *Germany* to receive the Imperial Crown. He conſents, and prepares for his journey; at which the *Spaniards* take an Allarum, the great City of *Toledo* leading the way, proteſting againſt his going, deſiring the other Cities to joyn with them, the better to hinder his departure. 1519.

The Emperour, in hopes to get ſome money for his journey, ſummons a Parliament to be held at St. *Jago* in *Galicia*. *Toledo* obeys it, and [according to the cuſtom of that City, which was for the Aldermen (*Regidores*) and Common-council-men (*Jurados*) then preſent, to draw lots, and one of each to go, upon whom the Lot falls] it was *Don Juan de Silva's* chance to go as *Regidor*, and *Alonſo de Aguirre* as *Jurate* for *Toledo*: But the Citizens knowing theſe two Burgeſſes not to be of their Faction, would not afford them a full, but a limited power; which the other not accepting, they went not: Whereupon the *Toledians* choſe four others of their own party to go, and perſwade the Emperour not to depart out of *Spain*.

Theſe Commiſſioners haſted to *Valladolid* where *Charles* was; where being come, they had a deſigne to get the people into a Tumult, and ſo by force to hinder the Emperours departure, and to ſeize upon *Xeures* and the other *Flemings*; but this plot fail'd; though ſome hours after opportunity offer'd it ſelf, if they could have 1520.

1500. have taken hold of it. For a Rumour being ſuddenly ſpread in the City, that the Emperour was departing, and that the Magiſtrates had granted him his deſire; the people in a hurly-burly ran madding about the ſtreets, ſhewing a willingneſs to hinder the Emperours journey. In this hubbub and confuſion, one runs up into the Steeple of (a) St. *Michael*, and rings the Bell; which being heard by the people, without fear or wit they hurry to Arms. *Charles* informed of this dangerous Tumult, reſolves to depart, though in a moſt ſtormy rain. Being come to the Gates, there he found ſome of the rabble, who had ſeiz'd upon them, began to ſhut them, and Barricado up the way; but the Emperours Guards preſently made them quit their Poſt: ſo having got out, he haſtes to *Tordeſellas* with ſuch ſpeed, that none but *Xeures* could keep him company. But the Magiſtrates of *Vallidolid* plead their innocencie in this laſt uproar, laying the fault onely upon the Rabble, many of which were ſeverely puniſhed.

(a) A very ancient Pariſh, where hung a great Bell, commonly call'd the *Council-Bell*; which never uſed to be rung, but in times of war, uproars, or Alarms.

The Emperour haſtes to St. *Jago*, to meet his Parliament, where the Commiſſioners or Burgeſſes ſhew nothing, but their reſolution to oppoſe the Emperours deſires. Though he promiſed a return after he had received the Imperial Crown; *Germany* now falling into ſome diſtractions by reaſon of his abſence. From St. *Jago*, *Charles* goeth to *Corunna* (or the *Groyne*) where the Commiſſioners of the Kingdoms go alſo; and at laſt, moſt of them grant him ſome monies, for which they got no thanks from their Cities.

In the mean time *Toledo* falls into diſtractions; the chief Authors of their troubles being *Hernando de Avalos*, and *Don Juan de Padilla*, with his high-ſpirited wife *Donna Maria Pacheco*, all of good Families; who fill'd the peoples heads full of many whimſies. Inſomuch, that in a Religious *Proceſſion* the Royal party were abuſed, to the no ſmall joy of the Rabble.

The Emperour informed of theſe things, ſummons *Juan de Padilla*, and ſome others, to appear before him. To put a plauſible pretence to their non-appearance, they deſired ſome of their kindred to make a muteny, and apprehend them, and not to let them go: but this trick failing, they perſwaded the Fryars of St. *Auguſtine*, and thoſe of St. *Juan de los Reyes* to ſeize upon them in their general *Proceſſion*: but this by another accidental diſorder failing alſo, they addreſt themſelves to ſome mean and ſcandalous Fellows, who conſenting to their Plot, then *de Avilos* and *de Padilla* made ſhew, as if they intended to obey the Emperours commands, and appear at the Court. Upon which, the hired Rabble came and ſeiſed upon them, declaring they would not part with ſuch good Commonwealths men; ſo carryed them to a Chappel, where they made them promiſe not to go to the Emperour; though the other ſeem'd teeth-forward earneſtly to proteſt againſt ſuch dealings, and that they were willing to obey the Emperour. This done, the people made the Cowardly Governor of *Toledo*, *Don Antonio de Cordova*, to approve their actions, and to forbid their friends to go to Court.

The miſchief being gone thus far, *Hernando de Avalos* and *Juan de Padilla* puſh them on farther; for which they had the Fryars and Prieſts at their ſervice, who in their Pulpits incenſed the people to the purpoſe, who according as they were inſtigated, (though with the loſs of ſome bloud) ſeiſe upon the Gates, Bridges, and

Fort

and Fort of the City; and ſo all was their own, they now pub- 1500,
lickly calling themſelves the (a) HOLY COMMUNALTIE. a *La ſanta*
And this was the Order they governed themſelves by: every time *Comunidad.*
they were to treat of any buſineſs, the Inhabitants of every particular Pariſh were to aſſemble, and two publick Notaries with them; before whom every man, how mean ſoever, was to ſit down and declare his Opinion.

The Emperour being at *Corunna*, and fitting for his departure, news comes to him of theſe Tumults of *Toledo*, which did not a little trouble him; but hoping that as their beginning was in haſte, ſo they would not laſt long. Thus all things being ready, he goeth (b) aboard, lands at *Dover* in *England*, where and at *Canter-* b *May* 19.
bury being nobly entertain'd by *Henry* VIII, he return'd to his Fleet, which carryed him to *Fluſhing*, thence by degrees he went for *Aken*, there to receive the Imperial Crown, where we leave him.

The Emperour before his departure had made Governour or Vice-roy Cardinal *Adrian*, who had been formerly his Tutor, and was afterwards Pope *Adrian* VI, for he would not change his name according to the cuſtom.

Upon the Emperours departure, the Nobility and Gentry which waited upon him as far as the ſea-ſide, return'd to their own houſes, and the Commiſſioners or Burgeſſes to their reſpective Cities; and the Cardinal took his way towards *Valladolid*.

And now began the people to be ſtark mad, and the City of *Segovia* led the way; and thus it was: It is a cuſtom in *Segovia* every *Tueſday* in *Whitſon-week*, that the Collectors meet to treat concerning the Revenue of *Corpus Chriſti* Church. Here being now met, one of them falls a railing againſt the Governour of the City; for which raſhneſs he was warily reprehended by one *Melon*; which reproof was ſo ill taken by the people, who alſo hated *Melon* for his Office, being a Sergeant, that in a fury they took the poor *Catch-pole*, threw a Rope about his neck, and dragg'd him out of the City, with a deſigne to hang him; but they bruis'd him with ſo many ſtripes, that he was dead before they got him to the Gallows, however they hung up his body there.

This done, as they return'd, they met with a Companion of *Melon's*, called *Roque Portalejo*, whom without farther ado, they hal'd to the Gallows, hanging him up by the feet till he dyed. The next day being informed that their Alderman and Burgeſs *Antonio de Tordeſillas*, had granted the Emperour ſome monies, and was then at the Town-Council; thither they ran in an hurry, climbing over the Doors, breaking in at the Windows; and violently laying hands on him, they dragged him out of St. *Michaels* Church (where the Council meets) nor could all his intreaties and reaſons ſatisfie them, but they ſet him clad in crimſon Velvet on a Mule, with an intent to carry him to priſon; yet they had not carryed him far, but they knock'd him off again, put a Rope about his neck, dragged him along the ſtreets; punching him on the head with the pummels of their Swords; nor would they allow him *Confeſſion* or *Sacrament*, but ſo trail'd him to the Gallows, where they hung him with his head downwards betwixt the two other. This done, they turn'd out all the Kings Officers of Juſtice, putting others in their places, and ruled all, having ſeiſed on the City Gates: but the Forts were gallantly defended

1500. by *Don Hernando de Bobadilla*, Earl of *Chinchon*, and his brother *Don Diego*. And the chiefeſt of the City endeavour'd to excuſe themſelves to the Cardinal and his Council.

At the ſame time with the former tumult, the City of *Zamora* fell into the like fury againſt their Commiſſioners and Burgeſſes for granting the Emperour a Subſidy: whereupon the Members fled, and hid themſelves in the Monaſtery of *Marta*, a little days journey off; which ſo inraged the people, that they made Statues and Pictures reſembling them, which they dragged about the ſtreets with many reproachful exclamations; and threatned the Monaſtery to fire it, if the Commiſſioners were not deliver'd, whom they reſolved to murther.

The people of *Valladolid* had the ſame freaks in their noddles: But thoſe of *Burgos* could not be kept within any bounds, aſſaulting the Lord Conſtables houſe, invironed the houſe of the Dutcheſs *Donna Maria de Tabar*, ſhooting down part of its Tower, whereby they entred, and ſought for her; but ſhe ſaved her ſelf by hiding. They ran to *Garci Ruiz de la Mota's* houſe (who had been Commiſſioner, and was Brother to the Biſhop of *Badajos* and *Palencia*) reſolving to kill him; but he ſaved himſelf by flight; yet they burn'd his houſe, with a great number of Deeds, Charters, and other Papers belonging to the King and Kingdom. Nor did they ſpare the conſuming of his richeſt goods and moveables; as fine Linnen, rich Tapiſtry-hangings, *&c.* with all which they made a great Bonfire to ſatisfie their fury, and make their worſhips ſport. And to continue the Frolick, they burned down the Houſe of *Garci Jofre*, one of the Emperours Harbingers; and not content with this, they took the poor fellow, clapt him in Priſon, where with blows and thruſts they ſoon diſpatch'd him; and being dead, they tyed his feet together, ſo drag'd him to his own door, cutting and pinking his body with their ſwords all the way: and thus drawing it through all the ſtreets, at laſt they hang'd it up with his head downwards.

Madrid was alſo poſſeſt with the ſame Devil of Rebellion, ſeiſing upon all the Arms, and ſetting Guards to maintain their own whims all the City over: and in like manner roſe up *Siguenza*, *Salamanca*, *Murcia*, *Illeſcas*; and as mad as the reſt was *Guadalajara*, who not beingable to get their Commiſſioners into their Clutches, raſed down their houſes; the foundations of which they plowed up, and ſowed with ſalt, ſaying that,--- *In regard they were traytors houſes, they muſt be ſalted, leſt they ſhould infect the reſt with their infidelity.*----

Cardinal *Adrian* and his Council having conſider'd of theſe diſtempers, reſolved by puniſhing of *Segovia* to terrifie the reſt: to which purpoſe they ſent as Judge *Ronquillo*, a famous Lawyer in thoſe times, with a thouſand horſe for his ſecurity; and if the City denyed him entrance, and to be judged by him, to make his way by force. The *Segovians* upon this fortifie themſelves, and make reſiſtance, being aſſiſted by thoſe of *Toledo*, *Avila*, & *Madrid*, with other inferiour Towns, whereby ſeveral skirmiſhes were performed. The Cardinal, upon this, orders *Antonio de Fonceca* (Captain-General of the Kingdom) to go to the aſſiſtance of *Ronquillo*. *Fonceca* marcheth firſt to *Medina del Campo*, where the Emperours Artillery lay, with them to ſtrengthen himſelf; but the people denying to deliver them, they fell to blows, in which exploit

ploit, nine hundred houſes with the Monaſtery and Library of St. *Francis* were accidentally burn'd to the ground, and *Fonceca* beaten off. 1500.

The Citizens of *Medina* inraged at the burning of their houſes, flew to Arms, elected one *Bobadilla*, a furious Cloth-worker their Captain, under whoſe conduct they preſently deſtroy'd all they could meet with, that had any familiarity or kindneſs with *Fonceca*; againſt whom they ſent their complaints to the other Cities.

At this, the Citizens of *Valladolid* fell ſtark mad, ran in a fury to *Pedro de Portillo's* houſe (the chief and richeſt there) which they plundred and pull'd down; the like they did to General *Fonceca's* houſe, and the habitation of *Alonſo Ninno de Caſtro* their chief Judge; and turn'd out of their City *Don Alonſo Enriquez*, Biſhop of *Oſma*, and other Gentlemen, whom they ſuppoſed would not be partakers with them: the reſt they made take an *Ingagement* or *Covenant* to their *Holy Commonalty*.

The City *Cuenza* alſo declares for the people, and ſuffers themſelves to be govern'd by one *Calahorra*, and a *Bridle maker*, as *Salamanca* and *Segovia* were by two *Skinners*; and of the ſame humours were *Toro* and *Ciudad-Roderigo*, and other places; inſomuch, that of eighteen Cities in *Caſtile* which had votes in Parliament, (*a*) fifteen were riſen for the *Commonalty*. Beſides, the people of *Murcia* had riſen and kill'd their Governour, a Judge, and one of the Sheriffs, with other perſons, and threatned the ſame to any that ſhould be ſent to try or queſtion them for ſo doing: And *Sevilla* it ſelf was running the ſame risk, but that it ſeems, the Nobility, the (*b*) *four and twenty*, and other Juſtices at that time were too loyal to be perſwaded to ſuch wickedneſs, and ſo preſently quell'd their Tumults.

(*a*) *Toledo, Madrid, Guadalaxara, Soria, Murcia, Cuenza, Segovia, Avila, Salamanca, Toro, Zamara, Leon, Valladolid, Burgos, Ciudad-Roderigo.*

(*b*) *Veynte y Quatros*, the four and twenty, or Aldermen.

The Emperour being at *Lovain* in *Brabant*, journeying for his Imperial Crown, received news of theſe Tumults in *Spain*, which did not a little perplex him; and thinking by fair means to reduce them to obedience, he wrote gracious Letters to all the Cities, offering them pardon, deſiring them for the future to be peaceable, promiſing to return ſhortly into *Spain* amongſt them: Commands that the Subſidie which was granted him by the Commiſſioners at the *Groyne*, ſhould not be exacted from the Cities that were Loyal, or would be ſo: That no Office ſhould be conferr'd but upon the *Natives*. But theſe gracious Letters gain'd nothing upon the people, who were now reſolved over ſhooes over boots.

And the better to carry on their contrived Sedition, they appoint a meeting of the Commiſſioners of their Cities, to be held at *Avila* in *Old Caſtile*, and there to ſit and act for the good of their *Holy Commonalty*; and this Meeting or Conventicle they call'd *THE HOLY JUNTA* or *ASSEMBLY*. This was held in the *Chapter* of the Cathedral Church; and in the middle of the Commiſſioners was placed a little Form, whereon ſate a certain Cloth-worker, named *Pinilles*, with a wand in his hand, whoſe Office was ſuch, that no Commiſſioner durſt offer to ſpeak one word, till by pointing to him with his ſtick, he had given him the ſigne.

July 29. 1520. *La ſanta Junta.*

But this *Junta* was preſently after removed to *Tordeſillas* in *Leon*: for *Juan de Padilla* having marched out of *Toledo* with two thouſand men, which were increas'd with other forces from

1500. *Madrid* and other places, and relieved *Segovia* by making *Ronquillo* retreat; he then march'd to *Medina del Campo*, where he was joyfully received, and where *Bobadilla* (the forementioned Cloth-worker) in a furious zeal whisks out his ſword, and without any Authority, at one blow cut off *Gil Nieto* (an Alderman) his head, and had his body thrown out of the (*a*) *Town-hall* Windows upon the Souldiers Pikes which ſtood below; the reaſon was, he conceal'd the coming of *Fonceca*, which he knew of.

(*a*) *Regimiento*, or *Caſa del Regimiento*; The houſe where the Citizens meet about the Cities affairs.

From *Medina*, *Padilla* marcheth to *Tordeſillas*, where the *Queen-mother* had been kept up for ſeveral years, being held indiſpoſed for any buſineſs by reaſon of her crackt brain. To her he goeth, and ſoothes her up ſo cunningly, that ſhe, poor woman, undertook to give him the Command of *Captain General* in that Kingdom; and ſo ſhe joyn'd her ſelf to the *Junta*, which ſhe commanded to adjurn to *Tordeſillas*, which accordingly was joyfully obey'd; and here they ſat with her for the future.

The Emperour thinking to quiet all, by taking away their exception from the Cardinal who was a ſtranger, orders *Don Inigo de Velaſco*, Lord high Conſtable of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, and *Don Fadrique Enriquez*, Lord Admiral of *Caſtile* to be in joynt Commiſſion and Authority with *Adrian* in the Government; but all would not do.

The *Junta* having now the weak-brain'd *Queen-Mother* at their diſpoſal, lookt upon themſelves as great enough to act any things ſo they turn out thoſe who were about her that favour'd the Emperour. Then they ſend a *Dominican* Fryar to *Valladolid*, who from the Pulpit of *St. Maria la Mayor*, perſwaded the people to ſeiſe upon the Kings Council there, declaring it unfitting that they ſhould ſit in oppoſition to the *holy Junta*: the Citizens at this were a little divided; however they concluded, that they themſelves would not lay hands on the Council-Royal (being of a dangerous conſequence,) but if the *Junta*, (which they would not diſobey) had a deſire to have them, they might ſend their own Souldiers, and ſhould have liberty to ſeiſe upon them. From which time ſeveral of the Kings Council began to ſteal away.

The *Junta* informed of this anſwer, ſent Dr. *Alonſo de Medina* a *Franciſcan*, who being come to *Valladolid*, deſired the people to meet him at the Monaſtery of St. *Francis*, where, in the Pulpit, he renew'd the old requeſt, that the *Royal Council* might be ſeiſed on, and ſent priſoners to *Tordeſillas*; telling them, that there were ſouldiers without the City to act it. To this the Citizens agreeing, the next day *Juan de Padilla* enters the City with above a thouſand men, ſeis'd on all the Council he could finde, with the Books of the Treaſury, and the *Great Seal*, all which he carryed to *Tordeſillas*: Yet would not the Citizens let Cardinal *Adrian* be affronted, whom they look'd upon as an holy and good man. But he conſidering the unconſtancie of the people, thought good to conſult his own ſafety; for which endeavouring once publickly to withdraw himſelf, the Citizens in a tumultuous manner ſtayed him, and forced him to retire to his Lodgings, whence not long after in a diſguiſe he (*b*) ſtole, and went to *Medina de Rioſeco* in *Leon*, whither many of the Nobility went with their forces to wait upon him; by which means he had gathered toge-

(*b*) *Octob.* 20. 1520.

ther

ther a conſiderable Army, and ſo was reſolved for the future to put the trial to the Sword. 1500.

In the mean time the *Junta* was not idle, having over-perſwaded the craſie Queen-Mother *Donna Juana* to head and countenance them, and appointed her a Council out of themſelves to adviſe her, which got them no ſmall repute amongſt the vulgar, which was preſt home to the purpoſe by the ſeditious *Fryars*. And having thus conſtituted themſelves Supreme, they ſent a large (*a*) Paper of *Propoſitions* (ſome of them very extravagant and pernicious) to the Emperour, to have him declare them as perpetual Laws: but *Charles* needed neither ſuch Governours nor Conſtitutions.

a Dated at *Tordeſillas*, *Octob.* 20. 1520

And now the ſword muſt decide the quarrel; the *Junta* raiſe men on all hands, ſeiſeth upon the Kings Revenues to pay them; Proclaim the *Lord high Conſtable*, and the reſt of the *Royaliſts Traytors*, and all their Eſtates forfeited; wrote Letters to all the Cities and Towns of their faction, to encourage them to Arms; nay, and ſent to *Don Manuel* King of *Portugal*, thinking to gain him to their party. They choſe (*b*) *Don Pedro Geron*, one of a noble Family, and of great Relations, for their Captain General; which did not a little diſpleaſe *Juan de Padilla*. *Giron* marcheth preſently to *Valladolid*, which receives him with joy, and takes an Oath to aſſiſt the *Junta* for *King and Commonalty* (like our *Covenanting* diſtinction *King and Parliament:*) the refuſers of this Engagement, were declared *Malignants*, and laid open to Puniſhment.

b Whom they now began to call Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, to which he pretended.

Before we proceed any further, let us take a ſhort view of the troubles in the Kingdom of *Valencia*. Before the Emperours departure, the people there began to deſpiſe the Nobility, and to confederate together: It hapned that in the City *Valencia*, two (*c*) *Moriſco's* belonging to *Don Ramon de Cardona*, paſſing along the ſtreets, the Trades-men began to jeer them; and upon a reply, fell upon one of them, whom they murdred; and had acted the ſame Tragedy on the other, but that he was reſcued by one *Diego Piſador:* which prevention, at laſt ſo enraged the people, that they fell upon *Piſador*, purſued him to his houſe, aſſaulted it, ſo that he thinking to take ſanctuary in St. *Nicholas* Church, they ſeis'd upon him, and kill'd him with their daggers. Having thus ran into miſchief, they proceed, and reſcue a fellow from execution, though juſtly condemn'd for very heinous crimes. They deſpiſed all Juſtice and Magiſtrates; ſcorned and flouted at all Noble and Gentlemen, whom (like our *Levellers*) they intended to root out and deſtroy all the Kingdom over; which occaſioned a Hat-makers wife in St. *Catherines* ſtreet, ſeeing ſome Gentlemen go by, bid her Children look at them: the boys deſiring a reaſon, ſhe replyed, ---(*d*) *Becauſe when you come to manhood, you may ſay that you have ſeen Gentlemen.*

c *Moores* turn'd *Chriſtians.*

d Porque quando ſe ais grandes, podais dezir que viſtes los Cavalleros, *Pru. Sandoval*, l. 6. n. 20. Part 1.

The confederate Rabble choſe one *Sorolla*, a Cloth-worker, for their Captain, an impudent baſe fellow; and then the better to carry on their miſchief, they framed this Plot: *Sorolla* was to hide himſelf in his houſe, and they were to report about, that *Don Diego de Mendoſa* the *Viceroy*, either had or was going to hang him. This report being cunningly ſpread through the City, the people grew mad, flew to their Arms, and ſo march'd with Drums and Colours to *Mendoſa*'s houſe, crying out, *Let the* Viceroy *dye*, *if*

1500. *if he deliver us not* Sorolla.--- *Mendoſa* defended himſelf all day long, and by chance was thus preſerved from their fury. A good woman by hap eſpying *Sorolla* in his houſe, went and told it to the Biſhop of *Segorbe*, who haſtes to *Sorolla's* houſe, which he cauſed to be broke open, and the villain found, had him ſet on a Mule, himſelf riding by on another, and ſo they rode to the *Viceroy's* houſe, to undeceive the people; who ſeeing him thus alive, rais'd their Siege and Battery, which had continued all day and moſt of the night. This plot not fadging againſt the *Viceroy*, they gave out that he was raiſing men to puniſh their inſolencies; upon which the people beſiege his houſe again; which forced him to ſend his Lady out of the City, and ſteal out himſelf; all the Nobles and Gentry doing the like with their Families for their own ſecurity: whoſe houſes the villains pull'd down or burn'd, and plunder'd all they could lay their hands on; went to the Kings Cuſtom-houſe, broke the Records, took away the Books, defied the Emperour, appointed XIII. to govern them; and for the General of their Armies, choſe *Juan Caro* a Sugar-baker. The City *Xativa*, the *Marquiſate* of *Helche*, *Alacante*, and *Orihuela* run into the ſame Rebellion; the latter chuſing for their Lord and Governour one *Palomares*, a poor Serving-man. And now the Kingdom of *Valencia* ſeem'd to be over-run by a gang of Rebels: but they had a notable ſhock at a place, to this day call'd *The Field of ſlaughter*, where they left above 5000 of their fraternity dead on the ſpot.

After this they choſe for their Captain one *Vincent Perez*, a Fellow whoſe trade was to gather up Acorns; but their chief General of all was one (*a*) *Juan de Vilvao*, who made them believe that he was *Don Juan*, the onely Son to *Fernando* and *Iſabella*, King and Queen of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, and ſo the true heir to their Crowns; though that Prince dyed young at *Salamanca*. However the giddy people put ſo much credit to him, that they ſware Allegiance to him as their King, magnifying him as their Redeemer, calling of him the (*b*) *Diſguiſed man*, and one ſent from God to their relief.

a Or *John* of *Bilbo*.

b El Encubierto.

But what this Impoſtor was, take thus. He was the Son of a *Jew*, and was carryed by his Father into *Barbary* the ſame year that the *Jews* were driven out of *Caſtile*. A *Biſcan* Merchant, call'd *Juan de Bilbao*, met with him on ſhip-board 1512, as he was trading to *Oran* on the Coaſts of *Barbary*, and finding him to write and read well, and ſpeak ſeveral Languages, as *Spaniſh*, *Arabick* and *Hebrew*, took him for his Factor. The fellow calling himſelf from his Maſters name *Juan de Bilbao*, with him he lived four years, till 1516 he turn'd him away for being too familiar with his Wife.

The *Corregidor*, or *Mayor* of *Oran*, not knowing the fault, entertain'd him for his Steward. This Mayor of *Oran* being a young man, kept privately a little wanton in his houſe, to whom this Fellow ſhew'd much affection and Courtſhip; but ſhe being truſty to her Maſter, tells him all, and that he alſo perſwaded her to witchcraft. Upon this the *Corregidor* hath him impriſoned, and upon a Market-day ſet upon an Aſs, and ſo whipt through all the principal ſtreets of the City, to the amazement of the people, who had a good opinion of him, ſo cunningly did he carry himſelf.

Being

Being thus baniſh'd *Oran*, he returns for *Spain*, lands upon the Coaſts of *Valencia* (juſt in theſe diſtractions) under the name of *Don Henrique Manrique de Ribera*; and here he behaved himſelf ſo cunningly, taking hold of the opportunity, that at laſt he made the people believe that he was their true King, and for ſuch they acknowledged him. 1500.

He carryed his buſineſs politickly, kept correſpondence with divers Cities in *Arragon* and *Catalonia*, and might have given a main ſtroak for the whole Kingdom, had not the valiant and loyal Marquiſs of *Cenete*, and *Don Pedro Faxardo* the Governour or Lord-lieutenant [*Adelantado Mayor*] of the Kingdom of *Murcia*, with other noble *Cavaliers*, by their valour and induſtry put a ſtop to his carreer. The chiefeſt loſs to the Rebels was in *Valencia* it ſelf, where *Vicente Periz* had almoſt carryed the whole City: but the Marquiſs here carryed himſelf ſo cunningly, that he out-braved the Rebel, making moſt of his followers disband and retire to their own dwellings. This day and plot was ſo happy to that City, that to this time, 'tis call'd the *Thurſday of Vicente Periz*: yet *Periz* received freſh ſupplies from *Juan de Bilvao*, with which he grew ſo hardy, that he fought *de Cenete* in the very ſtreets of the City, though to his own ruine, being beaten, himſelf taken, and his head preſently ſtruck off. After which the Impoſtor Kingling *John of Bilbao* was alſo taken by the Marqueſs, the nineteenth of *May* 1522. who, according to his deſert, was drawn, hang'd and quarter'd, and his head ſtuck upon a Lance. After which, *Valencia* began to be more quiet, and wholly ſubmitted themſelves upon the return of the Emperour *Charles*. And thus much, in brief, for the Rebellion of the Kingdom of *Valencia*; not to tell of all their Church-robbings, Plunderings, Burnings, Devaſtations, and Factions even in the very Cloiſters and Monaſteries themſelves, inſomuch that one party in the ſame Covent would pray to God for the King, whilſt the other pray'd as heartily for the Rebels.

But now to return to the *Junta* in *Caſtile*, we finde their Army (conſiſting of ſeventeen thouſand foot, beſides good ſtore of Horſe and Artillery) (*b*) march'd into the field, with an intent to fight the *Imperialiſts* lying about *Rioſeca*. a *Nov.* 23. 1520.

One of the moſt furious ſticklers for the *Junta* againſt his King, was *Don Antonio de Acunna*, Biſhop of *Zamora* (one who had formerly been honour'd with an Embaſſie into *France*.) He was threeſcore years old, but lively and vigorous, and excellent in handling his Arms; he had above four hundred Prieſts under his command in this Rebellion, well armed and ſtout, himſelf always charging at the head of them, crying out, *Here my Prieſts!* And if he ſaw but any of them (*c*) handle or read on his *Breviary* or Prayer-book, he would cudgel them for it. b *L. de Mayerne*, Hiſt. Gen. d'Eſpaigne, l. 27. *Grimſton*, pag. 961.

Between the two Armies there were now and then ſome skirmiſhes; but the *Royaliſts* thought it no wiſdom to put it to a main Battel, their enemies being double the number; beſides, they had ſome underhand dealings with ſome Chieftains of the *Commonalty*, which made the Rebels too negligent, and retire into Quarters: Upon which opportunity, the *Imperialiſts* on a ſudden march'd to *Tordeſillas*, which with the loſs of ſome bloud they took; and here the Biſhops Prieſts fought it out deſperately.

Tor-

1500. *Tordeſillas* thus taken, the Nobility waited upon the Queen-mother, who received them kindly, not that ſhe cared how things went, being indiſpoſed in her ſenſes, from underſtanding what was either good or bad for the publick, though the *Junta*, to delude the *Commonalty*, gave out that ſhe was not onely well in her wits, but fit for Government, and that ſhe had taken it upon her, and acknowledged their intereſt; and accordingly they acted all things in her name, not mentioning the King. Here ſome of the *Junta* were taken, others eſcaped; and the honour of this exploit was juſtly thrown upon the Earl of *Haro* the Kings General.

The taking of *Tordeſillas* did not a little terrifie *Valladolid*, whither the remaining part of the *Junta* fled and ſate in Commiſſion: and the people now growing jealous of *Don Pedro Giron*, choſe *Juan de Padilla* for their Captain General, who proſecuted the Rebellion more vigorouſly then the former.

And now *Biſcay* and *Guipuſcoa* ran a gadding into the ſame miſchief; nor would the Province of *Alava* be behind; in which Rebellion *Don Pedro de Ayala*, Earl of (a) *Salvatierra* had a main ſtroke, being of a proud humour, and diſtaſted with his Counteſs *Madama Margarita*, whom the Court favour'd; and he went the neareſt way to work, by getting the *Fryars* to countenance his party and intereſt.

a He was alſo Earl of the vallies of *Ayala*, *Quartango* and *San Milan*.

The Royaliſts hearing of his Rebellion, ſurpriſed *Ampudia*, or *Fuente Empudia*, belonging to the Earl; but this they kept not long, the *Commonalty* retaking it: at this aſſault, the Biſhop of *Zamora* is reported thus to have encouraged his men, ---- *So, my boyes, get up nimbly, fight and dye couragiouſly, and let my ſoul go at a venture along with yours, ſince you dye in ſo juſt and holy an Enterpriſe.*--- A bold Rebel.

1512. By this time, ſome of the *Junta* were willing to ſee their errour, and might be brought to accept of a Compoſition; but the people, *Juan de Padilla*, the Biſhop of *Zamora*, and others, were ſtark mad againſt any ſuch thing: by which villany, theſe two got ſuch a love amongſt the people, that they proteſted they would ſerve under none but them, hooting and crying along the ſtreets of *Valladolid*,----- *Let* Juan de Padilla *live, let the* Biſhop *live; long may* Juan de Padilla *live, who takes away the Taxes of* Caſtile:--- *we will have none but* Juan de Padilla *and the* Biſhop.--- And the truth was, theſe two were as fit for their turns, as a Rope for a Traytor. As for the Biſhop, he queſtioned not but to gain well by theſe broyls. The *See* of *Toledo* being voyd by the death of *Guillermo de Crouy*, Nephew to *Xeures*, he made himſelf Archbiſhop of it, went to the City, was nobly received by the people, who placed him in the Archiepiſcopal Chair, and gave him good ſtore of Money and Church-plate wherewith to pay his Souldiers. But for all this, he is neither held nor reckon'd amongſt the Archbiſhops of *Toledo*, being but an Intruder.

To tell all the Murthers, Rapines, Sacriledges in this Rebellion, all the Tumults in the (b) *Merindades*, the burning of about three thouſand people in the Church of *Mora*; and to relate the divers overtures they had for a general peace, would be too tedious.

b *Old Caſtile* is divided into VII *Merindades*, viz. of *Burgos*, *Valladolid*, *Calahorra*, *Oſma*, *Segovia*, *Avila* and *Soria*. The Kingdom of *Navar* is divided into V *Merindades*: But here *Old Caſtile* is onely intended.

In

In ſhort, the people were mad againſt any Treaty: the *Junta* upon an erected Scaffold in the chief Market-place in *Valladolid*, adorned with rich Hangings, with Drums, Trumpets, the Kings at Arms with Maces, Coats, *&c.* (*a*) proclaimed the Admiral, Conſtable, the General, and others for the King, to be *Traytors* againſt the *Queen-mother*, and the *Holy Commonalty*. And the people were ſo mad with delays, that they began to threaten the *Holy Junta* it ſelf, if they were not more vigorous in the War, and laid aſide all thoughts of Treaty; being reſolved to put all upon the fortune of a Battle. And in truth, the City of *Valladolid*, and ſome other places for the *Commonalty* had ſuffer'd very much, all Trade being ſpoil'd, Corn very dear, their monies all gone in paying the Souldiers, and no ſafety for any without the venturing of blows. 1500.

a *March* 17. 1521.

And now the fatal day drew near. *Juan de Padilla* with his Army was in *Torrelobaton* (where he had trifled away too much time) The *Royaliſts* march towards him, thinking either to beſiege him, or force him to battel, before he could get any more ſuccour; the *Imperialiſts* being towards 10000 men, and the *Commonalty* at that place almoſt nine thouſand.

Padilla informed of the deſigne, was reſolved not to be beſieged; ſo, drew out his men, intending for *Toro*, there to ſtay till more ſuccours came to him. The *Royaliſts* having notice of his private march, mend their pace; now and then skirmiſhing them, till they come neer to *Villalar* (a Town in *Leon* between *Medina de Reoſeco* and *Tordeſillas*) where they fell upon them in three ſeveral bodies; and preſently putting them to the rout, the purſuit being ſeveral miles, in which many of the *Commonalty* were ſlain.

This victory was gain'd on St. *Georges* day, the *Imperialiſts* word was (*b*) St. *Mary* and *Charles*, the *Commonalty* was (*c*) St. *James and Liberty*. This was the ruine of the Rebellion, and the reſtauration of the people to Peace and Loyalty. Here amongſt others, where taken their Captain-General *Juan de Padilla*; *Juan Bravo*, Captain of the 6000 *Commonalty*, which formerly came from *Segovia*, *Salamanca*, and *Avila*; and *Franciſco Maldenado*, who now commanded the *Salamanca* forces: who had all their heads cut off, and ſtuck upon ſeveral Nails over the place of Execution.

b Santa *Maria y Carlos.*
c Santiago, libertad.

The Army of the *Commonalty* being thus routed, the *Junta* which was in *Valladolid* ſneak'd away: The City it ſelf ſubmitting, which was graciouſly pardon'd, though they had been the chief maintainers of the Rebellion. And now *Medina del Campo*, *Palencia*, *Duennas Mota*, and other Cities acknowledged their faults.

But *Toledo* would be brought to no reaſon; the chief Incendiary of that City being *Donna Maria Pacheco Mendoza*, Daughter to the Earl of *Tendilla*, and wife to *Don Juan de Padilla* (lately beheaded) a Lady of a daring and reſolute ſpirit, wherefore ſhe was generally call'd *The valiant woman* (*La Muger valeroſa*) and to excite the Citizens to compaſſion, ſhe made her Son be carryed up and down the ſtreets on a Mule with a mourning hood and Cloak on, and a Streamer with the Picture of her husband *Padilla* beheaded.

The *Imperialiſts* did not queſtion, if they could either get her

1500. out of the City, or to joyn with them, to reduce the place to his Majesty; to effect which, they sent a Captain (who freely offer'd himself) with a few men disguised thither: Being arrived at *Toledo*, he went directly to the Fort where she was, desiring to speak with her: But the people having some notice of the designe, made an Alarm, and ran in great multitudes to the Castle, where finding the Captain in discourse with her, they presently laid hands on him, and flung him out of the high window; by which fall he was broke all to pieces. This done, they cut the throats of all those who came along with him.

And now they resolve to fortifie themselves against all attempts; fill'd their stores full, took all the gold and silver plate out of the Cathedral Church, which they coyned; and they were not a little animated by the coming of the *French*, who taking opportunity of these troubles, enter'd *Navar*, thinking to regain that Kingdom; but all to no purpose: and so at last the *Toledians* were brought to better terms, and received into mercy: *Donna Maria Pacheco* being forced for her own safety, in a Country-womans disguise, riding upon an Ass with some Geese in her hands, to escape out of the City, living the rest of her days in Exile, and as some think dying in *Portugal*. And now for Example was the house of *Juan de Padilla* pull'd down to the ground, the foundation of it plow'd up and sowed with salt, that the soyl where the Chieftain of so great troubles and mischiefs had his birth and habitation, should not produce so much as grass or weeds; and a Pillar was erected there, with an Inscription declaring the manner of his life and death.

And now all is reduced to obedience, the Emperour returns to *Spain*, (having received the Imperial Crown) and on a Scaffold cover'd with Cloth of Gold and Silk, erected in the chief Market-place in *Valladolid*, the Emperour himself with his (*a*) *Grandees* and Council about him; being there, Peace is (*b*) proclaim'd, and a general pardon granted, onely some few excepted for example sake.

But before we leave this story, let us see the end of one or two Chieftains; the first shall be the Earl of *Salvatierra*, who made such Tumults in *Alava*. At last being taken Prisoner, he was carryed to *Burgos*, where he was let bloud to (*c*) death; then carryed to his grave, his feet hanging over the Bier with irons on them, exposed to the publick view.

This unfortunate Earl, whilst in prison, was brought to such poverty, (being forsaken of all his Friends) that he had nothing to eat but a poor mess of Pottage, which one *Leon Picardo* a Domestick Servant and Painter to the Lord high Constable sometimes brought him. His Son *Don Athanasio de Ayala*, then Page to the Emperour, out of a filial compassion, sold his Horse to buy his Father the Earl Victuals; for which the Master of the Pages would have the young Gentleman punished, and complain'd of him to the Emperour. *Carlos* calls *Don Athanasio* to him, and asking him for his Horse, he presently answered, That he sold him to buy Victuals for his Father: at which the Emperour was so far from being displeas'd, that he forthwith commanded forty thousand (*d*) *Maravediz* (which is about thirty pound *English* money) to be given him.

And

a They are so call'd, whom the King gives leave to stand covered before him. All Dukes in *Spain* are *Grandes*.

b *Octob.* 28. 1522.

c 1504.

d A little *Spanish* coyn of less value then our *English* farthing, which the *Spaniards* commonly account with.

And now let us ſee the *exit* of *Don Antonio de Acunna* the furious and zealous Biſhop of *Zamora*, who ſeeing all his Confederates quell'd, and ſo no ſafety for him to ſtay in *Spain*, reſolved to make *France* his refuge: For this purpoſe, having in a diſguiſe got as far as the Borders of *Navar* (at the ſame time that the *French* enter'd) he was diſcovered and ſeiſed on by one *Perote*, at a village call'd *Villamediana*, not far from *Legronno*; thence was carryed to *Navaretta*, not far from *Najara* in *Rioſcia*, a little Province in *Old Caſtile*; after which he was ſent priſoner by the Emperours Order to *Simancas* in *Leon*. 1500.

The old Biſhop having been here kept ſome time, at laſt conſulted an eſcape. To perform which, he one time cunningly convey'd a Brick into his Bag, wherein he uſed to carry his *Breviary*, wherewith he knockt out the Governours brains, that had the charge of him, as they were in diſcourſe together by the fire-ſide. And ſo upon this opportunity might have made an eſcape, but that the Governours Son diſcovering him, brought him back again, and carefully lockt him in his Chamber, without doing any thing elſe to him, although he had thus baſely murthered his Father; which was held and commended for a great piece of wiſedom and patience in the young Gentleman.

The Emperour informed of theſe his wicked Prancks, ſent Judge *Ronquillo* (of whom formerly) to ſit on him; who condemn'd him, and cauſed him to be (*a*) ſtrangled within the ſaid Fort: and ſome report that he had him hung upon one of the Pinacles of the Tower, to the end that he might be a ſpectacle and *memento* to all that paſſed that way; but the Emperour was not pleas'd with ſuch Examples. *a* 1526.

And thus much for theſe three years troubles in *Spain*, paſſing by ſome other Tumults and uproars there both before and after theſe, as not of ſo general and dangerous concern.

1500.

CHAP. III.

The Plots in Scotland *againſt King* James VI.

HEre paſſing by the Excommunication of *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, by *Julius* III. for the death of Fryar *George Martinuſius*, Biſhop of *Waradein*, and after Archbiſhop of *Gran*, and by the ſaid *Julius* created Cardinal; a man powerful in Arms, and noted for his great actions in *Hungary*. Which Fryar *George* (for ſo is he commonly call'd) is by ſome held an honeſt man, whilſt others accuſe him of no leſs then of underhand-dealings with the *Turks*, into whoſe power they ſay he deſigned to deliver up the Kingdom.

1551. *Girol. Bardi vita di Ferdinando, aggiunte alle P. Meſſia. Grimſton's Imp. Hiſt. p. 676,677.*

And paſſing by alſo the troubles the ſaid *Ferdinand* I. received at his Election into the Empire by the Reſignation of his Brother *Charles* V, Pope *Paul* IV rejecting him and his Title alledging none to have power to reſigne, but into his hands; and ſo he (and not the *Electors*) is to nominate; nor would he at any time acknowledge him for Emperour, though upon his death his Succeſſor, *Pius* IV, willingly admitted him for a lawful Emperor and what need *Ferdinand*, or any other care whether the *Roman* Biſhop conſented or no, it being no way neceſſary, and the outſide but a Complement? But leaving theſe and ſuchlike beyond Sea-ſtories, let us come a little neerer home.

1558.

And firſt, if we look upon *Scotland*, we ſhall finde it a Kingdom miſerably rent between two Factions, the *Puritan* and *Popiſh*. Of the inſolencies of the firſt, I have elſewhere treated; nor can the latter excuſe themſelves from the ſame crimes, if not worſe, by endeavouring to betray their King and Country to a forraign power and uſurpation, as may appear by theſe following Obſervations.

Here we finde Reigning King *James* VI, a Prince made wiſe and wary by the ſeveral troubles he had run through. The *Spaniard* preparing his great *Armado* to invade *England*, ſeveral Prieſts and Jeſuites went into *Scotland* to get thoſe people to aſſiſt the deſigne. And amongſt the reſt, the Lord *Maxwell* was very active, coming out of *Spain*, and landing at *Kirkudbright* in *Galloway*, gather'd together ſome men; but they were preſently ſuppreſt, and himſelf taken and impriſoned. The Lord *Bothwell* (who troubled himſelf not much with this or that Religion, having no ends but intereſt) the Admiral of that Kingdom, had alſo ſecretly liſted many Souldiers, giving out they were for the ſafety of the Nation. Amongſt others alſo Colonel (*a*) *Sempil*, who for ſome time had reſided with the Duke of *Parma* (having betray'd the Town of *Lire* to the *Spaniards*) landed at *Lieth*,

1587.

1588.

a He afterwards lived a Penſioner in *Spain*, where he began the Foundation of a *Scotch* Semenarie, intending to make his baſtard *Hugh Sempill* (whom he train'd up with the Jeſuites) the *Rector* of it: He was living there about the beginning of King *Charles* I his Reign; and was very mallepert in the deſignes of his *Spaniſh* match. *James Wadſworth* his *Engliſh-Spaniſh* Pilgrime, *cap. 7. pag. 61. Edit. 2.*

with

with an intent to farther the plots; but he, by the miſtruſt of ſome papers, was ſeiz'd on by Sir *John Carmichael* Captain of the Kings Guard; but being reſcued by the Earl of *Huntley*, eſcaped the law. 1500.

But the hopes of the *Romaniſts* were quite blown away by the overthrow of the *Spaniſh* Fleet; yet the Duke of *Parma* chears them up again, by telling them of another Army and Fleet to be ſet out next Spring. This good news he ſends by *Robert Bruce* to the Earl of *Huntly*, to be communicated to the reſt of that Faction; the chief of which was the Earl of *Arrol*, the Lord *Maxwell* (who call'd himſelf *Morton*) the Earl of *Crawford*, the Lord *Claude Hamilton*, and ſuchlike. And a little after, *Parma* ſent over ten thouſand Crowns by *John Cheſholme*.

Thus incouraged, (and alſo thruſt on by Father *Hay*, Father *Creighton*, and other Jeſuites) they reſolved to undertake ſome noble act, the better to credit themſelves with *Spain* and *Parma*. And nothing is thought better then to ſeize on the Kings perſon. In this plot there was *Montroſs*, *Bothwell*, *Crawford*, *Arrol*, *Huntley*; the *Lairds* of *Kinfawns*, of *Fintrie*, and others. The deſign was laid to meet all at the Quarry-holes between *Lieth* and *Edenbrough*, thence to go to (*a*) *Halyrood houſe*, to ſeize on the King, to kill the Chancellor and Treaſurer, and then they need not fear to carry all as they pleas'd. But *Huntley* coming before the reſt, and ſuſpected, is impriſon'd; upon which the reſt retire. *Montroſs* and *Crawford* ſubmit and ask pardon, whilſt *Bothwell* and *Arrol* are declared Traytors for refuſing to come in upon ſummons. 1589.

Huntley is by the Kings favour ſet at liberty, upon promiſe to be quiet for the future; but in his going home in the North, he meets with *Crawford*, who joyn together again, and fall upon the Treaſurer; then having joyn'd themſelves with the Earl of *Arrol*, they raiſe what forces they can, and enter *Aberdeen*: The King upon notice, marcheth againſt them; upon which, the Lords are diſcouraged, retreated, and divided one from another at the (*b*) Bridge of *Dee*. The King thus victorious, the Confederate Lords ſeeing no other ſafety, ſubmit themſelves to the Kings Mercy and Tryal. They are accuſed,

For practiſing with Jeſuites *and Seminary Prieſts, and the receiving of Spaniſh Gold to hire Souldiers to diſturb the Kingdom.*

For entring into Bond and Covenant with the Earls of Arrol *and* Montroſs, *and others, and treaſonably to have ſurpriſed* (*b*) Perth *with intent to keep it againſt the King.*

For conſpiring to take the King priſoner at Halyrud-houſe, *and to kill his Servants and Counſellors.*

For beſieging the houſe of Kirkhill, *firing it, and forcing the Treaſurer, the Maſter of* Glammis, *to yeild himſelf.*

For ſummoning the Subjects by Proclamation falſly in the Kings name, falſely giving out that he was a priſoner, and deſired them to ſet him at liberty.

For marching to the Bridge of Dee, *to fight and invade the King.*

For taking the Kings Herald at Arms in Aberdeen, *ſpoiling him of his Coat and Letters, when he was to proclaim them.*

And

a 'Tis ſometimes alſo call'd the *Abbey*. 'Tis the Kings Court, at the Eaſt-end of *Cannygate* at *Edinborough*.

b This day and action is call'd, *The Raid of the Brig of Dee*.

c Now better known by the name of *St. Johnſtons*.

1500. *And that* Bothwell *for his part, had hired Souldiers, as well ſtrangers as others, with an intent to ſeiſe on* Lieth *in the Kings abſence.*

Upon tryal, they are found guilty, but the ſentence by the Kings favour and warrant was ſuſpended; in the mean time they were impriſoned, *Bothwell* in *Tantallon*, *Crawford* in *Blackneſs*, and *Huntley* in *Edinborough* Caſtle.

Now for the better and clearer diſcovery of their plots and deſignes for the King of *Spain* againſt their own King and Country, take theſe following Letters.

Mr. *Robert Bruce* (the chief Agent) his Letter to the Duke of *Parma*, Governour in the *Netherlands* for the King of *Spain*.

My LORD,

MR. Cheſholme *arrived in this Country five days after his departure from you, and with requiſite diligence came to the Earl of* Huntley, *in his own houſe at* Dunfermeling, *where having preſented to him your Highneſs Letters of the* 13 *of* October, *he declared amply unto him the credit given him in Charge, conformable to the tenour of the Letters from your Highneſs: wherein they perceived your Highneſs great humanity and affection to the advancement of the glory of God in this Country, with other conſolations moſt convenient to moderate the dolour and diſpleaſure conceived in the hearts of the Catholiques, by reaſon of the ſucceſs of your* (a) *Army, contrary to their hope and expectation.*

a *Viz.* the *Spaniſh* Fleet, 1588.

Alſo ſome days after, (as the commodity offer'd to me to receive the money) the ſaid Cheſholme *delivered to me ſix thouſand two hundred threeſcore and twelve Crowns of the ſun, and three thouſand ſeven hundred Spaniſh Piſtolets: and likewiſe hath carryed himſelf in all his actions ſince very wiſely, and as becomes a man of God; chiefly, when (upon the ſuſpicion conceived of his ſudden return) the King ſent to take him.*

I ſhall behave my ſelf by the Grace of God (in keeping and diſtributing of the mony laſt ſent, and of that which reſteth yet of the ſum) according to your Highneſs preſcription; and as I ought to anſwer to God in conſcience, and to your Highneſs in credit, and to the whole world in the Reputation of an honeſt man: and will manage it in ſuch ſort, that by the grace of God, there ſhall be fruit drawn thereof pleaſant to your Highneſs. It is true, that I finde (as all others would do, that would enterpriſe ſuch a charge here) my ſelf involved in great difficulties: For on the one part I am in great danger of the Hereticks, and them of the Faction of England, *by reaſon of the open Profeſſion that I make of the Catholick Religion, and of the ſuſpition that the laſt hath of my ſecret practices and dealings againſt them. On the other part, I have much ado to moderate the Appetite that ſome Catholick Lords have, to have the mony preſently, for the hope which they give of ſome pretended occaſions, which will never fall out as they promiſe. The Earl of* Huntley *made inſtance to have the third part of the ſum which was ſent hither, as ſoon as it was delivered to me; but he*

hath

hath not toucht, nor ſhall he touch hereafter a half-penny, but upon good tokens. I have paid him in the mean time with inexpugnable reaſons, wherewith in the end he is contented. 1500.

I beſeech your Highneſs, by the firſt Letter it ſhall pleaſe you to write into theſe parts to the Catholick Lords, to remove one error from (a) *three of them, who have written in the name of the reſt: which moves them to think, that becauſe they were the firſt who made offer of their ſervice to the Catholick King, that all the money which comes hither, ſhould be parted into three, and immediately after the arrival thereof delivered to them, without giving any part to others; who beſides them, are a great number at the ſervice of the Catholick King and you; and who are reſolved to hazard all according to their power, for the advancement of this Cauſe: Nor will they in any ſort depend on the other, in the accepting of the Treaſure that comes from your liberality, but acknowledge it as coming directly from your Highneſs, to whom onely they will be bound and obliged, and not to the other three; of whom the Earl* (q) Mortoun *hath hitherto contented himſelf with reaſon: As alſo the Earl of* Huntley *hath never ſhewn himſelf ſubject to money, but ſince he hath been induced by the third, to wit, my Lord* Claude Hamilton *his Uncle, who is ſomewhat covetous of gain, and thought under ſuch pretext to make his profit.*

The ſaid Earl of Huntley *is conſtrain'd to remain at Court: he is fallen from his conſtancie in his outward profeſſion of the Catholick Religion; partly for having loſt all hope of your ſupport, before the returning of the ſaid* Cheſholme, *becauſe of his long ſtay there; partly by the perſwaſion of ſome Politicks; partly to avoid the perils imminent to all them that call themſelves Catholicks; partly to keep himſelf in the favour of his King, who preſſed him greatly to ſubſcribe to the Confeſſion of the Hereticks, and to be at League with* England. *But for all this, his heart is no whit alienated from our Cauſe; for he hath always a good ſoul, although he hath not ſuch vigour to perſevere and execute ſo as is requiſite in ſo great an enterpriſe: But they may help the defects, by joyning with him a man of Credit, reſolute to aſſiſt him; as we have adviſed to do, ſince the Baron of* (b) Fintrie *is put in cuſtody by the King in the Town of* Dundee, *ſo that he durſt not go out of the Gates thereof, under the pain of a great ſum, until occaſion may be offered to depart the Country, within the limited time. And I by the Kings commandment am forbiden to come neer the ſaid Earl, becauſe they have attributed to the ſaid Laird of* Fintrie *and me, his conſtancie in the Catholick Religion, and his abſence from Court againſt the Kings will.* (c) *His ſecurement hath ſomewhat hindred our courſe, and permits me not to move him, as it hath pleas'd you to command me, and as I deſire, to diſpoſe of the money joyntly with me. So that for the ſupplying of his want, I have aſſociated to the ſame end a very honeſt and wiſe man, called Father* William Creichtoun *Jeſuite, who was detain'd ſome years in the City of* (d) London, *after he was taken upon the Sea coming hitherwards from* France.

Likewiſe I ſhall help my ſelf by the prudence of Sir James Cheſholme, *eldeſt brother to the ſaid* John *who brought the money from your Highneſs; for he is a man confident, wiſe, one of our part, and very little ſuſpected. In the mean time, one part of the money is in the principal houſe of my Lord* Levingſton, *a very Catholick*

a *Huntley*, Lord *Maxwell* (*aliat Mortoun*) and Lord *Claud Hamilton*.

b Lord *Maxwell*.

b *David Graham* Laird of *Fintrie*. In *Scotland*, the *Barons* were either *Great* or *Small*; of the latter were *Knights* and *Lairds*, and none were ſuch formerly but thoſe who held Lands of the King *in Capite*, and had power of life & death; but now every one will be a *Laird*, as in *England* an *Eſquire*, forſooth.

c *i.e.* Laird of *Fintrie*.

d In the Tower of *London*.

1500. *lick Lord: the other part here in* Edingborough, *in ſurety enough to help as it ſhall need the Catholick Lords, who will come hither preſently, to reſiſt the deſignes of them of the* Engliſh *Faction, which think to remain at Court with forces, to order all things according to their fancies. As for the like ſum, or greater, which your Highneſs intents to ſend hither, it would be very expedient that it were very ſoon ſent hither, ſecretly to help the neceſſity that may fall out, and to cauſe things to incline to our ſide, when they are in Ballance, as there is great appearance they will be by the occaſion aforeſaid: and in caſe that neceſſity requireth no diſtribution, the ſaid ſum ſhall be kept and reſerved to better occaſions, or till the arrival of your forces in this Iſland.*

There is ſuſpition, as alſo Arguments probable enough, that Thomas Tyrie, *who hath brought hither your Highneſs Letters to our King, hath not behaved himſelf according to his duty; for he hath accommodated himſelf in his behaviour, more of the affection of our* (a) *Chancellor (who is of the faction of* England, *and abuſeth the credit he hath with the King) then according to the inſtructions given him. He hath not preſented nor made mention to the King of Colonel* Simpills *letter, whereof I have cauſed the Copy to be preſented to his Majeſty by the Earl* Bothwell, *as if it had been ſent to him with another of the ſaid Colonels to himſelf, which he received from* Thomas Tyrie *at his arrival, who hath reported to the ſaid Chancellor, as that Seigneur* Don (b) Bernardino *ſpake to him in* Paris, *to the diſadvantage of the Chancellor. Alſo he hath reported to the King, that my Lord* (c) *Biſhop of* Dumblane, *being returned thither, ſpake to your Highneſs and to others many things to the great prejudice of his* (d) *Highneſs: And it is believed alſo, that he is the cauſe of the ſuſpition which was conceived of the coming of the ſaid* John Cheſholme *newly to the ſaid Biſhop. However it be, the other reports aforeſaid which he hath made, have not ſerved to conciliate, but to alienate the affection of the King, of the Chancellor, and many other Hereticks, from the ſaid* Seigneur Don Bernardino, *the ſaid Biſhop and Catholicks here that have to do with them.*

As for my ſelf, although I ſpeak not willingly to the diſadvantage of any whatſoever, chiefly of them whom I have recommended, as I did the ſaid Thomas Tyrie *to the ſaid* Don Bernardino, *yet I will prefer the love of the truth to men, and would not by concealing thereof, bring prejudice to the common good, nor to the fidelity that the one oweth to the other; and eſpecialy to that we owe all to the King of* Spain, *and your Highneſs, to whom I am preſently ſervant, particularly addicted by the obligation of five hundred Crowns of* (e) *fee, and forty for monthly entertainment, which it hath pleas'd your Highneſs to give me freely in the name of the King of* Spain, *not being required for my part, nor other thing for my particular to this preſent: By reaſon whereof I am the more bound to give your Highneſs moſt humble thanks, and to endeavour my ſelf to deſerve by my moſt humble and faithful ſervice, as well the ſaid entertainment as the recompence it hath pleas'd your Highneſs to promiſe me of your grace and favour. The ſaid gift of your liberality, came well for my purpoſe, ſeeing by reaſon of the danger of my perſon, it behooved me to augment my ordinary train for my greater ſurety; which I was not able longer to have born out without help. For from all the Lords of* Scotland, *I have not retain'd*

a Sir *John Maitland.*

b *Don Bernardino de Mendoza* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador in *France* to carry on the *Spaniſh* intereſt and *League* againſt the *French* King.

c He means Mr. *William Cheſholme*, Uncle to Sir *James* and Mr. *John.*

d The King.

e The *Scotch* calls it---500 *Crowns of Fe-vil.*

lain'd but a part onely of the money, which I ſpent travelling, for the advancement of this Cauſe in Spain *with his Catholick Majeſty, and with your Highneſs in the* Low-Countries: *As for the four hundred Crowns imploy'd for the deliverance of Colonel* Simpill *out of priſon, I have put it in Count with the reſidue which I diſburſed of the firſt ſum, according as it hath pleas'd your Highneſs to command me.* 1500.

The Earl of Morton, *to whom I have given conſolation by writing in priſon, hath inſtantly pray'd me alſo by writing to remember his moſt affectionate care to your Highneſs, finding himſelf greatly honour'd, by the care it pleas'd you to have of him. By the grace of God, he is no more in danger of his life by way of Juſtice, it being impoſſible for his enemies to prove againſt him any thing which they had ſuppoſed in his accuſation: as alſo the Kings affection not ſo far alienate from him, as it hath been heretofore: And in caſe he were in danger, or that it were requiſite for the good of our Cauſe preſently to deliver him, we can at any time get him out of priſon: However, in the mean time we wait the Kings pleaſure towards his liberty, onely to avoid all purſuit that they would make, if we deliver him by extraordinary means. When in the Kings Name they offer'd him his liberty, if he would ſubſcribe the Confeſſion of the Hereticks faith; he anſwered, He would not do it for the Kings Crown, nor for an hundred thouſand lives, if he had them to looſe; and hath offer'd to confound the Miniſters by publick diſputation. I ſhall ſollicite the Lords his friends to procure of the King his liberty very ſoon; for he imports more to the good of our Cauſe, then any of the reſt, by reaſon of his Forces, which are near* England, *and the principal Town of* Scotland, *and the ordinary Reſidence of our King; as alſo he is a Lord the moſt reſolute, conſtant, and of greateſt execution of any of the Catholicks.*

It is no ſmall marvel (conſidering the means the Hereticks have to hurt us, and their worldly wits ſo far paſſing ours, and their evil will and intention againſt us) that we ſubſiſt. Truely, we cannot but attribute the effect thereof to God, who [when the certain news of the returning of the (a) Army of Spain *by the back of* Ireland, *was diſperſed through the Country; and the Hereticks of the Faction of* England *triumphed, and the conſtancie in the outward profeſſion of the Earl of* Huntley *and others was alter'd] cauſed the Earl of (b)* Angus *to dye, who was the chief of the Engliſh Faction. And the ſame time grew ſome diſſentions amongſt the Hereticks, by reaſon of ſome Offices which ſome pretended to uſurp above others at Court. And by the inſtant prayers, and holy perſwaſions of two Fathers Jeſuites, converting to our holy faith two Heretick Earls of the chiefeſt of Authority amongſt them; the one whereof is called the Earl of* Arrol, *Conſtable of* Scotland, *converted by Father* Edmund Hay; *the other called the Earl of* Crawford, *converted by the foreſaid Father* William Creichton. *They are both able and wiſe young Lords, and moſt deſirous to advance the Catholick Faith, and your enterpriſes in this Iſland; which they are determin'd to teſtifie to his Catholick Majeſty and your Highneſs by their own Letters, which by the Grace of God I will ſend by the firſt opportunity. In the mean time they have required me to make you offer of their moſt humble and moſt affectionate ſervice, promiſing to follow whatſoever the ſame* Jeſuites *and I ſhall think*

a The *Spaniſh Armada* being beat, a great part of them fled Northwards, round about *Scotland*, and ſo return'd home by *Ireland*.

b *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus* dyed at *Smeron* near *Dalkeith*, *July* 1588 ſuppoſed by witchcraft or other evil means.

1500. *think good to be done, for the conſervation of the Catholicks, and to diſpoſe and faciliate the execution of your enterpriſes here, which they may do more eaſily then they that are known to be Catholicks, whoſe actions are ever ſuſpitious to the Hereticks for their Religion, whereof theſe two Earls have not yet made outward profeſſion; but in that, as in the reſt, they ſubmit themſelves to our will, and to what we think moſt expedient.*

The ſaid Fathers of that company do profit very much in Scotland, *and ſo ſoon as any Lord or other perſon of Quality is converted by them, they forthwith diſpoſe and incline their affections to the ſervice of the King of* Spain *and your Highneſs, as a thing inſeparably conjoyn'd with the advancement of the true Religion in this Country. If I had commandment from your Highneſs, I would give them ſome little Alms in your name, to help them and eight others, whereof four are alſo* Jeſuites, *and the other four are* Seminary Prieſts *of* Pont a Mouſſon *in* Lorrain, *which are all the Eccleſiaſticks that produceth ſo great ſpiritual fruit in* Scotland, *and acquires to you here ſuch augmentations of your friends and ſervants.*

After the parting of Colonel Sempill *from hence, the Lords ſent Letters with the foreſaid Father* Creichton *and other Gentlemen after the Army of* Spain, *to cauſe it land in this Country; but it had taken the way to* Spain *few days before their arrival at the* (a) *Iſlands, where it had refreſhed it ſelf, ſo that it was not poſſible for them to attend on it. They of this Countrie, who are of the Faction of* England, *were in a marvellous fear, during the uncertainty of the landing of the ſaid Armie, and confeſs'd plainlie, that if it had landed here, they had been utterly overcome.*

a The *Hibrides*, where Creichton thought to meet the Fleet

The Earl Bothwell, *who is Admiral of* Scotland, *and as gallant a Lord as any is in the Countrie, although he make profeſſion of the new Religion, yet is he extremelie deſirous to aſſiſt you againſt* England, *having waged and entertain'd all this Summer (under pretence to order the Iſles) ſome Troops of men of War, which together with his ordinarie Forces, ſhould have joyned with yours if they had come hither. He ſuffers himſelf to be peaceablie guided by me, notwithſtanding the diverſitie of our Religion; and hath often times ſaid, that if the Catholicks would give him ſuretie to poſſeſs, after the reſtitution of the Catholick Religion, two* (b) *Abbies which he hath, that he would even preſentlie be altogether one of yours. He intends to ſend Colonel* Halkerſtoun, *to accompanie certain Captains and Gentlemen to* Spain, *and almoſt four hundred Souldiers all ſafe from the ſhipwrack in our Iſles. And becauſe they are in great neceſſitie, he is purpoſed to furniſh them with Ships, Victuals, and other things neceſſarie, to teſtifie thereby to the King of* Spain *the affection he hath to do him moſt humble and affectionate ſervice. And if we think it good, hath offer'd himſelf to go to your Highneſs in the* Low-Countries, *and by your advice afterward, do the like to his Catholick Majeſtie of* Spain. *But hereupon we will adviſe what is moſt expedient: If we may always be aſſured of him, he will be as profitable for the good of our Cauſe as any Lord in* Scotland, *for he hath great dependance about this Town, which is the principal of* Scotland, *as alſo upon the Frontiers of* England. *He hath offered to main-*

b *Viz.* the Abbeys of *Coldingham* and of *Kelſo*.

maintain and defend me againſt all that would attempt any thing againſt me. 1500.

We have choſen for every Catholick Lord, a Gentleman of the wiſeſt and faithfulleſt Catholicks, and beſt beloved of their friends, to ſerve them in Council, and to meet at all occaſions, to reſolve upon the moſt expedient courſes, that may concern the good of our Cauſe, according to the will and intention of their Lords, who have obliged themſelves to approve and execute their reſolutions, and in no wiſe to contradict the ſame: and by that means we hope to proceed with greater ſecuritie and effect, then we have done heretofore. They ſhall never know any thing of our Intelligences there, nor our final intentions; but according to the exigence of the affairs which ſhall be in hand, and that ſuperficiouſly, and without diſcovering our ſelves too much.

Your Highneſs ſhall underſtand by the particular Letters of the Lords, what remaineth to be ſaid to you by theſe preſents: by reaſon whereof I will make an end, moſt humblie kiſſing your Highneſs hands, and praying God to give you all the good hope and felicity you deſire.

Your Highneſs moſt humble
and moſt affectionate Servant,

Robert Bruce.

From *Edinbrough* this XXIV of *January*, M D LXXX X.

At the ſame time with this, ſome of the Nobility, in name of all the reſt (as this Letter alſo teſtifieth) writ to *Philip* II King of *Spain*; which take as followeth.

SIR,

WE cannot ſufficiently expreſs by ſpeech, the great grief we have conceived, being fruſtrate of the hope we have ſo long had, to ſee (the laſt year) the deſired effects which we hoped of your Majeſties preparations. And our diſpleaſures have been ſo much the greater, that your Naval Armies ſhould have paſſed by ſo near us, without calling upon us, who expected the ſame with ſufficient Forces for the peaceable receipt and aſſiſtance thereof, againſt all enemies in ſuch ſort, that it ſhould have had no reſiſtance in this Countrie, and with our ſupport ſhould have given England *work enough. At leaſt, if it had come in to refreſh it, it had preſerved a number of Veſſels and Men, which we know have periſhed near our Iſles, and upon the Coaſts of* Ireland; *and had diſcovered an incredible number of friends, in full readineſs to have run the ſame fortune with it, in ſuch ſort, as we dare well affirm, it ſhould not have found half ſo many in* England, *for all that is ſpoken by the* Engliſh *Catholicks* (a) *fled into* Spain, *who by emulation, or rather by an unchriſtian envie, too much leſſen our power of aiding you, thereby to magnifie their own onely, and make themſelves to be able to do all, ſo to advance themſelves in credit with your Majeſtie, and ſuch as are about you: but the experience of this their paſſage, hath ſufficiently*

(a) *Refugit thair*, ſaith the Scotch Copy.

1500. *teſtified; that they have not ſhewn themſelves in ſuch number to aſſiſt your forces as we have done. And therefore your Majeſtie, as moſt wiſe as you are, ſhould, if it pleaſe you, make ſuch account of the one, as not to neglect the other; and ſo ſerve your ſelf with both, to the deſigne you aim at, without hazarding your Forces, for the particular of the one or the other.*

We refer even to the judgement of ſome of your own ſubjects who have been here, the Commodities and Landing in theſe parts, where the expence beſtowed upon the Equipage of one Galiaſſe, ſhall bring more fruit to your ſervice, then you may have of ten upon the Sea. And we may aſſure your Majeſtie, that having once ſix thouſand here of your own with money, you may levie here Forces of this Countrie as freely as in Spain, *who will ſerve you no leſs faithfully then your own natural ſubjects.*

And although we cannot without cenſure of preſumption give your Majeſtie advice in your affairs in Spain; *yet in that which may concern your ſervice here, we may ſpeak more freelie, as being upon the place, and knowing by ordinarie experience many things unknown to any of yours that are not here. The over-late arrival of your Armie in our Waters, took from it the Commoditie to retire it ſelf in ſuch ſafetie, (as it might have done coming ſooner) by reaſon of the great Winds that are ordinarie here in Harveſt; as alſo lack of Pilots experienced upon the Coaſts of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *appeareth to have bred great harm to the ſaid Armie: which we could have remedied concerning* Scotland, *to have ſent Pilots from hence, if it had liked your Majeſtie to have ſerved your ſelf with them.*

Likewiſe (ſaving better advice) it ſeems to us altogether unprofitable, to fetch the Armie by Sea, if it may be avoided, for many cauſes: And amongſt others, becauſe ſuch as ſhall have fought by Sea, ſhall be unable, being wearie, to fight again by land againſt new Forces: So the beſt ſhould be to ſhift by one way or other, for ſparing of your men and Veſſels; and ſo the Engliſh *Forces ſtaying upon the Sea unfought with, ſhall be diſappointed, and ſhall not come in time to aſſiſt them that ſhall be aſſailed by land. Afterwards ſending hither a part of your forces before the other which ſhould go the right way to* England, *and that ſecretlie by the back of* Ireland, *Your Majeſtie ſhould compel the enemie to divide their Forces, and it may be ſhould cauſe them ſend the greateſt part hither, where we might make them believe the greateſt part of your Forces were arrived, at leaſt ſhould make them* (a) *weaken a good part of* England, *and draw away a great part of their Forces which would reſiſt your landing and invaſion on that Coaſt. And we may well promiſe, that having here* 6000 *of your men and money to aid others here, we ſhould within ſix weeks after their arrival be a good way within* England, *to approach and aſſiſt the Forces which your Maieſtie ſhould cauſe to enter there.*

(a) The *Scotch* Copy runs thus: — *At leiſt ſuld cauſe thame diſgarneis as meikle of* England, *and draw a great part of thair Forces, quhilk wald reſiſt*, &c.

The Knight William Sempil *Colonel, can ſhew your Majeſtie the whole, to whom we leave it. Alſo we have cauſ'd to be writ both before and ſince his departure, our ſeveral ſuchlike adviſes, by Mr.* Robert Bruce, *cauſing them to be addreſs'd to my Lord Duke of* Parma, *to whom your Majeſtie referr'd us, at the beginning of*

of theſe affairs. And ſeeing your Majeſtie is dulie advertiſed and informed, we will conclude, kiſſing moſt humblie your Majeſties hands; heartily praying God to grant you full accompliſhment of all your holie enterpriſes. 1500.

From *Edinborough* this XXIV of *January*, M D LXXXIX.

Your Majeſties moſt humble
and moſt affectioned Servants,

Earl of Morton,

G. *Earl of* Huntley,

Claud *Lord* Hammiltoun,

In the name of the other Catholick Lords in *Scotland*.

The King, one might think, had no reaſon to miſtruſt *Huntley*, having not long before marryed him to a gallant Lady (*a*) akin to his Majeſty; and alſo got him to ſubſcribe to the *Confeſſion* of Faith, then uſed by the Reformed in *Scotland*; and confer'd many favours upon him. But all this to no purpoſe; he is yet a friend to *Spain*, and ſorry for his ſubſcription, as may appear by his Letter to the Duke of *Parma*, thus:

a Being Siſter to the Duke of *Lennox*.

My LORD,

I Have received from John Cheſholme *the Letters it pleaſed your Highneſs to write the* XIII *of* October; *full of moſt Chriſtian affection to the well fare of our Cauſe, for the which I give your Highneſs moſt humble thanks. The ſupport of ten thouſand Crowns ſent to that end, is received by Mr.* Robert Bruce; *which ſhall not be imploy'd, but for help of the moſt urgent neceſſitie of the ſaid Cauſe, as it hath pleas'd your Highneſs to direct.*

After the (b) *departure of* Colonel Sempil, *I found my ſelf ſo beſet on all hands, and preſſed in ſuch ſort by our King, that it behooved me to yeild to the extremitie of time, and ſubſcribe with his Majeſtie (not with my heart) the Confeſſion of their Faith, or otherwiſe I had been forced immediatelie to have departed the Countrie, or to have taken the fields by reſiſting his Forces, and ſuch as he might have drawn out of* England *to his aid; which I could not have done, eſpeciallie then, when by the returning of your Army into* Spain, *all hope of help was taken from us.*

b Or rather Eſcape, in which he aſſiſted.

But if on the one part I have erred, by the apprehenſion of dangers that threatned my ruine, I ſhall on the other part endeavour my ſelf to amend my fault (whereof I repent me with all my heart) by ſome effect, tending to the weal and advancement of the Cauſe of God, who hath put me in ſuch credit with his Majeſtie, that ſince my coming to the Court, he hath broke up his former Guards, and cauſed me to eſtabliſh others about his perſon of my men; by means of whom and their Captains (who are alſo mine) I may ever be maſter of his perſon; and (your ſupport being arrived)

1500, *rived) ſpoil the Hereticks of his Authoritie, to fortifie and aſſure our enterpriſes.*

Whereupon I beſeech your Highneſs to ſend me your adviſe, and aſſure your ſelf of my unchangeable affections in my former reſolutions, although the outward actions be forced to conform themſelves, ſometimes, to neceſſity of occaſions, as Mr. Robert Bruce *will more amplie write unto your Highneſs; to whom I farther remit my ſelf. Praying God (having firſt kiſs'd your Highneſs hand) to give you accompliſhment of your holie enterpriſes.*

Your Highneſs moſt humble
and affectionate Servant,

From *Edinbrough* this XXIV of *January*, (*a*) M D LXXXIX.

G. *Earl of* Huntley.

a Both the *Scotch* and *Engliſh* Copy hath 1592. but by a miſtake.

The Earl of *Arrol* being turn'd *Romaniſt* by the perſwaſions of *Edmund Hay* the *Jeſuit*, is alſo by the ſame reaſons very zealous for the *Spaniſh* intereſt, as appears by his Letter to the Duke of *Parma*; thus:

My LORD,

SInce God of late by the clear light of his holie Catholick Faith, hath chaſed from my underſtanding the darkneſs of ignorance and errour, wherein I have been heretofore nouriſhed; I have been as ſoon perſwaded in acknowledging of ſo great an effect of his divine grace towards me, that I am chieflie obliged to procure, ſince I know the enterpriſes of his Catholick Majeſtie and your Highneſs tend principallie to that end; as alſo the advancement of ſome (b) *civil cauſe, which hath verie great affinitie and conjunction with ours here. That I may teſtifie by this preſent, the affection that I have to the Weal of the one and the other, having ever before my converſion been one of the number of your friends and ſervants for the reſpect of the laſt; to the which, the firſt of Religion, which is the greateſt and moſt important that is in the world, being joyned thereto, I am alſo become altogether yours, which I moſt humblie beſeech your Highneſs cauſe to be ſignified to his Catholick Majeſtie, and to promiſe him in my behalf, that he hath not in this Countrie a more affectionate ſervant then I, neither yet your Highneſs, as you ſhall underſtand more amply of my intention in particular by him, by whom your Highneſs ſhall receive this preſent. To whom (after I have moſt humbly kiſt your hand) I beſeech the Creator to give you the accompliſhment of your holy deſires.*

b Is it againſt their own King, for the King of *Spain*? or what elſe?

Your Highneſs moſt humble
and moſt affectionate Servant,

From *Edinbrough* this XXIV of *January*, M D LXXXIX.

Francis *Earl of* Errol.

At

At the ſame time, the foreſaid Mr. *Robert Bruce* the chief A- 1500.
gent, writ to *Franciſco Aguirre* a *Spaniard* then at *Antwerp*, tel-
ling him, that when he is again ſent into *Scotland*----- *Cauſe your*
ſelf to be ſet on land near Seaton, *where I pray you to enter ſe-*
cretly, and there you ſhall be kept till I come and finde you,
&c.

The following part of this Letter was writ in ſuch cunning and obſcure terms, that they could not underſtand it.

We formerly heard of the impriſonment of ſome Lords for their Rebellion, and now the King thinking for ever to make them his by his grace and favour, releaſeth them all freely, one-ly *Morton* enter'd bond of an hundred thouſand pound *Scotch*, not to practice any more againſt him or Religion. But in moſt the King found himſelf miſtaken.

For, *William Creichton* the Jeſuite, being forced to leave *Scot-* 1590.
land, gets into *Spain*, where he becomes Agent for the Old Cauſe: Hath ſeveral conſultations with King *Philip* how to advance the buſineſs; and having brought all things to a fair paſs, ſends Mr. *William Gordoun*, ſon to the *Laird* of *Abiryeldie*, with Letters to Mr. (*a*) *James Gordoun* a Jeſuit, and brother on the Fathers ſide to *George* Earl of *Huntley*; whereby he gave him and the *Romaniſts* in *Scotland* to underſtand what pains he had taken with the *Spaniſh* King; and that the ſaid King had confeſs'd to him, that he had been deceived by the *Engliſh*, and ſo would for the future follow the way and advice given him by the ſaid *Creichton*, both for the invading of *England*, and the alteration of Religion in *Scotland*. And the better to carry all on, the ſaid *Creichton* deſired as many Blanks and Procurations as could be had of the *Scotch* Noblemen, for the greater credit and aſſurance of his dealings and agitations.

(*a*) Hedyed at *Paris* 1620, aged 77 years: he writ *Controverſiarum Chriſtianæ fidei Epitomen*: 1591.

At this the *Romaniſts* take heart, and not to ſeem wanting on their parts, they deal with ſome of the Nobility; from whom they get Blanks ſubſcribed, two of which were procured of them by Sir *James Cheſholme*, one of the Kings chief Servants: one of them 1592.
was thus ſubſcribed in *French*.

De voſtre Majeſtie tres humble

& tres obeiſant Serviteur,

Guiliame *Compte de* Anguſs.

Another thus ſubſcribed.

De voſtre Majeſtie tres humble

& tres obeiſant Serviteur,

Franzoys *Compte de* Errol.

Other

1500. Other two Blanks were procured of them in *Latine* by *Robert Abircrumby* the Jeſuite, one of the main ſticklers in theſe plots; Thus:

Guilielmus Anguſie *Comes.*

Another thus:

Franciſcus Errollie *Comes.*

Other two Blanks were procured by Mr. *George Ker*, brother to the Lord *Newbottle*, thus ſubſcribed:

Georgius *Comes de* Huntlie.

All theſe ſeveral Blanks ſhould have been fill'd up and ſupplyed by way of Letters to the King of *Spain*, and Credentials or Certificates in behalf of the ſaid *Creichton*, at the diſcretion of the ſaid *Creichton* and (*a*) *James Tyrie*, who ſhould have writ over them, what he thought moſt fit to carry on the Cauſe.

Beſides theſe, there were two other Blanks, thus ſubſcribed in the midſt of two open ſheets of Paper:

Guillielmus Anguſſie *Comes.*

Georgius *Comes de* Huntlie.

Franciſcus Errollie *Comes.*

(b) Patricius Gordoun *de Auchindoun, Miles.*

One of theſe two laſt Blanks ſhould have been fill'd up with Procurations, and whatſoever the ſaid *Creichton* and *James Tyrie* ſhould think fit, for the confirmation of that which Mr. *George Ker* (who was to carry them) had in direction and credit from the Subſcribers: The other to contain the Articles to be concluded on for the better ſecurity both of King *Philip* and the *Scotch* Nobility.

The ſum of which credit, was an aſſurance that theſe Noblemen ſhould raiſe a power of Horſe-men, and meet the *Spaniſh* Army at their landing, and to aſſiſt and accompany them into *England*. And for farther encouragement, theſe (*c*) Subſcribers took the burthen on them, and engaged that all the *Romaniſts* in *Scotland* would joyn and aſſiſt in the ſaid Cauſe. Beſides theſe Subſcriptions, the Earls of *Anguſs*, *Huntlie* and *Arrol*, deliver'd their Seals or Coats of Armes in wax for a further confirmation.

Nor did they doubt of carrying all before them, the King of *Spain* having promis'd to ſend them by the latter end of Spring 1592, an Army of thirty thouſand men, to have landed either at *Kir-*

a There was one *James Tyrie* a *Scotch* Jeſuite, who dyed at *Rome* 1597, and writ under the name of *George Thomſon de Antiquitate Eccleſ. Scotiæ*: but whether this was the ſame *Tyrie* I know not.

b This Sir *Patrick Gordon* Laird of *Auchindoun*, was Uncle to the Earl of *Huntley*.

c Viz. *Anguſs*, *Huntley* and *Arrol*.

Kirkudbricht in *Galloway*, or at the mouth of *Clyde*, according as the wind ſerved. And beſides this, to ſend good ſtore of money to raiſe Forces in *Scotland*, and to ſupply the ſaid Army: whereof (a) four or five thouſand ſhould remain within *Scotland*, who with the aſſiſtance of the *Romaniſts* there, ſhould alter the Religion; and the reſt of the Army was to paſs into *England*. 1500.

For the carrying of theſe Blanks and ſome Letters into *Spain*, they had once concluded that Sir *James Cheſholme*, one of King *James* his chief Servants, ſhould be the Meſſenger, being throughpaced for the Cauſe; he having then occaſion to paſs over to his Uncle *William Cheſholme* (by them call'd Biſhop of *Dumblane*) but the ſaid Sir *James* being let by ſome private buſineſs, that he could not be ready ſoon enough, they pitch'd upon the foreſaid Mr. *George Ker*, Doctor of the Laws, brother to the Lord *Newbottle*. But he was (b) apprehended as he was taking Ship, and his blanks and other Letters ſeiz'd on; ſome of which Letters take as followeth.

Part of a Letter from an *Engliſh* Jeſuit (the firſt of it nothing to the purpoſe) take as followeth.

Good Father,

THe incloſed to my Lord, I pray you read, and take it as written to your ſelf, &c.---- *The Lord* Seatoun *in whoſe houſe I ſojourn ſometimes, ſalutes you. Of the affairs of the Catholicks here, I leave it to them to write and relate, by whoſe means theſe Letters ſhall be convey'd. My Lord* Seatoun *hath an* (c) *Haven of his own, which may be hereafter very commodious for our purpoſe. Commend me, I pray you, to F.* Barth. Pere, &c. *Mr.* Dudley Ilper *Knight, and* John Thules, *which upon ſome ſudden puſhes of perſecution, have made their repair hither, are in health, and ſalute you. And Mr* Syal *a Prieſt dyed here lately in* Edinbrough. *Love me, and pray for me, I beſeech you all,* Solito. *And if you ſend any into theſe parts, let them come furniſht with as ample faculties as you may. Let them enquire for one Mr.* Jonas, *which will be a token betwixt us. Our Lord bleſs us, and ſend us to meet once ere we dye.*

Scytoun this 2 of *Octob.* 1592.

Yours ever moſt aſſured,

Joan. Cecilio.

A Letter from the Earl of *Angus* to Mr. *William Creichtoun.*

MY moſt affectionate commendations premitted, this preſent is onely to know of your well-fair, and friends, and of the eſtate of matters where you remain, and to ſhew a teſtimony of my good affection towards you. For (God be prais'd) if you were in this Country, I could do you greater pleaſure then I was able to do before, albeit good-will lacked not at any time, as you know.

a In this I follow the *Scotch* Copies of the Examinations, but Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* hath 15000. (pag. 390.) which I ſuppoſe to be a miſtake in the Printer.

b *Decemb.* 27. 1592. he was taken by Mr. *Andrew Knox*, Miniſter of *Paſley*, and afterwards Biſhop of the *Iſles*. *Ker* was impriſoned, but afterwards eſcaped.

c It may be he means ſome eight miles Eaſt off *Edinbrough*, upon the South-ſhore of the *Fyrth*, viz. *Cokeny-Haven*.

1500. *The* (a) *bearer hereof can inform you of ſuch things as occur with us, for we are daily ſubject to alteration; you may credit him as my ſelf, for ſo his vertues do deſerve. It is not needful that I trouble you with his commendation, ſeeing he is to you that he is; you know his honeſty and good intention, and the cauſes of his departing, to whoſe ſufficiencie referring the reſt; my hearty ſalutations, and my bed-fellows, with all our company young and old remembred unto you and your company; commits you with them to the protection of God.*

a Mr. *George Ker.*

Edinbrough the X of *October* MDXCII.

Yours ever to his power,

Anguſs.

Mr. *James Gordon* ſent alſo a Letter to *Creichton*, under counterfeit and falſe names, which runs thus:

The Superſcription.

To his aſſured friend (b) *George Crauford.*

b *William Creichton.*

Truſty friend,

After moſt hearty commendations, your friends who are here have directed this (c) *Bearer to you, for full reſolution of all your affairs in theſe Quarters: we have delaid overlong, I grant, but he will ſhew you the cauſe of all. The beſt is, that next you uſe all expedition in time coming, againſt the next Summer, otherwiſe you will looſe credit here with your* (d) *Factors. If you come, you will finde more friends then ever you had, but otherwiſe you will finde fewer; becauſe the next Summer many are bound to other Countries, and will not ſtay for you any longer. Haſte hither ſome word to your friends, that we may put them in good hope of you, and they will tarrie the longer.*

c *George Ker.*

d *i. e.* The conſederate *Romaniſts.*

The Bearer is an honeſt man, and verie ſufficient, you may credit him as my ſelf. I ſhould have come with him my ſelf, were it not, that I was perſwaded that you would remain ſatisfied with our Anſwer, and becauſe I had a ſtop from Flanders. *As the Bearer can ſhew you, you have gotten all that you* (e) *deſired, therefore make haſte. The Bearer is come unto you on his own charge, therefore you muſt have reſpect to him. The laſt Meſſenger that you ſent, came behinde hand here, and hath got no ſatisfaction as yet, becauſe nothing could be gotten here, and we could finde no man but this that would paſs on his own charge; and I fear, if he had not undertaken it on his own expences, you ſhould not have receiv'd an anſwer ſo ſoon, and therefore you ſhould intreat him the better.*

e *i. e.* The Blanks.

f *i. e.* The *Spaniſh* Army. g *If your Block paſſis forward,* in the *Scotch* Copy.

We look for your ſelf here ſhortlie, and I would that you brought the reſt of your (f) *friends with you, that are beyond the Sea. For if your* (g) *purpoſe paſs forward, they muſt be alſo preſent, otherwiſe we muſt come and* (h) *viſit you. All other affairs of this Countrie, I will commit to the Bearer, who is faithful.*

h *i. e.* be forced to flee the Country. i The *Scotch* Romaniſts and their Religion.

Your (i) *wife and your* (i) *children commend them unto you, and look to ſee you ſhortlie. If I or* (k) *Sandeſoun your friend, receivi*

k *Robert Abircrumby.*

ceive any ſilver from the Bearer, you ſhall be advertiſed by another Ticket how much it is, and ſubſcribed with both our hands. The reſt I will refer to the Bearer. God preſerve you ever from all evil. 1500.

Your moſt affectioned
to his power,

At *Dundee* the XX of *November* MDXCII.

(a) J. Chriſteſoun.

a i. e. *James Gordoun.*

There was a Letter alſo writ by *Robert Abircrumbie* the Jeſuit to the ſaid *Creichton*, under falſe names, part of which take as followeth.

To his truſty friend (b) *George Crauford.*

b *Will. Creichton.*

After my due and humble ſalutations and offer of ſervice, I grieve and lament heavilie the ſlouth and negligence your (c) *Merchants have uſed in anſwering of your laſt ſuit you propoſed unto them: For apparentlie if they had made anſwer in due time, our* (d) *wares had been here in due time, with our great profit and conſolation. The ſtay and ſtop of the matter apparentlie was lack of expences, that no man would of his own charges take that voyage in hand; yea, ſome craved a thouſand Crowns for his expences. So the matter was once whollie given over, and almoſt clean forgot, until it pleas'd God of his Divine Providence to ſtir up this* (e) *Bearer, to take the matter in hand on his own expences; as he hath been ever bent in that Cauſe, not onely to ſpend his goods, but alſo the thing that is more dear to him, that is, his life. Therefore I think he ſhould be more acceptable, as alſo for the affinitie of bloud; for both his Grand-mothers were* Creichtons. *And as for wit and abilitie in treating of thoſe affairs, he is not inferiour to any of your Merchants which you deſired, as you will perceive by experience, God willing. And albeit, that he of his couragious liberalitie and zeal to the Cauſe, hath taken the matter in hand on his own charges, yet all your friends in theſe Quarters think it were reaſonable, that all ſhould be repaid him again,* cum uſura, *with promotion till any other accident ſhould fall out, for the weal and furtherance of this Cauſe,* &c. *But now I will ſay one word of him, and ſo come to ſome other purpoſes of our own. If I had a thouſand tongues, with ſo many mouths, with* Cicero's *Eloquence, I could not be worthie enough to commend this Gentleman to you, and all your company, as I ſhall let you underſtand, God willing, if ever we do chance to meet face to face; and therefore, whenſoever you may prevent him with any benefit, either by your ſelf or any other, abide not till he crave it of you, for he is the worſt asker in his own cauſe that ever you converſed with* (f).-----

c The Catholicks.

d The *Spaniſh* Army.

e Dr. *Ker.*

f Here follows ſome private law-buſineſs concerning ſome lands in the Lairdſhip of *Spot.*

My Lord Levingſtone *is departed out of this world: You heard before that* (g) David Foreſter *had one ſon, and now hath another born in the Caſtle of* Striveling, *where he is in cuſtodie, hardlie handled.*

g *David Grahame*, Laird of *Fentrie*; yet there was alſo a rich Citizen of *Sterling*, call'd *David Forreſter*, who was kill'd or murdred, 1595.

There is but one of our Nobilitie which hath of the King of Spain *any*

1500. *any penſion well paid of twelve hundred Crowns; the which apparentlie are evil beſtowed, for he, nor any of his as yet, hath ever done any kinde of good in the promotion of the Kings Matters: wherefore ſuch penſions were better beſtowed on others, who travel dailie and hourlie, putting in hazard both their goods and lives, as the Bearer hath done and dailie doth, and others as he can ſhew you,* &c. *Becauſe I have no other thing to write, and have been long enough, I commend me to your prayers, and you to God.*

At *Scotland* the XV of *Decemb.* MDXCII.

Yours at his Power,

a i. e. *Rob. Abircrumby.*

(a) *Robert Sandeſoun.*

The ſurpriſal of theſe Letters diſcover'd all, and ſpoil'd the deſigne. *David Graham* of *Finirie* was tryed and found guilty, and (*b*) beheaded in the High-ſtreet of *Edinbrough*. The Earl of *Angus*, having been imploy'd by the King (who then doubted not of his loyalty) to quiet ſome troubles in the *North*, not knowing any thing of the ſeiſing of *Kar*, and the diſcovery of the *Spaniſh* deſigne, returns to *Edinbrough*, where he was preſently arreſted by the (*c*) Provoſt and (*c*) Bayliffs of the City, and ſent priſoner to the Caſtle.

b 15 or 16 of *February* 1592.

c The Mayor and Aldermen.

But from this impriſonment he eſcapes, flees into the *North*, joyns himſelf with *Huntley* and *Arrol*, and raiſe what Forces they can. But upon the report of the Kings marching againſt them, they fled into the Mountains; and ſeeing no other help, ſent their Ladies to the King to intercede for them: the King tells them, he will ſhew them what favour he can, but adviſeth them to ſubmit to a tryal.

1593.

In the mean time the *Presbyterian Kirk* grow very mally part, and a Club of their Miniſters being jumbled together on their own heads, they forſooth would condemn them; and ſo they Excommunicate the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Arrol*, the Lord *Hume*, and Sir *James Cheſholme*; nor could the King by all his Authority and deſires, get the Brethren to forbear or ſtay the publication of their ſentence. Though the Earls had waited upon the King, ſubmitted themſelves, and deſired a Trial.

But the truth is, the Popiſh Lords gave no ſignes of real repentance: no, though the King had uſed divers means to gain them, and was willing to wink at their paſt crimes, upon aſſurance of their good behaviour for the future, yet all his Majeſties endeavours were in vain, the *Jeſuits* prevailing too much over them with their bad counſels, and feeding them daily with hopes of forraign aid. No, though the King through love exhorted them to enter themſelves in cuſtody (to pleaſure the *Kirk*, and make ſome ſignes of a tryal) would they give any obedience to the Kings deſires.

These contempts rendring them more odious, a Parliament is held, and the *Roman* Lords brought to Tryal, and are found guilty of Treaſon; and ſentence was pronounced againſt the three Earls, and Sir *Patrick Gordon* Laird of *Achindown*; their Scutcheons of Arms are torn by the Herald, and their Honours, Lands and Eſtates declared forfeited.

1594.

Yet

Yet the King had ſome favour for them; but they grow worſe and worſe: for joyning themſelves with the Earl of *Bothwell*, they make a Covenant or Bond amongſt themſelves at the Church of *Memmore*, and ſo flee to Arms; the main ſtickler in this buſineſs being Sir *James Douglas* of *Spot*. And opportunately to aſſiſt them, arrives a *Spaniſh* Ship at *Montroſe*, which brought ſome gold for their ſupplies. 1500.

The King informed of all by the apprehenſion of *Allan Orme*, ſervant to *Bothwell*, ſends *Argile* Northwards to quell them: *Argile* gets an Army of 10000 men, but (*a*) are beat by 900 commanded by *Huntley*, who here loſt his Uncle of *Achindown*, and *Arrol* was ſore wounded in his arm and leg.

(*a*) The Battle of *Glenlivat*, *October* 3.

But for all this, the Confederate Lords at the long run were ſo put to it, that they deſired liberty to depart the Kingdom, giving ſecurity to practice no more againſt the King or Religion: ſo away they went, and *Bothwell* ſteals into *France*, thence into *Naples*, where he lived miſerably, and dyed beggerly, about the year 1624.

The baniſh'd Lords, not finding themſelves in that favour beyond Seas as they expected, reſolve to return home; *Huntley* ſteals over, and being got into the *North*, ſends a ſupplication to the King, deſiring that he might be permitted to ſtay in the Country, upon ſecurity to be no more troubleſome: the King is willing, and conditions are conſulting of. *Arrol* thinking to ſlip through the *Low-Countries*, is ſeis'd on, and deliver'd to Mr. *Robert Danielſtone*, the Kings Agent there; but from him he makes an eſcape, and returns. 1596.

Huntley for ſome time keeps off the conditions, the *Kirk* being his enemy. And his Uncle *James Gordon* the Jeſuit came into the Country to perſwade him from any reconcilement; but at laſt, not onely he, but *Angus* and *Arrol* ſubmit, ſubſcribe to the Faith of *Scotland*, are abſolved at *Aberdene* from their former Excommunications, and received into grace and favour of the King. 1597.

About the ſame time there was diſcovered a deſigne to fortifie the Iſle of *Elſay*, in the *Weſt* Seas. This Iſland is a great Rock, four miles in compaſs, wherein an old ruinous Tower is built on the ſteep aſcent of the Rock: the plot was, that by ſeiſing on the Iſland, the Forces that the *Spaniſh* King had promis'd to ſend, might here be received.

The main actor in this, was *Hugh Barklay* Laird of *Lady-land*, who having been the year before committed in the Caſtle of *Glaſgow*, had made an eſcape and fled to *Spain*; and this year return'd to purſue his old deſigne.

Having got ſome followers, he enters the Iſland, with an intention to have well victual'd it. But Mr. *Knox* (the ſame who took *Ker*) underſtanding his purpoſe, gets haſtily a company of men, and makes towards the Iſle. Moſt of *Barklays* men were otherwiſe imploy'd, dreaming of no ſuch thing; and himſelf not thinking that his plot was known, did not take *Knox* his men (though he ſaw them coming) for enemies: thus careleſs, *Knox* lands, and encounters him on the very ſhore; upon which *Barklay* reſolved not to be taken, runs into the Sea and drowns himſelf: and ſo there is an end of him and the Popiſh troubles in *Scotland* for this time.

CHAP.

1500.

CHAP. IV.

The troubles in Ireland *againſt Queen* Elizabeth.

TO run through all the Rebellions of *Ireland*, would be troubleſome both to my ſelf and Reader; their whole ſtories and life being but an heap or chain of Troubles, Riots, Miſdemeanors, Murthers, Treaſons, and ſuchlike enormities; whereby they have not onely vext and moleſted their Governours, but in the end, brought ruine to the diſturbers and ſuch undertakers of diſobedience.

Nor could any thing elſe be expected from the ancient *Iriſh*, to whom civility and diſcretion were ſtrangers; but the Robbery of others held a piece of Devotion, inſomuch, that they never undertook ſuch miſchief, without firſt ſending up their prayers, and after to give God thanks for ſuch a good booty. Though they profeſt themſelves good Catholicks, yet they ſuppoſed no ſmall holineſs to remain in Horſes Hooſes, and that the *Lords prayer* mumbled into the right ear of a ſick beaſt, was cure enough for its diſtemper; and any man was held paſt living in this world, if he deſired to receive the Sacrament. Nor need we look for many cures amongſt them, when to (*a*) beat Eggs together, to ſqueeze out with ones fingers the juyce of ſhred herbs, to probe and finde out a wound, were ſignes of an able Phyſitian; and thus qualified, he may go for an *Hippocrates*. And no doubt but others of them were much of the diſcreet hardineſs of (*b*) him, who having received four deſperate wounds, and ſeeing his ſword not hurt, gave thanks to God that theſe wounds were given to his body, and not to his ſword.

And what elſe might be expected from thoſe of former times, when even within theſe few years, they (*c*) threatned to burn and ruine *Dublin*, to deſtroy all Records and Monuments of *Engliſh* Government, make Laws againſt ſpeaking *Engliſh*, and have all *Engliſh* names changed. Nay, to put their thoughts into practice, they endeavour'd to deſtroy all the goodly breed of *Engliſh* Cattle, by killing many thouſand Sheep and Cows, meerly becauſe they were of *Engliſh* breed; and ſo to leave them lye ſtinking in the Fields: and as others teſtifie, to deſtroy the very Corn 'cauſe ſown by *Engliſh* men. And yet 'tis known they had not only Government, Civility, and what elſe is praiſe-worthy ſpred amongſt them by the *Engliſh*; but ſtately Buildings, and other Ornaments of the Country: whereas *Dublin* it ſelf could not afford a place fit for King *Henry* II to lye in, ſo that he was there forced to ſet up a long houſe compoſed of (*d*) *Wattles*, after the manner of the Country, therein to keep his (*f*) ſplendid *Chriſtmas*.

But theſe glories and advantages, ſome of them may think a diſcredit, if not a ruine to their Nation, and may fancie it as good

Cambden. Britan. pag. 790, 791, 792.

a Ric. Staniburſt, de rebus *Hibern.* lib. 1. pag. 44.

c Id. pag. 42.

d Sir *John Temples* Hiſt. of *Iriſh* Rebellion, the Preface. Id. pag. 84.

d Id. pag. 4.

f Rich. Staniburſt, lib 3. pag. 129.

good to have their Kings (as (a) formerly) to lap up their Coronation-ſuſtenance without the aſſiſtance of Spoons or Hands, and to ſit in ſtate naked, within the bottom of a *Caldron* at his Inauguration, as to have Decencie and Manners, Thrones or Magnificence amongſt them. However, that which they ſuppoſed to ruine all, you may gueſs at by this their complaint, as old at leaſt, as King *Edward* the Thirds time, as (b) Sir *John Davies* ſuppoſeth. 1500.

a *Speeds* Theater of *Great Britain*, in *Ireland* in *Ulſter*. ℘. 6.

b Diſcovery of *Ireland*, pag. 184.

(c) *By granting Charters of peace,*
To falce Engliſhe *withouten leſſe;*
This land ſhall be muchundoe:
But (d) *Goſſipride and alterage,*
And leeſing of our Language,
Have mickle y holpe thereto.

c M S. F. 99, *Laud* p. 332. in Bibl. *Bodl. Oxon.* ex albo libro ſcaccarii *Dublin.*

d *Goſſipred*, a cuſtom amongſt them akin to them of truſting too much to God-fathers, as they thought their Nurces and Forſter-Children as Mother and Siner.

The truth is, above all people they hated the *Engliſh*, being willing that *French*, *Spaniard*, or any body elſe ſhould rule them, but thoſe who do. But of their Combinations and Overtures I ſhall go no higher then Queen *Elizabeth*; though this following note, by the way, will not be amiſs.

(a) *Articles agreed upon, between* Francis I. *King of* France, *and* James Fitzjohn *Earl of* Deſmond: *Extracted by* Tillet *out of the Records in* Paris. Anno 1523.

a M S. F. 99. fol. 185. *Laud.* in Bibl. *Bodl. Oxon. Jehan du Tillet* Recuil des Guerres & Traitez d' entre les Roys de *France* & d' *Angleterre*, fol. 157

Francis I. King of *France* in a Treaty with *James Fitzjohn* Earl of (b) *Deſmond*, wherein he is ſtiled a Prince in *Ireland*: It was accorded,

b The *French* Copy calls him, *Jaques* Conte de *Cymonie*, Prince en *Hyberaie*.

That as ſoon as the Kings Ships ſhould land in Ireland, *the ſaid Earl in perſon, and at his own charge, ſhould take Armes againſt his Soveraign King* Henry VIII. *not onely to conquer that part of the Kingdom wherein he lived* [*which ſhould be to the proper uſe and benefit of the ſaid Earl, except onely one Port, which ſhould be reſerved for the* French *King for ever, for to harbour his Ships in; and that Port to be left at the Election of the King, out of one of theſe three,* viz. (d) Kinſale, Cork *or* Yoghal] *but alſo for to* (e) *reſtore the Duke of* Suffolk *to the Crown of* England, *from whence he was baniſhed, and at the preſent living in* France.

d The *French* Copy reads thus, *Quinqueſalle, Core ou Drudal.*

The Earl of Deſmond *for this War was to raiſe* 400 *Horſe, and* 10000 *Foot; and if need required, to increaſe them into* 15000, *or more.*

e As if he ever had it, but no ſuch matter.

The King Covenanted to entertain them at the rate of two Angels le peece *for every man armed with Corſſelets and Mayle for three months; and for every man furniſhed onely with Swords and Halberts, at one Angel* le peece *for the like time.*

That for the draught of the Artillery which ſhould be ſent into that land by the King and the Duke of Suffolk, *the Earl ſhould provide horſes ſufficient.*

That after the War was begun, the French *King ſhould not at any*

1500. *any time make Truce or peace with the King of* England, *without comprehending therein the ſaid Earl and* Turloghe O Brian *with his Nephews.*

That if King Henry VIII *ſhould, after a Truce or Peace accorded, make War upon the ſaid Earl, the* French *King was to ſend them aid of Men, Ships and Artillery.*

That if during the ſaid Truce or Peace, the ſaid Earls Subjects or Tenants ſhould refuſe to pay him ſuch Rents and Duties as anciently they were accuſtomed, that then the ſaid King at his own charge, was to ſend two Ships well appointed to be at his command, until the ſaid Subjects or Tenants were reduced to their former obedience, and the ſaid Ships to be victualed by the Earl.

That the King ſhould give unto the Earl of Deſmond *a convenient Penſion during his life; and unto* David Mac Maurice, *the Earls Seneſchal, an yearly Penſion of* (a) *five hundred Livres during his life.*

a 500 *Livres*, is about 50 pound *Sterling.*

But this Treaty and its Conditions were never executed, by reaſon the ſaid *French* King *Francis* I was otherwiſe imployed in the Wars of *Italy* about the Dukedome of *Milan*, and at the Fa-
b *February* 24. 152$\frac{4}{5}$. mous battle of (b) *Pavia*, was taken priſoner and carryed into *Spain*; and at the ſaid fight was *Richard de la Pole*, call'd Duke of *Suffolk* (and by ſome alſo termed the *White Roſe*) ſlain. And ſome years before (*viz.* 1513.) was his Brother *Edmund* Earl of *Suffolk* beheaded on the *Tower-hill* in *London* for Treaſon.

Here we might alſo tell of *Thomas Fitz-Girald* Earl of *Kildare*, who ſolicited the Emperour *Charles* V to ſeiſe upon *Ire-*
Cambd. in Comitatu *Kildar.* *land*; and fell into open acts of Hoſtility and Treaſon: but leaving theſe, let us haſte to Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, where we ſhall finde the *Tir-Oens*, who would intitle themſelves *O-Neals*, the greateſt ſticklers.

Con O-Neal, ſirnamed *Bacco* (*i. e.* the lame) was ſuch an ene-
Id. pag. 774. my to the *Engliſh* (though *Henry* VIII bare him ſome favour) that he left a ſolemn curſe upon his Poſterity, if they ever ſowed Wheat, ſpake *Engliſh*, or built houſes; yet he was by *Henry* VIII created
c *Tir-Oen.* The name of a little Territory in *Ulſter*, ſome ſay *Terra Eugenii.* Earl of (c) *Tyrone*; and to him his ſon (*John*, *i. e.*) *Shan* ſucceeded; but not content with that Title, would make himſelf greater, by a barbarous kinde of Election, *viz.* throwing up his ſhooe over his head, took upon him the Title of *O-Neal*, and takes up Arms againſt the Queen; but finding himſelf too weak, he went into
Id. Hiſt. *Elizabeth.* anno 1560. (d) *England*, no queſtion in pomp enough, having his Guard of
d Anno 1562. (e) *Galloglaſſes*, bare-headed, curl'd long hair, yellow Frocks dyed with Saffron or Piſs; long Sleeves, ſhort Coats, with hairy Mantles. Thus falling down at the Queens feet, confeſs'd his Crime and Rebellion with howling, and ſo obtain'd pardon.
e A ſort of Foot-Souldiers ſo call'd by the *Iriſh*, being obliged to fight to the laſt: their weapons were ſomewhat like Axes.

But he continued not long in this obedience, and ſcorning the Title of Earl of *Tir-Oen*, Baron of *Duncannon*, conferr'd upon him by Queen *Elizabeth*, he would again on his own head re-
1567. aſſume the great name of *O-Neal*, vaunt himſelf the King of *Ulſter*, leavie Forces, offer the Kingdom of *Ireland* to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*; and ſo hated the *Engliſh*, that he built a Caſtle
f In the County of *Tir-Oen.* in (f) *Lake Eaugh*, [which ſome alſo call *Logh-Sidney*, in honour of Sir *Henry Sidney*, then Lord Deputy of *Ireland*] which he named *Feoghnegall*, i. e. *Hatred to the Engliſh.* Nay, he went ſo far, as to ſtrangle ſome of his own men, becauſe they eat *Engliſh* bread

bread. Thus he created ſome troubles; but at laſt, in his Cups, was ſtab'd by thoſe he moſt confided in. Of him 'tis Recorded, that he was ſuch a Drunkard, that to (*a*) cool his body (when too much inflam'd with Wine and Uskabagh) he would cauſe himſelf to be buryed in earth up to the chin. 1500.

(*a*) *Camdens Elizab.* anno 1567.

Shan thus dead, a Parliament met at *Dublin*, where 'twas (*b*) enacted, that for the future none ſhould take upon them the name and title of *O-Neal*; yet Queen *Elizabeth* wink'd at *Turlogh Leinigh* of the Houſe of *O-Neal*, when by a popular Election he was ſaluted by the name of *O-Neal*; thinking to get no diſturbance by him, being of a quiet ſpirit; but in this ſhe was miſtaken, ſo powerfully did his friends work upon him in oppoſition to her Majeſty.

(*b*) Id. in *Britan*, pag. 776.

Now when nothing but peace was expected, *Edmund* and *Peter Boteler*, ([*c*] Brothers to the Earl of *Ormond*) with *James Fitz-Morice* of the Houſe of *Deſmond*, and *Mac Cartie-More*, with others, flee into Rebellion, thinking with the Aſſiſtance of the Pope and *Spain* to thruſt out *Elizabeth*: to inflame this the more, *Don Juan de Mendoza* was ſent out of *Spain*. But the Earl of *Ormond* troubled at his Brothers actions, haſtes out of *England* to them, perſwades them to ſubmit, and obtain'd the Queens pardon for them. The reſt were purſued as obſtinate and rebellious. 1569.

(*c*) The MS. life of Sir *John Perot*, ſaith--- *The Earl of* Ormonds *three Brethren.*

As for *James Fitz-Morice*, he was ſo hunted from place to place by the care and induſtry of Sir *John Perrot*, Lord Preſident of *Munſter*, that at laſt he was forced to ſubmit himſelf unto the Queens Mercy: ſo the Preſident being at Church in *Kilmalock*, *Fitz-Morice* comes to him howling and crying for Pardon: *Perrot* caus'd him to proſtrate himſelf, and take the (*d*) point of his (the Preſidents) naked Sword next to his heart, in token that he had received his life at the Queens hands.

(*d*) MS. life of Sir *John Perot.*

But waving ſuch as theſe, let us haſten to more dangerous exploits: and firſt, it is not amiſs to know, that there was one *Thomas Stukley*, of an ancient and good Family neer *Ilfracombe* in *Devonſhire*; and of him a few words by the by.

Though his parts were good and quick, yet his prodigality ſoon made an end of his eſtate, which in a younger brother (as he was) is quickly ſpent; yet having a lofty minde, he caſt about how to live, and command over others. At laſt *Florida*, then newly found out in *America*, came into his thoughts; and this forſooth he would people, not doubting but in time to make himſelf Prince thereof, as may appear by his bold and ambitious Speeches with Queen *Elizabeth*, upon the deſire of her aſſiſtance for theſe his projects. Concluding with her,

Stuk. *I prefer rather to be Soveraign of a Mole-hill, then the higheſt Subject to the greateſt Monarch in Chriſtendom: For I am certain to be a Prince before my death.*

Q. Eliz. *I hope I ſhall hear from you, when you are ſetled in your Kingdom.*

Stuk. *I will write unto you.*

Q. Eliz. *In what language?*

Stuk. *In the ſtile of Princes*, To our dear Siſter.

1500. At which the great Queen was ſo far from indignation, that ſhe rather pityed and ſmiled at his impertinences.

But this his vain deſigne for *Florida* failing for want of money, and having ſpent all, he was forced to flee into *Ireland*, where after ſome ſtay, the better to ſupport his wants, he endeavour'd to obtain the Stewardſhip of *Wexford*; but being diſappointed of it, he fell into a rage, dapperly venting his paſſion againſt the Queen and her Government; and in this beggerly fury and diſcontent, ſhips himſelf for *Italy*, where (according to his nature) boaſting of his own worth and actions, and carrying himſelf ſo cunningly, that at laſt, by his own commendations and flatteries, he inveagled himſelf into the eſteem and favour of *Pius* V, Biſhop of *Rome*; whom this *Stukely* had perſwaded, that with three thouſand *Italians*, he would drive the *Engliſh* out of *Ireland*, and fire all their Fleet: Things which old *Pius* greedily wiſh'd for, with the deſtruction of the Queen.

But this Pope [whom they have almoſt ſanctifyed, and made a a Worker of Miracles] dying, there ſucceeded to him *Gregory* XIII, who carryed on with the ſame deſires, bare the ſame favour to poor *Stukely*, hoping to get the Kingdom of *Ireland* for his own ſon *Giacopo de Boncompagno*, whom a little before he had made Marqueſs of *Vineola*; and of this Royalty *Stukely* aſſured him, and made proud the Baſtard. Thus the Pope and his Son full with hopes of a new Kingdom, the better to countenance this their beggerly boaſting Factor, *Gregory*, as if all *Ireland* and Authority were his own, honours *Stukely* with the Noble Titles of

Baron of *Roſs*,
Vicount *Morough*,
Earl of *Wexford* and *Caterloghe*,
And Marqueſs of *Leinſter*.

Thus with a muſter of Titles, and a Band of eight hundred *Italian* Foot [ſome ſay (*a*) 600, others (*b*) 6000] with a plenary (*c*) *Indulgence* for *Stukely's* ſoul to avoyd *Purgatory*, he imbark'd in a *Genoa*-Ship at *Civita Vecchia*.

a *Jeron. Conestaggio.*
b *Cicarella* in vita *Gregor.* XIII.
c *Tho. Bell's* Motives, *p.* 34.

In the mean time *Sebaſtian*, the youthful King of *Portugal*, had rais'd a Potent Army, ſome think to fall upon *Ireland*. But a diſſention falling out for the Kingdoms of *Morocco* and *Fez*, between (*d*) *Mulei Moluc* (ſome call him *Abdala Meluc*, or *Abdelmeluch*) the Uncle, and his Nephew *Mulei Mahomet*; in which it hapned the latter to have the worſt, and to be beat out of the Kingdom, which for ſome time he had poſſeſt as eldeſt Son to old *Abdala*.

d *Mulei*, ſignifieth a Lord or King, and is never appropriated but to ſome of the Royal bloud.

Mulei Mahomet the Nephew thus routed, addreſſeth himſelf by his Agents to *Sebaſtian* for aſſiſtance. The King of *Portugal* ſpur'd on, as ſome have fancyed, by the *Jeſuits* [the better to make way for the *Spaniſh* ſway over that Kingdom, ſhould *Sebaſtian* miſcarry] promiſeth to relieve and reſettle him; and ſo provides for his paſſage into *Africa*.

Whilſt things are preparing, *Stukely* arrives with his Titles and Followers, at the mouth of the River *Teio* in *Portugal*, lands at *Oeras*, whither *Sebaſtian* goeth to ſee him, and perſwades him

him and the reſt to venture with him in his *Mauritanian* expedition. 1500.

The King and his Army take Ship, and land in *Africa*; the Chieftains more like Courtiers then Souldiers; the other liker Peſants then men at Arms: Thus under the fickle conduct of a raſh King, they meet the *Moors* in the plain of *Tamita*, fight, are routed and cut to pieces; and this by ſome is call'd the *Battel of the three Kings*, becauſe here three ended their days, but in different faſhions.

I. *Don Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal* was ſlain valiantly fighting. But ſome would have him to live many years after, and appear at *Venice*, to the ſobbing up of ſome *Portugals*, the little trouble to the *Spaniard*, but a certain impriſonment and ruine to the undertaker, though he had a minde to King it for a while.

II. *Mulei Meluc* came ſick to the Field, and dyed before his Victory was fully accompliſh'd. And after the fight and Victory, his younger Brother *Mulei Hamet* (who here acted as General of his Horſe) was ſaluted King of *Morocco* and *Fez*.

III. *Mulei Mahomet*, the Nephew and Competitor, ſeeing his friends the *Portugals* beaten, thinking to ſave himſelf by flight, was drown'd as he thought to paſs the River *Mucazen*.

And amongſt theſe great ones, our *Thomas Stukely* had the fortune and honour to end his days. And thus *Ireland* eſcaped a miſchief: for the carrying on of which Treaſons of *Stukely*, Dr. *Lewis* Archdeacon of *Cambray*, Referendarie to the Pope (and afterwards Biſhop of *Caſſano*) though born a ſubject to *England*, was very forward and active, very much ſoliciting *Gregory* XIII in behalf of the ſaid *Stukely* and his projects, againſt his own Queen and Country.

About the beginning of King *Charles* I his Reign, I meet with one call'd (*a*) Sir *Thomas Stukely* living at *Milan* as a Penſioner to the *Spaniſh* King, and him I finde branded as a *Traytor and Enemy to his Country*; but of what relation or kin to the former *Stukely*, I know not.

Thus this miſchief intended againſt *Ireland*, was for a time cut off. For *Portugal* thus deprived of her King, his great Uncle Cardinal *Henry* was proclaimed, who being old, the *Spaniard* after his death reſolved for the Crown: for the better ſecuring of which, he ſtaid and kept his great forces lately levyed in *Italy* (as ſome think for *Ireland*) to pour upon and win *Portugal* when occaſion ſerved; which he afterwards accompliſh'd; of which ſee at large (*b*) *Jeronimo Coneſtaggio*, an excellent and underſtanding *Genoes* Hiſtorian, (though I meet with a (*c*) *Portugallized Spaniard* very ſharp and ſevere with him) which Kingdom the *Portugais* regain'd again (1640) in the name of *Don Juan* Duke of *Braganza*, whom they Crown'd, and ſaluted King *John* the Fourth.

a *James Wadſworth* his *Engliſh-Spaniſh* Pilgrime, *chap. 7. pag. 64. Edit. 2.*

b Iſtoria dell' Unione del Regno di *Portogallo* alla Corona di *Caſtiglia*.

c A Book call'd in *Spaniſh*, *Trattado Parenetico*, and *Fuoro Villaco*, as *Dralymont* tranſlating it into *French*, *la Liberte de Portugal*. The *Engliſh* bad Tranſlator calls it, *The Spaniſh Pilgrime*; and ſo the Author ſubſcribes himſelf in his Dedicatory Epiſtle to *Henry* IV of *France*.

1500. This ſtorm thus blown over, another appears. We heard formerly how *James Fitz-Morice* ſubmitted himſelf to Sir *John Perot*; but in his pretended loyalty and honeſty, he could not long continue; for he ſteals into *France*, addreſſeth himſelf to *Henry* III, offers him the Kingdom of *Ireland*, but deſires a few Forces to beat out the *Engliſh*, and ſo to ſubdue that Nation to the *French* obedience. *Henry* having his thoughts at home, ſtraitned between the *Guiſian* and *Hugonot*, wiſely rejects ſuch idle thoughts: Upon which *Fitz-Morice* haſtes to *Spain*, where he makes the ſame offers to the Catholick King.

1579. *Philip* II lends him an ear, ſends him to *Gregory* XIII, who hugs the deſigne, and joyns with him *Nicolas Sanders* an *Engliſh*-man born in *Surrey*, well known by his writings; and one *Allan* an *Iriſh* man, both Doctors and Prieſts. The firſt was by the Pope declared his *Nuncio* for *Ireland*, and bleſs'd with a Conſecrated Banner, to be known by its *Croſs-Keyes*. Thus ſanctified with an Infallible Authority, and a little money in their fiſts, with Letters of Commendation to the *Spaniſh* King; they haſte to *Spain*, thence ſhip for *Ireland*, and land in *Kerry*. Upon which the *Engliſh Romaniſts* at *Rome* (*a*) rejoyce and triumph, not queſtioning but all would be their own. And for a farther recruit, the Pope orders more Souldiers to be rais'd in his Dominions, and had got 3000 Calivers in a readineſs to be ſhipt at *Legorne*; but the news of their Friends over-throw, ſtopt the rejoycings of the one, and the preparations of the other.

(*a*) George Whiteſtone. The *Engliſh* mirrour, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 11. *pag.* 156, 157, 158.

In the mean time, the *Iriſh* informed of the coming of theſe Papal and *Spaniſh* Friends, by little and little riſe up in Rebellion, in which *Deſmond* was not the leaſt, though he had ſworn Allegiance to the Queen: And thus carryed on to wickedneſs, he baſely murther'd, or rather butcher'd *Henry Davils*, an *Engliſh* old Gentleman and brave Souldier, and his intimate acquaintance, uſing to call him Father; and after the ſame unmanly faſhion he ſlew *Davils* ſervants; they and their Maſter in bed dreaming of no ſuch treachery: and this *Sanders* commended *as a ſweet ſacrifice in the ſight of God.*

As for *Fitz-Morice*, he thinking to raiſe the Rebels in other parts to his help, his Horſes tyring, plundred ſome freſh ones from *William a Burgh*'s Ploughs: *a Burgh*'s ſons follow for reſcue, charge *Fitz-Morice*, kill him, but to the loſs of ſome of their own lives; for which Queen *Elizabeth* comforts up old *a Burgh*, honours him with the Title of *Baron* of *Caſtle-Conell*, and gives him a yearly penſion. *Fitz-Morice* thus ſlain, *John Deſmond*, brother to the Trayterous Earl, hath his place given him: fights the *Engliſh*, aſſiſted with the Popes hallowed Banner, but is routed; and in this conflict *Allan* the Prieſt, who had aſſured them of Victory, is ſlain. And now was the Earl of *Deſmond* proclaim'd Traytor, for having dealt with Forraign Princes for the Conqueſt and deſtruction of *Ireland*, for relieving *Sanders*, *Fitz-Morice*, and other Rebels, for harbouring the *Spaniards*, for hanging the Queens faithful ſubjects, and for diſplaying the Popes Banner againſt the Queen.

(*b*) St. Mary Wick.

The *Italians* and *Spaniards* who had landed at (*b*) *Smerwick* in *Kerry*, under the command of *San-Joſepho* an *Italian*, build there, and ſtrengthen themſelves, and call it *Fort del Or.* Againſt them,

1580.

them, *Arthur* Lord *Grey*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Ormond*, and others, march, and by Trumpet ſends to demand what they were, and what was their buſineſs: they return'd anſwer, That *they were ſent from the Pope and the King of* Spain, *to whom the Pope had given* Ireland, *for that* Elizabeth *had juſtly forfeited her title to the Kingdom by her hereſie; that they would keep what they had got, and get more if they could.* But a few days cool'd their courage, they being forced to yeild upon mercy: the Chieftains are ſaved, but the reſt ſuffer death; which the Queen her ſelf thought too ſevere, though the Lord *Grey* offer'd ſome reaſons for it. 1500.

As for *Nicolas Sanders*, ſeeing that neither the Popes bleſſing, nor his conſecrated Banner, nor his Legatine power, nor his forraign Aſſociates, nor the Native Rebels, could prevail againſt the Queen and her Subjects, he rambled up and down for his own ſecurity in Mountains and Woods, looſing himſelf and his ſences too (for ſome ſay he fell *(a)* mad) thus finding no comfort, dyed miſerably. When he was dead, there was found in his Scrip ſome Prayers and Epiſtles written to confirm the Rebels, ſtuft up with great promiſes of the Pope and *Spaniard*. *(b) Philip Oſullevan*, tells us of his death, and how it was ſuddain, and that he was privately buryed; and of one *Cornelius*, whom he calls a Biſhop: to all which I ſhall object nothing, but that it is no honour for *Sanders* to be commended by *Oſullevan*; which *Iriſh* Story-teller, as bold as ignorant, falls as impertinent a Scribler, as ever yet hath ſeriouſly troubled the world with the *Iriſh* Purgatory, or a defence of their Rebellions. To conclude with *Sanders*, *(c) Edward Riſhton* the Prieſt will confeſs to you, what ſtraits and poverty he was reduced to before his death; which methinks *Oſullevan*'s Father and other men of note would not have permitted, had they fully known of his haunts.

a *Cambd.* Annales an. 1583. Biſhop *Charltons* thankful Remembrance, *cap.* 5. *pag.* 49. The execution of juſtice D. III.

b Hiſt. Cathol. *Iberniæ, Tom.* 2. *lib.* 4. *cap.* 16.

c Epiſt. ad Lectorem *before* Sander's *his book* de Origine & progreſſu Schiſmatis *Anglicani.*

As for Pope *Gregory* XIII, he was not wanting on his part to promote and patronize the Rebellion, as appears by his *Breves* to them, wherein he exhorts the *Fitz-Geralds*, and the reſt of the *Iriſh Romaniſts*, to war ſtoutly againſt the Queen and her Subjects: and the better to encourage them in ſo doing, he grants them as plenary a pardon and remiſſion of all their ſins, as formerly uſed to be granted to thoſe who fought againſt the *Turks*, or ventured in the recovery of the *Holy land*. One of the Papers takes as followeth, as I find it.

Gregorius Papa XIII, Univerſis & ſingulis Achiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, cæteriſq; Prelatis, nec non Principibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Clero, Nobilibus & Populis Regni *Iberniæ*, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. *Phil. Oſullevan.* ib. cap. 17. fol. 100. 101.

CUm proximis ſuperioribus annis per noſtras Litteras vos hortati fuerimus, ut ad veſtram libertatem recuperandam, eamq; adverſus Hæreticos tuendam, ac conſervandam bonæ memoriæ Jacobo Geraldino, *qui durum ſervitutis jugus vobis ab* Anglis *Sanctæ* Rom. Eccleſ. *deſertoribus impoſitum depellere ſummo animi ardore cogitabat, pro virili noſtra adeſſe eumq; contra Dei & veſtros hoſtes*

1500. *hoſtes ire parantem prompte ac ſtrenue adjuvare velletis, & quo id alacrius effeceretis, omnibus contritis & confeſſis, qui ipſum* Jacobum *Ducem ejuſq; exercitum Catholicæ fidei aſſertorem & propugnatorem ſecuti fuiſſent, & ſe illi adjunxiſſent, aut concilio favore commeatibus, armis aliiſq; bellicis rebus, ſeu quacunq; ratione in hac expeditione opem dediſſent,* Plenariam omnium Peccatorum ſuorum Veniam & Remiſſionem, *& eandem quæ proficiſcentibus ad bellum contra* Turcas, *& ad recuperationem Terræ Sanctæ, per* Romanos *Pontifices impertiri ſolita eſt, conceſſimus.*

Nuper autem non ſine gravi animi noſtri dolore, per nos excepto ipſum Jacobum *fortiter cum hoſtibus dimicando (ſicut Domino placuit) occubuiſſe: Dilectum vero filium* Johannem Geraldinum *ejus Conſobrinum in expeditione hujuſmodi eximia pietate & animi magnitudine, authore Deo, cujus cauſa agitur, ſucceſſiſſe, compluraq; egregia facinora de Catholica fide bene merendo jam ediditſe: idcirco vos omnes & ſingulos majori quo poſſumus affectu hortamus, requirimus, & urgemus in Domino, ut eundem* Johannem *Ducem ejuſq; exercitum omni ope, quemadmodum dictum* Jacobum *viventem ut faceretis, vos admonuimus, contra dictos Hæreticos adjuvare ſtudeatis.*

Nos enim vobis omnibus confeſſis & Communicatis & veſtrum ſingulis in dictis litteris contenta pro ipſo Johanne *& ejus exercitu facientibus, & poſt ipſius obitum ſi forſitan contigerit, quod Deus avertere dignetur,* Jacobo *ejus fratri adhærentibus atq; faventibus,* Eandem Plenariam Peccatorum veſtrorum Indulgentiam & Remiſſionem, *quam adverſus* Turcas *& pro recuperanda* Terra Sancta *bellentes conſequuntur, de Omnipotentis Dei miſericordia, ac Beatorum* Petri & Pauli *Apoſtolorum, ejus authoritate confiſi tribuimus, & elargimur præſentibus, quoad dicti* Johannes & Jacobus *fratres vixerint duraturis.*

Quoniam autem difficile eſſet, has noſtras Litteras ad omnium quorum intereſt, notitiam pervenire, volumus, ut earum exemplis etiam impreſſis manu Notarii Publici ſubſcriptis, ſigilloq; perſonæ in dignitate Eccleſiaſtica conſtitutæ obſignatis, plena ac certa fides ubiq; habeatur, ac ſi præſentes eſſent exhibitæ vel oſtenſæ.

Datis *Romæ* apud Sanctum, *Petrum* ſub *Annulo Piſcatoris*, die XIII *Maii*, MDLXXX, Pontificatis noſtri anno VIII°.

Cæſ. Glorierius.

Viſæ per D. Generalem S. Cruciata Commiſſariorum Johannes *de la Rumbide.*

As for *Deſmond* (the chief of the *Fitz-Geralds*) having run ſo far into Treaſon, and ſo reſolved for his wicked cauſe, that he ſwore that ---- *He would rather forſake God then forſake his men:* ---

1583. And having no where to ſecure himſelf, he wandred from place to place, and was at laſt found out in a poor Cottage by a common Souldier, who there ſhew him, cut off his head, ſent it

it into *England*, where, as the Head of an Arch-Traytor, it was ſet on (*a*) *London-bridge*. 1590.

a *Decemb.* 13.

Now was Sir *John Perot* ſent over Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*: having received the Sword according to cuſtom, he ſet himſelf to bring the Nation wholly unto the Queens obedience; he juſtly proſecuted a Fryar, for bringing Letters and Bulls from the Pope to encourage the Rebellion, and hunted him out of his Biſhoprick, which the Fryar fooliſhly thought he had lawful right to, and poſſeſſion of, becauſe the Pope and ſuch Forraign powers had given him a paper-Authority under their fiſts, to enter into and exerciſe the charge and juriſdiction of the ſaid Biſhoprick. MS. life of Sir *John Perot*.

He alſo ſummoned a Parliament at *Dublin* conſiſting of the *three Eſtates*, whither [to make them more affected with decency, and in time to wean them from their rudeneſs] he commanded all to appear in *Engliſh* Habits; for the better performance of which, he freely beſtowed both Gowns and Cloaks of Velvet and Satten on *Turlough Leinigh*, call'd *O-Neal*, and others the chief of them; yet did the *Iriſh* think themſelves more glorious in their beggerly Mantles or Ruggs, then in ſuch Gentile and Civil Habits; cuſtom weighing more with ſome men, then reaſon or convenience; as *Coorse*, and the reſt of his Country-men in the Bay of *Souldania*, neer the Cape of *Good hope* in *Africa*, had rather adorn their heads with Cows-dung, their Necks with Guts and Garbage, and their bodies with filthy skins, then wear Hats, Jewels, and other comely Attire. 1585. Id. MS.

The Queen, to work more upon the *Iriſh*, wink'd at their Religion, and commanded that the *Oath of Allegiance* ſhould not be offer'd or adminiſtrated to any of them; and farther, reſtored *Hugh O-Neal* Baron of *Dunganon* to the Title of *Tyr-Oen*, and thoſe of his Anceſtors: yet would not theſe favours gain them; the Chieftains ſtill expecting aſſiſtance from *Spain*; to be better informed of which, Sir *John Perrot* kept ſeveral ſpies in that Kingdom; four of whom were once taken and put to the Rack by the Marqueſs *Santa la Cruſſe*, whereof three of them dyed. Id. MS.

To name all the Tumults and Rebellions that hapned in the ſeveral parts of this Kingdom, would be tedious; the landings of the *Hebredian Scots*, *High-landers* or *Redſhanks*; the riſing up of the *a Bourghs*, the *Mahones*, of *Brien O-Rork*, of *Hugh O-Donnel*, of *Mac-Guire*, of *O-Madan*, of *Mac-Hugh*, and ſeveral others. Nor ſhall I mention the famous exploits acted againſt them by Sir *Richard Bingham* (of *Dorcetſhire*) and ſeveral others, to bring them to obedience.

In ſhort, the Arch-Rebel of all was *Tir-Oen*, one that had received both pardon and many favours from the Queen, and had ſeveral times vowed obedience to her. He had for ſome time kept himſelf outwardly pretty fair, but in the mean time perſwaded all the reſt to Rebellion. And at laſt himſelf fleeth out too, and boldly arrogates to himſelf the Title of *O-Neal* (a Title that the *Iriſh* have the higheſt Reverence for) though he had formerly ſworn never to do any ſuch thing, and by Act of Parliament at *Dublin* it was declared Treaſon to take up that Title. 1593.

The next year *Tir-Oen* ſubmitteth himſelf on his Knees to Sir *William Ruſſel* (youngeſt ſon to *Bedford*) then Lord Deputy of *Ireland* 1594.

1500. *Ireland*, and ſo he was diſmiſs'd. But this good out-ſide laſted not long, preſently flying out to open Rebellion, ſeiſing on what places he can; for which he was proclaimed Traytor, by the Name of *Hugh O-Neal*, Son of *Matthew* (a) *Fadareugh*, Baſtard to *Con O-Neal*, &c. *Tir-Oen* with one hand begs aſſiſtance from *Spain*; with the other, with falſe Treaties, and a diſſembling tongue, cheats Sir *John Norris* the famous (but in *Ireland* too credulous) Souldier, and the Lord Deputy, by which he got another pardon.

a *i. e.* The Blackſmith. *Matthew* being ſuppoſed to be the ſon of a Blackſmith of *Dundalke*: yet *Con* was acquainted with his wife.

But the ſame month that he got his pardon, he fleeth out again to his old trade, and carryed his buſineſs ſo cunningly, that he got many followers, ſeveral Provinces and places revolting to him; nor did there appear any able to oppoſe him. Thus in his pride he writes to the *Spaniards*, wherein he magnified his own Victories, and withal deſired the King, that if any ſhould inform him, as if he deſired to make peace with the *Engliſh*, or ſubmit to the Queen, not to believe ſuch reports, for that he was reſolved againſt all ſuch Treaties or Submiſſion, but would conſtantly keep his faith given to the *Spaniard*. And yet at the mean time, the more to amuſe the *Engliſh*, he did both by Letters and Meſſengers intercede to be taken into pardon once again. But this was upon capitulations, where his extravagant demands ſhew'd the intention of the man.

1596.

1598.

1599. The next year *Robert d' Eureux*, Earl of *Eſſex*, being Lord Deputy, he and *Tir-Oen* had too much diſcourſe and familiarity together, and clapt up an odd Truce for ſome time; ſo *Eſſex* returns for *England*, is ſecured, tryed, condemn'd and executed. In which (*b*) conſpiracie were alſo ingaged M. *Catesby*, *Treſham*, *Thomas Winter*, the two *Wrights*, and *Grant*, who afterwards ſuffer'd in the Gunpowder-Treaſon. In the mean time *Tir-Oen* takes opportunity to break the Ceſſation, falls to open war; to which he was incouraged by the promiſes of the *Spaniards*, and the Letter of the Pope: and thus puft up, he looks upon himſelf as Monarch of all *Ireland*, and ſo makes *James Fitz-Thomas* Earl of *Deſmond*, as one who was a profeſt enemy to the *Engliſh* Government, but ſlave enough to the *Spaniard*, though he hated his own Queen, as appears by his ſlaunders againſt her, and his reſpect to *Philip*; both which theſe following Letters will teſtifie.

b Proteſtants Plea and Petition for Prieſts and Papiſts, *pag.* 58.

MS. F. 97. *Land.* in Bibl. *Bodl. Oxon.* fol. 180.

To the moſt Mighty Monarch of World, the Great King of *Spain*, give this at his Princely Palace of *Madril*.

Moſt Mighty Monarch,

I *Humbly ſalute your Imperial Majeſty, giving your Highneſs to underſtand of our great miſery, and violent order wherewith we are of long time oppreſt by the* Engliſh *Nation: Their Government is ſuch, as* Pharaoh *himſelf never uſed the like; for they content not themſelves with all Temporal Superiority, but by cruelty deſire our bloud, and perpetual deſtruction, to blot out the whole remembrance of our Poſterity, as alſo our old Catholick Religion, and to ſwear that the Queen of* England *is Supreme of the Church.*

1

I refer the conſideration thereof to your Majeſties high judge- 1500.
ment, the rather, for that Nero *in his time was far inferiour to this Queen in cruelty. Wherefore, and for the reſpects thereof, Right Mighty Potentate, my ſelf, with my followers and retainers, and being alſo requeſted by the Biſhops, Prelates and Religious men of my Country, have drawn my Sword, and proclaimed Wars againſt them for the recovery firſt of* Chriſts *Catholick Religion, and next for the maintenance of my own Right, which of long time hath been wrongfully detained from me and my Father, who by right ſucceſſion was lawful heir to the Earldom of* Deſmond; *for he was eldeſt ſon to* James *my Grandfather, alſo Earl of* Deſmond: *and for that my Uncle* Gerald (*being the younger Brother*) *took part with the wicked proceedings of the Queen of* England, *to farther the unlawful claim of Supremacy, uſurped the name of Earl of* Deſmond *in my Fathers true Title; yet notwithſtanding, he had not long enjoyed his name of Earl, when the wicked* Engliſh *annoyed him, and proſecuted Wars, that he with the moſt part of thoſe that held of his ſide was ſlain, and his Country thereby planted with* Engliſhmen. *And now by the juſt judgement and providence of God, I have utterly rooted theſe Malepart* (a) *bowſe out of the Orchard of my Country, and have profited ſo much in my proceedings, that my daſterly Enemies dare not ſhew their faces in any part of my Country; but having taken my Towns and Cities for their refuge and ſtrength, where they do remain, as it were Priſoner, for want of means to aſſail them, as Cannon and Powder, which my Country cannot yeild.*

a Boughs.

Having theſe wants, moſt noble Potentate, I have preſumed with all humility, to addreſs theſe my Letters to your High Majeſty, craving the ſame of your gracious clemency and goodneſs, to aſſiſt me in this godly enterpriſe, with ſome help of ſuch neceſſaries for the Wars, as your Majeſty ſhall think requiſite; and (after the quiet of my Country) ſatisfaction ſhall be truely made for the ſame, and my ſelf in perſon, with all my forces, ſhall be ready to ſerve your Highneſs, in any Country your Majeſty ſhall command me.

And if your Majeſty will vouchſafe to ſend me a competent number of Souldiers, I will place them in ſome of my Towns and Cities, to remain in your gracious diſpoſition, till ſuch time as my ability ſhall make good what your Majeſty ſhall lend me in money and Munition: and alſo your Majeſties high Commiſſion under the Broad Seal for leading and conducting theſe Souldiers, according to the Preſcript, Order and Articles of martial diſcipline, as your Majeſtie ſhall appoint me, and as the ſervice of this Land ſhall require. I praiſe the Almighty God, I have done by his goodneſs, more then all my Predeceſſors; for I have reclaim'd all the Nobility of this part of Ireland, *under the dutiful obedience of Chriſts Church, and mine own Authority; and accordingly have taken Pledges and Corporal Oaths, never to ſwerve from the ſame: and would have ſent them to your Majeſtie by this Bearer, but that the Ship was not of ſufficiencie nor ſtrength to carrie ſo Noble Perſonages; and will ſend them whenſoever your Highneſs pleaſe.*

So there reſteth nothing to quiet this part of the World, but your Majeſties aſſiſtance, which I daily expect. Thus, moſt Mighty

1600. *Monarch, I humbly take my leave, and do kiſs your Royal hands, beſeeching the Almighty of your Majeſties health and happineſs.*

From my Camp the XIV. of *March*, MDXCIX.

Your Majeſties moſt humble at all command,

Copia vera concordans cum Originali, examinat. per Tho. White *Major of* Waterford.

James Deſmond.

Another Letter of the ſame date.

To the moſt mighty Monarch of the World, the Great King of *Spain*, give theſe at his moſt Princely Palace at *Madrid*.

MS. F 97. fol. 188.

YOur Majeſty ſhall underſtand, that the Bearer hereof Captain Andrew Roche, *hath been always in the ſervice of the Queen of* England, *and hath performed her manifold ſervices at Sea: whereby he had great preferment and credit; and being of late time converſant with Catholicks, and Teachers of Divine Inſtructions, that were ſorry for his lewd life, made known unto him the danger wherein his ſoul was. So that by their godly perſwaſions, he was at that time reclaimed and converted to be a good Catholick, and to ſpend the reſidue of his life in the defence and ſervice of the Church. Since which time of reconcilement, he was to repair to your Majeſty with his Ship and Goods, as 'tis well known to your Highneſs Council, who confiſcated that Ship to your Majeſties uſe; himſelf being at that time ſtricken with extream ſickneſs, that he was not able to proceed in the Voyage: and when his company return'd into* Ireland, *they reported that the* (a) Lantado *wiſhed rather his Perſon then his Ship; which made him fearful ever ſince to repair thither, till he ſhould deſerve his freedom by ſome worthy ſervice to your Majeſty.*

a *Adelantado*, or the *Spaniſh Admiral.*

The (b) Heir Apparent *to the Crown of* England, *had been carryed by him to your Highneſs, but that he was bewrayed by ſome of his own men, and thereby was intercepted, and himſelf taken priſoner, where he remain'd ſo long, till by the providence of God, and the help of good friends, he was convey'd into* Ireland *to me in a ſmall boat; and having theſe occaſions to your Majeſty, and being aſſured of his truſt, faith, and confidence towards me, have committed this charge into his hands; the rather, for that I underſtand your Royal Fleet is directed for* England *this year, to the end he may be a Leader and Conductor to them in the Coaſt of* England *and* Ireland, *being very expert in the knowledge thereof, and in the whole Art of Navigation. And thus with all humility I commit your Highneſs to the Almighty.*

b Let ſome *Romaniſt* tell us the meaning of this, for none was Heir but King *James* VI. of *Scotland*, and afterwards the firſt of *England*.

From my Camp the XIV. of *March*, MDLXXXXIX.

Your Majeſties moſt humble at all command,

Copia vera concordans cum Originali, examinat. per Tho. White, *Mayor of* Waterford.

James Deſmond.

Theſe

1500.

These two Letters you may ſee in the honourable (a) Sir *George Carew*, afterwards Earl of *Totnes*; but with ſome miſtakes by the Printer; wherefore, I have followed the Authentick Manuſcript Copies whence he took his. And thus much for the troubles in *Ireland*, till we come to the next Century.

a *Pacata Hibernia, lib. 2. cap. 3. pag. 142, 143, 144, 145.*

Though here it may not be amiſs to add, that ſeveral of the *Iriſh* Nobility (either by the Queens or their own inſtigations) conveyed themſelves over to be Inſtructed in our *Engliſh* Universities; as *Richard Bourke*, Baron of *Dunkellyn*, ſtudies at *Chriſt-Church*; after this his Brother *Thomas*, Baron of *Dunkellyn*, at *Magdalen* Colledge: *Bernard Orwoirk*, a Knights ſon of *Conaught*, at *New-colledge*; and *Thadeus Bryan*, an Earls ſon, at *Lincolne* Colledge in *Oxford*: and in *Cambridge* I finde the Lord (b) *Dunboy's* ſon at *Trinity* Colledge, under the Tuition of the then Dr. *Whitgift*, afterwards the careful and worthy Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. So at the beginning of King *James* his Raign, *Henry O Brian*, Baron of *Bryken*, and his younger Brother *Brian O Brian*, entred themſelves together in *Brazen-Noſe* Colledge in *Oxford*.

MS. Matricula Antiqua Univerſ. *Oxon.*

b Sir *George Paule's* life of Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, p. 17. & 35.

Thus was the Kingdom of *Ireland*, by the well bringing up of their Nobility, deſigned to be well civiliz'd, that they might the more appear like men and Chriſtians: which would the better oblige them to their Queen and her Government.

This makes it convenient to nurture up your very Enemies (the better to reclaim them) in Religion, Learning and Morality. But Sir *John Perot* was out in his Politicks, when he taught the *Iriſh* the uſe of Arms, whereby they afterwards became more formidable to the *Engliſh*, and put them to far greater troubles and ſtraits to reduce them to obedience.

The end of the Sixth Book.

A CONTINUATION OF THE REBELLIONS AND Treasonable practices OF THE ROMANISTS IN ENGLAND:

From the year MD, to MDC.

Book VII.

Chap. I.

The Supreme HEAD of the Church, King Henry VIII, *declared deprived of his Dominions.*

BEing now come to *England*, here we might finde matter enough of the Papal malice, to make up a large Volume: but herein we must studie brevity; and in so doing, leave the particular Relation of Fights and Tumults, to other Writers. 1500.

But first a word by the by concerning *Henry* VIII, who procured to himself a great deal of ill will, by declaring himself an absolute King over all his Subjects, by being *Supreme Head* under Christ, both of Church and State within his Dominions

At this many of his Subjects boyl, and grew scrupulous; would finde

1500. finde many faults which were neither made nor intended, and ſo cry down what was never ſet up. Queen *Elizabeth* willing to give them content, left out the word *Head*, (which was the main word they ſtarted at) and was call'd the---(a) *Supream Governour of this Realm, and of all other her Highneſs Dominions and Countries, as well in Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical things or cauſes, as Temporal.* And in the form for *Bidding* Prayers, thus---(b) *Supreme Governour of this Realm, as well in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal.*

a 1 *Elizabetha* cap. 1.

b Q. *Eliz.* Injunctions *anno* 1559.

At this the *Romaniſts* not onely took exceptions, but falſely ſpread abroad, that by this Title, the Kings or Queens of *England* took upon them to be in (c) *Holy Orders*, might adminiſter the *Sacraments*, and had *Sacerdotal* Qualifications and Authority.

c Adeo quidem, ut multi putarint *Elizabetham* poſſe ſibi ex hoc decreto omnem etiam in adminiſtrandis Sacramentis ſacerdotalem poteſtatem arrogari. *Sanders* de ſchiſmate *Anglicano*, lib. 3. pag. 323. & vid. *pag.* 316, 317. Inſomuch, as if He, (*i. e.* the King) pleaſeth, he may himſelf exerciſe all theſe Functions perſonally. *Reflections upon the Oaths of Supremacie and Allegiance*, pag 11. Edit. 1661.

To take away this Rub, and the better to ſatisfie the people, the Queen and her Convocation publiſhed this following Interpretation.

An Admonition to ſimple men, deceived by Malitious.

Q. *Eliz.* Injunctions, 1559.

THe Queens Majeſty being informed, that in certain places of the Realm, ſundry of her Native Subjects, being call'd Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtry of the Church, be by ſiniſter perſwaſion, and perverſe conſtruction, induced to finde ſome ſcruple in the form of an Oath, which by an Act of the laſt Parliament is preſcribed to be required of divers perſons for the Recognition of their Allegiance *to her Majeſty, which certainly never was ever meant, nor by any equitie of words or good ſence can be thereof gathered: would that all her loving ſubjects ſhould underſtand, that nothing was, is, or ſhall be meant, or intended by the ſame Oath, to have any other Duty, Allegiance, or Bond required by the ſame Oath, then was acknowledged to be due to the moſt Noble Kings of famous memorie, King* Henry *the* VIII. *her Majeſties Father, or King* Edward *the* VI. *her Majeſties Brother.*

And farther her Majeſtie forbiddeth all manner her Subjects to give ear or credit to ſuch perverſe and malicious perſons, which moſt ſiniſterlie and maliciouſlie labour to notifie to her loving Subjects, how by words of the ſaid Oath it may be collected, that the Kings or Queens of this Realm, Poſſeſſors of the Crown, may challenge Authoritie and Power of Miniſtrie of Divine Service in the Church; wherein her ſaid Subjects be much abuſed by ſuch evil diſpoſed perſons.

For certainlie her Majeſtie neither doth, nor ever will challenge any Authoritie, then that was challenged and latelie uſed by the ſaid Noble Kings of famous Memorie, King Henry *the* VIII, *and King* Edward *the* VI, *which is, and was of ancient time due to the Imperial Crown of this Ream, that is under God to have the Soveraigntie and Rule over all manner of perſons born within theſe her Realms, Dominions and Countries, of what Eſtate, either Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, ſoever they be; ſo as no other*

For-

Forraign Power ſhall or ought to have any Superioritie over them. 1500.

And if any perſon that hath conceived any other ſence of the form of the ſaid Oath, ſhall accept the ſame Oath with this Interpretation, ſence or meaning, her Majeſtie is well pleaſed to accept everie ſuchin that behalf, as her good and obedient Subjects, and ſhall acquit them of all manner of Penalties contained in the ſaid Act, againſt ſuch as ſhall peremptorilie or obſtinatelie take the ſame Oath.

And as if this were not authentick enough, ſhe took care that this interpretation of hers, ſhould be confirm'd by Act of Parliament, in this following *Proviſo.*

Provided alſo, that the Oath expreſſed in the ſaid Act, made in the ſaid firſt year, ſhall be taken and expounded in ſuch form, as it ſet forth in an Admonition annexed to the Queens Majeſties Injunctions, *publiſhed in the firſt year of her Majeſties Reign: that is to ſay, to confeſs and acknowledge in her Majeſtie, her Heirs and Succeſſors, none other Authoritie then that was challenged, and lately uſed by the Noble King* Henry *the eighth, and King* Edward *the Sixth, as in the ſaid Admonition more plainly may appear.* V Elizabetha, cap. 1.

And as if this were not ſatisfactory, ſhe provided to have the Interpretation of this Oath thus inſerted amongſt our Articles of Religion, thereby the better to demonſtrate how far we are from giving any Prieſtly Function to our Soveraigns.

XXXVII.

Of the Civil Magiſtrates.

THe Queens Majeſtie hath the chief Power in this Realm of England, *and other her Dominions, unto whom the Chief Government of all Eſtates of this Realm, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, in all Caſes doth appertain; and is not, nor ought to be ſubject to any Forraign Juriſdiction.* Articles of Religion, anno 1562. Art. 37.

Where we attribute to the Queens Majeſtie the Chief Government, by which Titles we underſtand the mindes of ſome dangerous folke to be offended: We give not our Princes the Miniſtring, either of Gods Word, or of the Sacraments; *the which thing the* Injunctions *alſo lately ſet forth by* Elizabeth *our Queen, do moſt plainly teſtifie: But that onely Prerogative which we ſee to have been given always to all Godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himſelf, that is, that they ſhould Rule all Eſtates and Degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, and reſtrain with the Civil Sword the ſtubborn and evil Doers. The Biſhop of* Rome *hath no juriſdiction in this Realm of* England. *The Laws of the Realm may puniſh Chriſtian men with death, for heinous and grievous offences. It is lawful for Chriſtian men, at the Commandment of the Magiſtrate, to wear weapons, and ſerve in the Wars.* Taken out of King *Edward* VI. his Articles, anno 1552. of Civil Magiſtrates.

And

1509. And with these agree the Articles agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops in (a) Convocation at *Dublin*, for the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

a *Anno* 1615. & 57,58,59, 60,61,62.

And because at the present, I cannot remember any Historian to have taken notice of it, I shall assure the Reader of one Passage concerning a Convocation of Divines.

In King *James* his time, the *Romanists* on the one hand were so busie and zealous to advance the Popedom over all Principalities and Powers, that the Crown it self must be disposed according to the pleasure of that *Myter*: And on the other hand, the *Presbyterian* Hot-spurs were so rigorously malepart, that they would advance their seditious and blockish *Assemblies*, or rather *Conventicles*, above all Law, Reason, Loyalty, Royalty, and Divinity it self; as appears by their continual countenancing of Rebellion and Schism against their Kings and Bishops.

The first kept a great deal of clutter with St. *Peter* and his Successors; the latter despis'd both him and all Bishops. The first would prove out of the Prophet (b) *Jeremy*, that the Pope was set--- *Over the Nations, and over the Kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant.*--- The latter affirm'd that they were---- (c) *To binde their Kings with chains, and their Nobles with fetters of Iron.* The first would tell us that the Pope (d) *had two swords*, That *all must be obedient to him upon pain of damnation*; that he *excels a King as much as the Sun doth the Moon*, or (e) *Gold doth Lead*: That (f) *God hath delivered to him the Power and Rule, not onely of Earth, but of Heaven too.* Nay, that (g) *he was above all Power both of Heaven and Earth.* The latter despised all these *Rodomontado's*, as coming from the Whore of *Babylon*, and the Horned Beast; but would fright the poor People out of their little wits, by bauling out a ---- *Curse ye* Meroz, *curse ye bitterly the Inhabitant thereof; because they came not to the help of the Lord; to the help of the Lord against the Mighty.* And with this they would carry on their Cause and Presbytery.

b Jer. 1.10. *Extrav. Com.* c. unam sanctam. Greg. *de Major & obed.* c. solitæ.

c Psal. 149.8

d Extra. 16.

e Dist. 96. c. *duo sunt.*

f Extra. *Joh.* XXII. Tit. 5. & dist 22. c. *omnes* Gloss.

g Concil. Edit. Regia *Paris*, Tom. 34. pag. 440.

Judg. 5.23.

Regal Authority being thus designed to be nois'd and push'd down, it wanted not many famous and Learned Champions, as well here as beyond Seas. Nor would King *James* himself be onely a Spectator in this Pen-Combat, but he also falls to work; and slighting the railing Rabble, and inferiour *Pickeerers*, he assaults and vindicates his Right against their greatest Cardinal; who at first durst not incounter his Royal Aversary in his own shape, but under the disguise of *Tortus*.

In the mean time, a *Synod* being held in the time of that vigilant and industrious Prelate Archbishop *Bancroft*, to the Reverend Divines there met, was presented a large Tract containing XXXVI Chapters, to prove the Soveraignty of Kings and Chief Civil Governours, above the High-Priests, from the Creation, to the end of the *Jewish* State; which being read in the *Convocation*, was wholly approved of by joynt consent. And then being sent down to *York*, it also past the *Convocation* there, as appears by the Subscriptions to the said Treatise of Constitutions in vindication of Regal Supremacie.

MS.

'Tis said, that there was a second part of it, to prove the same Authority and Supremacie, from *Christ* to these times; but whether

ther there was any ſuch ſecond part, or whether it paſt the ſaid *Convocation*, I ſhall leave to others inquiry. 1500

And by the way, the Reader, if he pleaſeth for variety ſake, may take our XXXVII Article, as it (with the reſt) was turn'd into *Latine* Verſe, neer threeſcore years ago by one Mr. *John Glanvil* of the Univerſity of *Oxford*.

Obtinet Imperium Majeſtas Regia ſummum
Angliacis ejus finibus, atq; aliis:
Cujus in omnimodis ſacrata potentia cauſis
Omnibus (ut par eſt) imperat Ordinibus:
Sive Sacerdotes ſint, ſeu Civilia tractent
Munia, nec peregri eſt ſubjicienda foro.
Nos ubi Principibus primas damus, inde ſiniſtris
Mentibus anſa ſui Schiſmatis eſſe ſolet.
Non tamen æternum datur illis copia verbum,
Sive miniſtrandi Pignora ſacra Dei.
Legibus hoc patuit quas Elizabetha *beati*
Nominis, auſpicio condidit anteſuo.
Tale ſed Imperium noſtris concedimus, olim
Quale piis tribuit Regibus ipſe Deus:
Nempe gradus hominum ſoli dominentur in omnes,
Quos Dominus proprio ſubdidit Imperio,
Quos vel publica res capit, aut Eccleſia cunctos
Civiliq; queant enſe donare malos.
Non habet Imperium Romanus Epiſcopus ullum,
Finibus (O felix terra Britanne) tuis.
Jura Poteſtatem Civilia gentis in omnes
Impia patrantes Crimina mortis habent.
Ferre (Magiſtratus ſi juſſerit) arma vel ipſis
Chriſticolis, etiam bella ciere licet.

To which the Poet afterwards ſubjoyns theſe following Verſes.

Subditus in proprium miſer ut ferat arma Monarcham
Quem feriet bruto fulmine *Papa jubet;*
Non ita (a) Cæſareas *abrupit* Chriſtus (b) *habenas,*
Papa tamen Chriſti *geſtit habere vices,*
Falſo, nam pedibus tenebrarum (c) *Principis inſtat*
(d) *Omnia qui mendax ſe dare Regna refert.*
India *magniloquo dives ſic ceſſit* (e) Ibero
Hoc tulit inviſum jure Navarra *jugum.*
Barbarus inſulſum ſed Rex (f) Atabaliba *Papam*
Riſit, & Inſanit Papa ſuperbus ait.
Regna dat ignotis qui ſic aliena Dynaſtis,
Excidit Imperio ſed tamen ille ſuo.
Heu quantas peperit Papa Donatio ſtrages!
Millia (g) *nudorum quot cecidere virum!*
Exuit humanum crudeli ex pectore mentem,
Qui legit & falſis temperat à lachrimis,
Qualiter innocuos affixit Celtiber Indos,
Sed penes Hiſtoricos ſint ea Lecta ſuos.

a Mat. 12. 17.
b Matt. 17 27.
c Epheſ 6. 21.
d Luc. 4. 6.
e Ex donatione *Alexandri* VI. *Guicard.* lib. 1.
f *Lop. Gomar.* cap. 113.
g *Joſeph Acoſta*, lib. 4. cap. 3. *Bar. de Caſao*, Epiſc. This laſt, viz. *Barthomæus Caſaus* a Godly *Spaniard*, and a Dominican, and *Confeſſor* to the Emperor *Charles* V, went into the *Weſt-Indies* to preach the Chriſtian Religion amongſt thoſe people. And did write (*anno* 1542) a particular Treatiſe to ſhew the barbarous cruelty, and abominable Inhumanity of his Countrymen againſt thoſe poor, naked and ſimple *Americans*. The which bloudy Butcheries are ſcarce to be parallel'd in all Hiſtories.

1500. Thus we ſee, that by the foreſaid Articles, neither our Kings, nor the Church, never intended any Spiritual Power (and yet I know no reaſon, but that a King or Queen may enjoy as much as ſome Female *Romaniſts, viz.* their *Lady Abbeſſes*) but onely a Civil juriſdiction, and a coercive Power, for the better Regulating their Dominions againſt home-bred Traytors and Forraign Enemies, as you have ſeen it here interpretated: and not onely our (*a*) *Thomas Rogers* and (*b*) *Chr. Cartwright* will inform you farther of it, but alſo ſome *Romaniſts* themſelves, as one lately in his (*c*) *Reflections upon the Oaths of Supremcie and Allegiance.* Another more ancient, deſignedly written in *Latine* againſt the Book call'd *God and the King*: the *Romaniſt* book is alſo call'd (*d*) *Deus & Rex.* And Father *Caron*, a true ſon to the Papal Chair, is unwilling to boggle at this (*e*) *Supreme Title*, as people have formerly done. And it is not the Sex that ſpoils the buſineſs; (*f*) Queens being capable of, and do enjoy all juriſdictions and Qualifications that Kings do.

a His Notes upon the 37 Article.
b Certamen Religioſum, *p.* 159.
c Cap 6. pag. 25, 26, 27, 28, &c.
d Edit. *Colon.* 1619. *pag.* 48, 49.
e Nos enim Regem ſolum, noſtrum & Eccleſiæ *Britanniæ* & *Hiberniæ* caput eſſe Civile; Supremumq; Gubernatorem agnoſcimus, nec aliud Rex ipſe prætendit, aut Proteſtantes reipſa volunt. *Redmund. Caron.* Remonſtrantia *Hibernorum*, part V. pag. 64. & 4.
f 1 *Mar.* 2 *Parl.*

But enough concerning this *Oath of Supremacie*; which was one of the main things that vext the Pope, ſuppoſing by this his own Authority and gain ſtruck at: and indeed the (*g*) *Romaniſts* confeſs that *Henry* VIII. retain'd all the Articles of the *Roman* Church but this one, and dyed in their Religion.

g — Poſt Divortium, niſi quod Pontificiam Poteſtatem execratus, ſe Caput Eccleſiæ conſtituit, nihil in Religione mutavit. *Jac. Aug. Thuan* Hiſt. *lib* 3. —— *In which Religion* [*i.e.* the *Roman*] *the King dyed.* Tho. Baily's *life of* John Fiſher, *Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *cap.* 21. *pag.* 164. —— Hæreſes pænè omnes, præter illam quæ Romani Pontificis Primatum, & Monaſticas Religiones oppugnabat, cohibuit, & repreſſit. *Nic. Sander.* de Schiſm. *Angl.* lib. 2. pag. 228. *Parſons* converſions of *Engl.* part 1. p. 170, 235, 238, 241, 242, 244, 246. part 2. p. 541. part 3. vol. 2. p. 408.

But let the King think as well as he pleaſeth of his own Authority, the Pope will have as good opinion of his own; and to let King *Henry* ſee how far his juriſdiction reacheth, *Paul* III (*h*) draws up a thundering *Bull* againſt his Majeſty, in which he deprives him of his Dominions: this for ſome time he keeps by him, but at laſt ſent it roaring (*i*) abroad; and what a notable thing it was, Father *Paul*, (one of the moſt judicious Fryars that ever ſet Pen to Paper) ſhall tell you.---- (k) *A terrible thundering Bull, ſuch as never was uſed by his Predeceſſors, nor imitated by his Succeſſors.*

h 30 *Aug.* 1535.
i It was publiſh'd *Decemb.* 17. 1538.
k Hiſt. Concil. of *Trent.* lib. 1. pag. 86.

The thing it ſelf being very long, and as tedious as idle, I ſhall refer you for it to their *Bullaria*; but the ſubſtance of it take as followeth.

IT begins with a Canting or Quaking Preface, (as moſt other *Bulls* do) *odly miſapplying of the Holy Scripture to fob up the Papal power.*

Rants dapperly againſt the King, and his Subjects that obey him.

Interdicts all Cities, Churches, Places, which favour or adhere to him.

Declares Him, his Friends, and their Children deprived of all benefits and priviledges, and uncapable to obtain any.

Ab-

Abſolves all his Subjects from their Oaths of Obedience or Allegiance to him their King. 1500.

Pronounceth that he and his adherents ſhall be held as infamous; their Wills, Teſtimonies, Credits and Authorities not to be of any validity.

Prohibits under Papal puniſhment, to Deal, Trade or have any medling with ſuch wicked people.

Injoynes all Eccleſiaſticks forthwith to avoid the Kings Dominions, nor to return thither but by a Papal Licenſe, upon ſure Certificate of the ſaid Kings repentance and ſubmiſſion.

Commands the Nobility, Gentry, and others to make it their care and buſineſs to expel and depoſe the ſaid Henry *from his Dominions.*

Declares all Leagues, Treaties or Agreements made by the ſaid King, with other Chriſtian Princes, to be null; which if the ſaid Kings and Potentates do not forthwith ſubmit to as void and of none effect, that then their reſpective Territories to lye under Interdiction, and ſo to remain till the ſaid Princes ſhall renounce all Amity and Alliance with the ſaid Henry.

Exhorts and commands all the ſaid Princes and others, by vertue of their obedience, to invade, ſpoil, take Arms and fight againſt the ſaid King, and all thoſe who are ſubject to him. And as for the Goods, Ships and whatſoever elſe they take from the ſaid Engliſh, *He by his Infallible and Papal Authority, giveth to the ſaid takers all right and propriety.*

Willeth all Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops and all other Eccleſiaſticks, under pain of the ſevereſt Cenſures, publickly to declare by Bell, Book and Candle, the ſaid Henry *and all his Adherents Excommunicated.*

Requireth that none under the guilt of the ſame Cenſures any way hinder the publication of this Bull *againſt the King.*

And if any do withſtand, contradict or gainſay by any means, ſignes or tokens whatever this Bull, *that then he or they ſo oppoſing ſhall incur the wrath of Almighty God, and the Bleſſed Apoſtles* Peter *and* Paul.

Dated at *Rome* at St. *Marks*, *anno* 1535. III *d. Kal. Septemb.* In the firſt year of our Popedom.

And that neither King *Henry*, nor any elſe ſhould plead ignorance of theſe things, it was therein provided and commanded that the ſaid *Bull* ſhould be affixed to the doors of the Neighbouring to *England*, or the Kings Dominions; and ſhould be publickly read in the ſaid Churches, eſpecially at *Tornay*, *Bruges* and *Dunkirk*; from which place it was boldly taken down by one *William Locke* a Mercer of *London*.

They were alſo poſted up at *Bolloigne* and *Diepe* in *France*, and St. *Andrews* in *Scotland*: And ſo liberal was his Holyneſs, that by a *Breve* he freely offers *England* to *James* V King of

1500. the *Scots*, promiſing to aſſiſt him in the gaining of it; and for a further incouragement, by his Legat *Giovanni-Antonio Compeggio* preſented him with many Ceremonies, and Apoſtolical Benediction, a *Cap* and a *Sword* newly before Conſecrated on *Chriſtmas*-night.

But for all this, ſturdy King *Harry* (who above all things hated a baffle) kept his Crown, Kingdom and Authority; the *Paper* not putting him to the tenth part of trouble (if it were any at all
1537. to him) as ſome *Northern* Rebels did, who being fob'd up that Chriſt and his Religion were now a throwing down, fell to Arm themſelves with what Weapons they could get. In *Lincolnſhire* their number was ſuppoſed to be about twenty thouſand, who at laſt growing jealous one of another, diſpers'd themſelves; ſome being after taken and executed, amongſt whom was their Ring-reader, being a ſturdie Monk, call'd Doctor *Makerel*, though in this expedition he nominated himſelf Captain *Cobler*.

Yet no ſooner is this ſtifled, when another, and that more terrible, began in *York-ſhire*, and the other *Northern* Counties; their ſtrength ſuppoſed to be about forty thouſand, formed into a compleat Army, not wanting a Train of Artillery. They call'd their March,--- *The holy and bleſſed Pilgrimage*--- and the --- *Pilgrimage of Grace*. On the one ſide of their Banners was painted *Chriſt* hanging on the Croſs: On the other, a *Chalice* with the *Wafer* in it. The Souldiers upon their ſleeves had repreſented the five Wounds of *Chriſt*, and in the midſt the name of *Jeſus*.
[a] De Schiſm. *lib.* 1. *pag.* 155. And thus are they thought to be brave *Roman* Blades (by [a] *Nicholas Sanders*) who would thus take up Arms for their Religion. But for all this, their deſignes came to nothing, being perſwaded upon better advice to creep home again; which troubled *Sanders* ſo much, that he cannot think on this opportunity, without accuſing the King of *Perjury* and *Knavery*.

As for King *Henry* VIII, it fareth with him as with other Princes, moſt ſpeaking of him as their intereſt lay; being honour'd by ſome with as great Commendations as Fancie or Flattery could reach, whilſt by others he was look'd upon as the worſt of Tyrants, and loaded with all the Reproaches and Infamies that Satyr or Malice could invent: for as the worſt of Kings and Actions will never want Flatterers and admirers, ſo the beſt will never eſcape the ſlanders of the envious.

The truth is, though he was Learned above the cuſtom of Princes; yet if ever any man had his faults, our *Henry* had his ſhare to the purpoſe: his *Will* being both *Law* and *Reaſon*, as far as his Dominions reacht; and to contradict his humour, was little leſs then to be next door to another world; and which might make him worſe, was, that amongſt all his Favourites and Courtiers, there was ſcarce any, but either Knave or Flatterer, if not both, ſince 'tis hard to ſeparate them. So that in many things where that King did amiſs, whether he acted them by his own inclinations and judgement, or by the ſuggeſtions and inſtigations of his griping and baſe-ſoul'd Courtiers and Minions, ſhall be left to every ones opinion; nor is it much material where the fault ſhould be laid, being both ſo guilty.

Yet this is certain, that when he followed his own proper *Genius*, viz. *Martial exploits*, none came off with greater glory then himſelf for his perſonal Acts and Valour. And the whole

King-

Kingdom is beholden unto him for the great Fame and Renown 1500.
ſhe gain'd abroad by her Victories and Warlike Atchievements under his conduct. And what cannot *Engliſhmen* do, under an Active and Martial Prince? But in brief, I ſhall not undertake to quit him from that ſhort but comprehenſive Character given him of old, *viz.*--- That *he never ſpared man in his Anger, nor woman in his Luſt.*

As *Henry* VIII was no ſooner ſet in the Throne, but (*a*) *Alexander Barklay* endeavoured to declare his Renown and Vertues; ſo no ſooner was he dead, but one *William Thomas* undertook his Apology. This *Thomas* (as himſelf words it) being *conſtrain'd by misfortune to abandon the place of his Nativity*, meets (after the ſaid Kings death) ſeveral Gentlemen at *Bologna* in *Italy*, againſt whom he enters into diſcourſe [in the Month of (*b*) *February*, in which Month the King was buryed at *Windſore*] in *Defence of that Noble Prince, whoſe honour had been wrongfully toucht*, as he expreſſeth it; which he draweth up into a Treatiſe by way of a Dialogue, which he directed to *Pietro Aretino* the well known *Tuſcan* Poet, as famous for his Satyrical Wit, as infamous for his life and death.

a In his *Engliſh* Tranſlation of Dr. *Sebaſtian Brant's* Stultifera Navis, fol. 205, 206.

b 1545.

This he did, he ſaith, the better to inform the ſaid *Aretine* of the Kings worth; telling him alſo, that the King,---- *Hath remembred thee with an honourable Legacie by his Teſtament; the which his Enemies pretend, proceeded of the fear that he had, leſt thou ſhouldſt after his death defame him.* --

But certain I am, that the King in his *Will* and *Teſtament* maketh no mention of this Poet: ſo in this Mr. *Thomas* was miſinformed; a thing of no great wonder. And that the King ſtood in any fear of *Aretines* writing againſt him, or that *Aretine* intended to write of him, I cannot ſay: but true it is, that though this *Florentine* was no great Clerk, yet in his Mothers Tongue he laid ſo about him, and with that rage and fury, that he was ſtil'd the *Scourge of Princes*; and his Epitaph in St. *Lukes* Church in *Venice* will further tell the Temper of the Fellow; in *Italian* I meet with it thus:

Qui giace l' Aretin *Poeta* Toſco
Chi diſſe mal d' Ognun, fuor che di Dio,
Scuſandoſi, dicendo, n'il conobbi.

But I think it is more true and Authentick thus in *Latine.*

Condit Aretini *cineres lapis iſte ſepultos,*
Mortales atro qui ſale perfricuit:
Intactus Deus eſt illi, cauſamq; rogatus,
Hanc dedit, Ille (*inquit*) non mihi notus erat.

Phil. Labbe Theſaurus Epitaph. *Fran. Sweert.* ſelect. delit. *pag.* 156.

Here th' Poet *Aretine* Intomb'd doth lye,
Who 'gainſt all let his ſpiteful *Paſquins* fly:
But God eſcap'd him, and *why?* being ask'd fro' him;
Thus clear'd himſelf, '*Twas cauſe I did not know him.*

But (*d*) *Joachimus Perionius* will aſſure us, that he neither ſpared the Apoſtles, Chriſt, or God himſelf. As ſome call'd him the *Scourge of Princes*, ſo others intitled him the *Divine*; both which

d Orat. contr *Aretinum.*

1500. which (a) *Sanſovino* tells us, *Arioſtot* thus mentioneth in his *Orlando Furioſo*.

a *Venetia deſcritta.*

Ecco il Flagello ——— ———
De Principi, il Divin Pietro Aretino.

But as for the Title of *Divine* or *Penitent*, I ſee little reaſon he ſhould have them, although there be ſome *Meditations* on the *Penitential Pſalms* carryed about under his name: yet a wicked man may make a good Book, as the greateſt Rebels pretend the moſt Religion; but that he did ever really repent, I am not convinced, becauſe then they would have given him a better *Epitaph*: beſides, the ſtory of his death maketh him then as bad as ever. But enough, if not too much of this.

As concerning the foreſaid *William Thomas*, take as followeth.

1544. He got into *Italy*.

1547. He wrote the foreſaid Dialogue at *Bologna la Groſſa*; 'tis call'd (b) *le Pelegrine*, and never printed that I know of.

b MS. B. 2. 7. in Bible, *Bodl. Oxon.*

1548. He finiſh'd his *Italian* Dictionary and Grammar at *Padoa*, undertook at the deſire, and for the inſtruction of Mr. *John Tamworth*, then living at *Venice*; and was afterwards (*viz.* 1567) printed by the appointment of Sir *William Mildmay*.

1549. I meet with him return'd to *London*, when and where he Printed his ſhort but methodical Hiſtory of *Italy*, which was Reprinted 1561.

He was made Clerk of the Council to King *Edward* VI.

c *Jo. Bal.* de Scriptoribus, Appendix, *p.* 100.

1553. He deſigned the Murther of Queen *Mary*, or (c) *Steven Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

155$\frac{3}{4}$. *February* 20. He was ſent to the Tower of *London*.

February 26. He had almoſt kill'd himſelf by thruſting a Knife under his Paps.

1554. *May* 9. He was arraigned and condemn'd at *Guild-hall*.

May 18. He was drawn from the *Tower* to *Tyborn*, and there hang'd, headed, and quarter'd.

d *Parſons* three Converſions of *Engl. part* 3. *pag.* 220, 221.

'Tis ſaid that he was an intimate with (d) *Chriſtopher Goodman*, that enemy to the Rule of Women, and a fiery Puritan; and no doubt that *Thomas* was too much warp'd that way, and one of more miſguided zeal, then true Religion or Wiſdom. He tranſlated ſome Books out of *Italian*; and beſides thoſe Printed, wrote a Tract call'd *The Common Place of State*, for the uſe of King *Edward* VI, diſcourſing whether it be expedient to vary with the time: which, with ſeveral other of his Writings, may be ſeen in Sir *Robert Cotton*'s (e) Library. And ſo much of King *Henry* and his Champion *William Thomas*.

e Sub Effigie Veſpaſiani. D. 18.

To this King ſucceeded *Edward* VI, a moſt vertuous and hopeful Prince, but too young to correct the villanies of the Grandees about him, who loved the Churches better then they loved God: yet a Reformation of Religion was carryed on, which ſo vext ſome in the *North*, that they took up Arms to reſtore Popery, though to no purpoſe. But thoſe in the *Weſt* were more ſtubborn, eſpecially

eſpecially the *Devonſhire* and *Corniſh-men*, who form'd themſelves into an Army, beſieged *Exeter*, which bravely defended it ſelf againſt all their power and ſpight. 1500.

Nor would their Holy Zeal render them victorious, though as a means to be ſo, they march'd into the Field with a *Crucifix* under a Canopy, which inſtead of an *Altar*, was ſet in a Cart, accompanied with Croſſes and Candleſticks, Banners, Holy-Bread and Holy-Water, to drive away the Devils, and dull their Enemies Swords, as *Speed* wordeth it. And though they fought fiercely againſt the King, his Commiſſion and good Subjects, yet they could conclude their demands, or rather commands, with an

Item, *We pray God ſave King* Edward: *for we be his, both body and goods.*

And this way of canting, is always uſed by all other Traytors, who the higher they run into Rebellion, declare themſelves the better Subjects. In ſhort, though theſe peoples cauſe was bad enough (and were ſoon quell'd) yet (*a*) *Sanders* will not let them paſs without ſome Papal holy Water, being true *Romaniſts*; and Father (*b*) *Parſons* will not allow them to be faulty, becauſe (forſooth) they fought for the *Roman* Religion; as if to take up Arms for any Religion againſt their true and lawful Soveraign were warrantable; for if ſo, every Opinion and Phanatick will be its own judge and carver, ſo that there will be no end of Wars and Bloudſhed, yet every man in the right, at leaſt the ſtrongeſt can do no wrong, however not commit Treaſon; according to the too-much-practis'd Rule, thus wittily condemn'd by Sir *John Harrington*:

Treaſon doth never proſper, what's the reaſon?
For if it proſper, none dare call it Treaſon.

Epigram, 59.

a De Schiſm. lib. 2. pag. 260.

b Three converſions of *Engl.* part 2. pag. 594, 619.

Chap.

1500.

CHAP. II.

A Vindication of Queen Elizabeth.

AND now we come to the prosperous Reign of the so much famed *Elizabeth*, in whose time *England* was in the heighth of its Glory and Repute; being as an Umpire to the whole World, flourishing at home, and victorious abroad: but prudent *Cecils* and vigilant *Walsinghams* are not always to be had; and so we must be content with our decaying Lawrels.

a De Schism. *Angl. lib.* 3. *pag.* 319.

And here (by the by) because *(a) Sanders* and other *Romanists* are pleas'd to render her as the worst of all women-kinde, I shall take the boldness to say something in her Vindication, the better to confute her former Revilers, and to satisfie the more ignorant somewhat in her behalf.

Her Piety and Religion have been celebrated by many Pens; her Learning and skill in variety of Languages was admired by her greatest Enemies. Besides her *English*, (b) *Christopher Ocklande* (whose Books were once order'd to be read in all Grammar-Schools) will tell you of six other Languages she was perfect in.

b *Anglorium Prælia, &c. Elizabetha.*

Elizabetha *piis primos imbuta per annos*
Moribus, & sophiæ studiis instructa sacrata
Doctrina, & linguæ Latiæ Graiæq; *perita.*
Linguas Europæ *celebres intelliget omnes,*
Quid Teuto, Hispanus, Gallus*ve*, Italus*ve loquatur.*

c His nine Worthies, *pag.* 282.

Mr. *(c) Thomas Heywood*, one who loved to write concerning Women, concludes thus of our *Elizabeth.*

Chaste Virgin, Royal Queen, belov'd and fear'd;
Much on the Earth admir'd, to Heaven indear'd;
Single and singular (without another)
A Nurse to Belgia, *and to* France *a Mother;*
Potent by Land, sole Soveraign of the Main,
Antagonist to Rome, *the scourge of* Spain.

Though she was excellently skill'd in all manner of Needle-work, was admired for her neat Dancing, was very skilful and knowing in Musick, playing well upon divers sorts of Instruments; yet these and suchlike little pleasures, could never call her thoughts from her Subjects good, and the care of Government.

d L. 1. Epist. Sturmio.

(d) Roger Ascham speaks wonders of her ingenuity and knowledge; and he had as much reason to know her as any: but these

you

you may ſay were *Engliſh-men*, and ſo bribed by their birth-right; though this with ſome of her Enemies is no Rule. 1500.

But ſhould we run to all her Commendations beyond Seas, we might be endleſs. (a) *Cornelius Amaltheus*, a zealous *Italian Romaniſt*, cannot withhold his Muſe from her Encomiums (b). *Laurentius Rhodomanus* is as earneſt in his Anagrammatical mode. And his Countryman *Paulus Meliſſus* ſeems, as it were, to beſtow his whole time in her (c) praiſes; and at laſt endeavours to go as high as his wit could reach, ſo far will he have her above all other Goddeſſes.

a Poet. *Ital.* *vol.*1. *pag* 79.
b Poet. *Germ.* *vol* 5 *pag.*827.
c Poet. *Germ.* *vol.*4.*pag.*342, 418,425, 428, 440,441, 443, 452,462, 468, 478,485,493.
d Id. *pag.*475.

(d) *Te Venerem, te Junonem, te Pallade quiſquis*
Dixerit, haud abs re dixerit ille puto.
Quin idem Charin & Muſam te dixerit: imo
Muſa es Muſarum tu, Charitumq; Charis.
Ignoſcas Regina minus quam par ſit & æquum
Dicenti laudis copia quanta tui eſt!
Divitiis Juno, *forma* Venus, *Indole* Pallas,
Dote Charis, *cedit nomine* Muſa *tibi.*
Junones, Veneres, Charitas, Muſaſq; Minervaſq;
Omnes una ſimul tu ſuperare potis.
Cui culpet, ſi te Divis ex omnibus unam
Natam Pantheiam *virgo* Britanna, *loquar?*

Amongſt the *Belgians*, (e) *Janus Gruterus*, ſo famous for his Learning, is her great admirer. And of later days, (f) *Adolphus van Dans* hath wrote a whole book in her Commendations. Nay, *Johannes Bochius* of *Bruxels*, who was ſo inveterate againſt her Government and Religion, that he aſſiſted *Richard Verſtegan* in the compoſing of his lying and bloudy *Theatre*, yet cannot let her paſs without this grand applauſe.

e Poet *Belg.* *vol.*2 *pag.*681; 718,719, 721,
f De laudibus & vita *Elizabethæ.*

(g) Pallas, Juno, Venus, *nemoroſæ in frondibus* Idæ
Diſcrimen formæ cum ſubiere ſuæ,
Inter formoſas, ſi tu Dea quarta fuiſſes,
Viciſſes reliquas, O Dea pulchra, Deas;
Quam Juno *jejuna foret! quam pallida* Pallas!
Quam Dea vana Venus! *quam Dea ſola fores!*

g Poet. *Belg.* *vol.*1. *pag* 800.

How ready ſhe was to anſwer Ambaſſadors and other people in ſeveral Languages, on the ſudden, Hiſtorians do (h) teſtifie at large. But one thing I finde Recorded of her which is not uſual, that when three Ambaſſadors, *viz.* the *Imperial*, *French* and *Swediſh*, addreſt themſelves to her; at the ſame time, ſhe on the ſudden (i) anſwer'd each of them in different Languages: the firſt of them in *Italian*, the ſecond in *French*, and the third in *Latine*.

h *Edm. Howes* enlargement of *Stow*, *pag.* 813,814, 815.
i *Reg. Aſcham*, Epiſt. *Sturmio.*

(k) *Voſſius*, (l) *Meteranus*, (m) *Thuanus*, and a world of other Learned Writers, have weilded their Pens in her Commendations: and though ſome Popes have endeavoured as far as in them lay to over-cloud her Reputation, by commanding the Commendatory expreſſions in her behalf to be daſht out of (n) *Cambden* and ſome other Writers; yet I finde Pope *Sixtus* V (a very Zealous Aſſertor of his Pontifical Chair) to beſtow upon her and *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, this following noble Cha-

k Epiſt. dedicat. ad artem Gram.
l Hiſt. *Belg.* l. 1.
m Lib. 82. l. 119.
n Index librorum Prohibitorum.

1500. racter,--- (a) *That amongſt all the Princes of the world, he could finde but two,* viz. *Queen* Elizabeth *and* Navar *(ſetting aſide their opinions in Religion) who were worthy to Rule, and with whom he could moſt fittingly conſult and take advice.---*

a—Perſæpe auditus eſt, cum diceret, toto orbe, ſe unum virum & fœminam videre dignos (niſi labe ſectaria infecti eſſent) qui Regnarent, & quibus cum ipſe de ingentibus rebus conſilia, quæ animo agitabat, communi caret; *Navarrum* & *Elizabetham* Reginam intelligens. *Aug. Thuan.* Hiſt. *lib.* 82. and *Pereſixe* Hiſt. *Henry* le Grand, part 1.

Having thus ſomewhat hinted on her Commendations, and at laſt brought the Pope himſelf to be an Advocate for her Diſcretion, Prudence and good Government, we may now the more exactly perceive where the Shooe pincheth, and what is the cauſe of the ill will againſt her. Not denying but that ſhe, as well as the beſt of Monarchs, might have ſome miſcarriages and overſights, in ſuch a long Raign as ſhe continued; eſpecially ſince the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and ſome others, had the Fortune to ſway in her time; it being granted, that *Robert Dudly* was as great an Oppreſſor, as ever breath'd for a Favourite, and ſo let him and all ſuch never be mentioned but with ignominy.

As for her Religion, *whether Hæretical or not?* As the Queſtion is too large to be here diſcuſs'd; ſo is it nothing to the purpoſe, ſeeing Religion doth not intitle one to Kingdoms, nor is Dominion founded in Grace; a Pagan having as much right to his Goods and Territories, as the beſt of Chriſtians to what is his.

As to her perſonal concerns, no queſtion but ſhe thought her ſelf in the beſt and ſureſt way to her Salvation. And as ſhe was a Princeſs of great Ingenuity and Parts, underſtood many Languages, read many Books, and was ſo ſtudious as to tranſlate ſome her ſelf out of *Greek*, *Latine* and *French*; ſo we need not doubt but thus furniſht and induſtrious in Learning, ſhe was able to give a good account of her Religion, and to vindicate it and her ſelf.

And as for Religion, as it related to the publick, it hath had famous Champions and Martyrs to juſtifie it, and to wipe off all the pretended blots of Schiſm and Hereſie, which malice or ignorance could throw upon it; for a farther proof of which [it being not material to my Hiſtory in hand] I ſhall refer the Reader to Biſhop *Bramhal*, Biſhop *Morton*, Dr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Hooker*, Mr. *Maſon*, and ſuchlike Learned Defenders of our Church. Certain it is, that every Kingdom is ſupream within it ſelf; and 'tis as true, that the Religion in *England* was reform'd in a peaceable and legal manner, by the greateſt Authority in it, *viz.* the Prince, Parliament, and Convocation of Divines: Regulation here did not begin at the wrong end, it was not carryed on by any (b) Rebellious Leagues or Covenants: The Soveraign was free, and not fought to a compliance; and as we may ſuppoſe the reaſons to be juſt, ſo are we certain that it was acted by the higheſt Authority in the Kingdom, which is according to the Laws of God and Man, and the practice of other *Potentates* both ancient and modern.

a Vid. *Chr. Cartwr.* Certa. men Relig. *pag.* 11.

As for the alteration it ſelf, we may ſuppoſe it was done with due conſideration, being acted by ſuch a conſiderable Body and Authority, and not on a ſudden, but by degrees, as they found juſt occaſion to reject and admit.

And

And as on the one hand we may ſuppoſe it was agreeable to the Majority of the *Laity*, conſidering it paſt their Repreſentives the Parliament, nor oppoſed by any conſiderable number after: ſo may we juſtly conclude it conformable to the ſentiments of the *Clergy*, ſeeing that the Pariſhes, Headſhips of Colledges and Halls in the Univerſities, with the Prebendſhips, Biſhopricks, and the other Dignities of the Church in *England* and *Wales*, did then amount to the number of very neer *ten thouſand*. 1500. 1559.

Yet of all that number of *Preferments*, adding to them the Lord Abbots, Priors and Lady Abbeſſes, and the whole number of theſe *Roman*-Nonconformiſts would not amount to 200.

But waving her Religion, I finde the greateſt crime objected to her, is her cruelty againſt others for their opinions in Religion; and with this her Adverſaries have made no little noiſe in the world.

To this I ſhall return ſome ſatisfaction, with as much brevity as can be; all this being but a digreſſion, and by the by.

As for ſeveral years of her Reign, not one Prieſt had ſuffered death; ſo when they did (as afterwards) I fear many of them are yet held for bleſſed Martyrs, who juſtly dyed as wicked Traytors. And in this I would have the unbyaſs'd *Romaniſts* but to conſider,

That even long before the Reformation,

(a) IT *was* Treaſon *to compaſs or imagine the death of the King, the Queen, or their eldeſt Son and Heir.* a 25 Edw. 3. cap. 2.

(b) *It was* Treaſon *to Leavie war againſt the King, or to adhere to the Kings enemies, or to give to the ſaid Enemies aid or comfort.* b Ib.

(c) *It was* Felony *to bring or ſend into the Kingdom any Summons, Sentence, or Excommunication againſt any perſon of what condition ſoever.* c *Cokes* Inſtitut. *part* 3. *chap.* 35. 13 *Rich.* 2. Stat. 2. *cap.* 2.

(d) *He incur'd a* Præmunire *that got ſuch Bulls or Excommunications from the Pope.* d 16 *Rich.* 2. *cap.* 5.

(e) *None was to go out of the Realm or beyond ſeas without the Kings leave or licenſe.* e *Coke*, part 3. chap. 84.

(f) *It was of old expreſly againſt the Law of the Land, to procure or bring in any Bull of Excommunication againſt any ſubject* [much more in all reaſon againſt the Soveraign] *in reſpect it gave way to Forreign Authority; the Popes Excommunications, according to our old Laws, being of no force in* England. f Of theſe things ſee more at large in *Coke's* Inſtitut. part 3. *cap* 36. and his Reports, *part* 5. *fol.* 12, 15, 17, 21, 22, 23, 27, 28. and Biſhop *Bramhals* juſt vindication of the Church of *England* from Schiſm, *cap.* 4.

(g) *It was not lawful for any Subject of* England, *to take a Penſion*, &c. *of any forreign King, Prince, or State (without the Kings licenſe) although the ſaid Princes or States be in Peace or League with* England. g *Coke* Inſtitut. *part* 3. *cap.* 67.

1500.

Let the honeſt *Romaniſt* farther conſider, that before any Prieſt did ſuffer death, it was Enacted, that

a 28 Hen 8. cap. 10. and 5 Eliz. c. 1. (a) "THey *ſhould incur a* Præmunire *who did any ways aſſert or teach the Pope to have juriſdiction over, or in this Kingdom.*

b 26 Hen. 8. c. 13. (b) *It was* Treaſon *for any to write or affirm the King to be an Heretick, Infidel, Schiſmatick, Tyrant or Uſurper.*

c 13 Eliz. c. 2. (c) *It was* Treaſon *to bring, procure or publiſh any Bull from* Rome.

d 13 Eliz. c. 2. (d) *It was a* Præmunire *ſo to acknowledge the Popes juriſdiction, as to bring or procure from him any* Agnus Dei, *Croſſes, Beads or Pardons*; being trinkets and trifles of themſelves not worth a Ruſh, but as they are held *privy Tokens* of Papal Obedience or Allegiance.

Here we ſee a fair way of Caution; and he is a madman, and no Martyr, who will needs haſten his own death, when neither God nor man requires any ſuch indiſcreet Zeal at his hands; Chriſtianity and Salvation being not deſtroy'd by theſe Laws, the ſubſtance of them being in force, when the *Romaniſts* themſelves confeſs *England* was of their ſide: and the Law-givers declare (as appears by the Prefaces to the Acts) that theſe Regalities and Laws tended for the better Government, Conſtitution, Peace, and happineſs of the Kingdom; of which we are to ſuppoſe them to be beſt Judges, ſeeing no Article of Faith confirm'd either by the Holy Scriptures or the Primitive Church, were null'd or made void by theſe Statutes.

Yet the better to expoſe the Queen, and render her actions odious all the world over, they were very careful to publiſh what lyes they could, of her pretended cruelties; amongſt whom we may account *John Gibbins*, *Robert Parſons* Jeſuits, and *John Fen* Prieſt, who were the chief Authors of that Pamphlet call'd *Concertatio Eccleſiæ in Anglia*. Add to them the Book call'd *Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Trophæa*, drawn in Pictures in the Engliſh Colledge at *Rome* by *Nicholao Circini*, ingraven by *Jo. Bapt. de Cavalleriis*, and publiſh'd by *Gregory* XIII his Approbation, *anno* 1584. where people are ſaid to be worryed in Bears skins, *&c.* and printed by *Bartolomeo Graſſo*. To vindicate the *Engliſh-Romaniſts* from the falſe Aſperſions and falſities againſt their Soveraign and Country mention'd in this Book, I finde a (e) *Romaniſt* [*I. R.* whether *May* the Prieſt I know not, though I am (f) told that ſuch an one wrote againſt Mr. *Craſhaw*, as this alſo did] to offer ſomething, by affirming, that there was never any ſuch Book printed in the *Engliſh* Colledge at *Rome*. But nothing is got by this, ſince it cannot be deny'd but that the foreſaid Book was printed at *Rome*, and publiſh'd by the Popes expreſs Authority, as appears by his *Breve* prefixt. And farther, the foreſaid ſuppoſed cruelties were painted upon the Colledge-Walls by *Nich. Circini*, by order and appointment of the *Engliſh* there. Nor need we trouble our ſelves to ſhew the diſaffection of the *Engliſh* of that Colledge to their Queen and Country, ſeeing

e Overthrow of the Proteſtants Pulpit-Babels, againſt Mr. *Craſhaw*, pag. 16.

f *Tho. James* corrupt. of Fathers in the Appendix to the Reader.

Hiſtories

Hiſtories do teſtifie their Actions, and (a) Travelers their railing and bitter words. 1500.

a *A. Mundy, the Engliſh Roman life,*

To theſe we may add *Richard Verſtegan*, who put forth a Book call'd *Theatrum Crudelitatum Hæreticorum Noſtri Temporis:* where, in his Pictures he offers to view the former lying Bear-skin Tales. Of this man(becauſe he afterwards afforded ſome light to Antiquities, and our Hiſtorians are ſilent of his life and extraction) a word or two by the by.

His Grand-father was call'd *Theodore Rowland Verſtegan*, born in *Gelder-landt*; came into *England* about the latter end of King *Henry* VII; marryed here, and preſently after dyed, leaving a Son nine months old, who afterwards, to get a livelihood, took upon him the profeſſion of a *Cooper* in *London*. Nor is this any diſcredit, *Wolfangus Muſculus* his Father being of that Trade.

This Cooper was Father to our *Richard Verſtegan*; which *Richard* was born in the Pariſh of St. *Catherines* in *London*; he gave himſelf to the ſtudy of good Letters, and imployed himſelf in Painting; which makes me think that he engraved the Cuts in his own Books, as the Learned *Hevelius* doth now. Being a Zealous *Romaniſt*, he left *England*, went into the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, where he compos'd the foreſaid *Theatrum Crudelitatum:* the Verſes were made by (b) *Johannes Bochius*, born at *Bruxels*; but if I miſtake not, Regiſter to *Antwerp*.

b Vid. Delic. Poet. *Belg.* vol 1. pag. 760, 761, 762; *&c.*

Afterwards the Rebellious League now beginning, he conveys himſelf and Books to *Paris*, where the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador complains of him to King *Henry* III, and deſires that, being born a Subject to the Queen, now a Fugitive, and one that had ſo abuſed her, he might be delivered into his hands, to be ſent to *England*, there to receive his reward. And the Ambaſſador had reaſon for his requeſt, if that be true which is (c) reported, *viz.* that *Henry* III was ſo much poſſeſt with thoſe cruel Pictures, and put ſo much credit in them, that he accuſed Queen *Elizabeth* of great Cruelty, calling her a *wicked and cruel woman.*

c *Guil. Barcla.* contra Monarchomachos, lib. 6. *cap.* 7. *pag.* 439.

Yet at the Ambaſſadors deſire *Verſtegan* was impriſon'd; at which (d) *Jean Bouchier*, that active fire-brand of the *League*, is not a little troubled, and layeth it as one heretical fault to *Henry*. At laſt *Verſtegan* is releas'd; who quits *France*, and returns to *Antwerp*; where he reprints his Book, and lives after an handſome faſhion. The *Jeſuits* and the *Secular-prieſts* falling out in *England*, each party defends it ſelf by Pen; in this quarrel *Verſtegan* concerns himſelf, joyning with the Jeſuits, and writing in their behalf, ſhewing himſelf as zealous a Railer as the beſt of them; and indeed never was there quarrel compos'd of ſo many bad words, either ſide conſider'd.

d De juſta abdicatione *Henrici* III. pag. 123.

Thus he continued till after the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, where he (e) publiſhed his---- *Reſtitution of decayed Intelligence in Antiquities of* England,---- Dedicating of it to King *James*, expecting better fortune and; favour which (f) *Juſtus Lipſius* claps to the Nation a good luck in Verſe. What he got by it I know not, nor when he dyed: onely towards the latter end of King *James* his Raign, amongſt the reſt of the *Engliſh* Fugitives, who lived in *Antwerp* under the Notion of *Spaniſh* ſtipendiaries, I meet with theſe words------ (g) *There is alſo one Mr.* Verſteagan, *who, did not his wife keep up his credit, might be yoakt with the reſt,*--- That is

e 1605.

f — Et Rege cum novo novum aſſume Fatum.— Poet. *Belg.* Vol. 3. p. 364.

g *James Wadſworth*, the *Engliſh-Spaniſh* Pilgrime, *cap.* 7. *pag.* 67.

1500. is (as I ſuppoſe) in a mean condition. And thus much for *Verſtegan*, of whom (a) *Watſon* the Prieſt will give you a ſharper Character.

a Quodlibets, pag. 257.

But why muſt Queen *Elizabeth* (of all other Soveraigns) be deprived of this Prerogative of life and death? Muſt *Campo Flori* in *Rome* ſmoak by the burnt bodies of people by the Authority of the Pope, in this acting onely as a Secular Prince, (for Eccleſiaſticks excuſe themſelves from ſuch ſeverities) and may not Queen *Elizabeth* be as great a Monarch in her Dominions?

Muſt the King of *Spain* glory in his *Inquiſition*, thereby deſtroying multitudes of Strangers and Natives, and that with ſuch ſeverity and cruelty, that their ſtories either *American* or Domeſtick cannot be read without tears; and had not Queen *Elizabeth* as much right to, and Authority in *England*, as the intitled *Moſt Catholick* hath in his Dominions?

Hath the *French* King a Prerogative to burn *Anne du Burg*, and many others of his Subjects, for Opinions in Religion and may not Queen *Elizabeth*, having as much right of Government, uſe her Authority as well as the former? Not that I vindicate any ſuch ſeverities, but uſe theſe comparatives to ſhew that Queen *Elizabeth* did no more then the Romaniſts themſelves.

But to ſhew what a great thing intereſt is, take this following obſervation: but the bloudy narrative of the ſtory is ſo long and mournful, that the Reader muſt pardon me, if I refer him to other (b) Hiſtorians for it.

b *Thuanus.*

Charles IX, King of *France*, under the pretence of the Grand Solemnities of the King of *Navar*'s Marriage, invited all the *Grandees* of the *Hugonots* of *France*, with (c) *Leiceſter* and *Burghley* out of *England*, and the Sons of the *Palatine* Elector out of *Germany*, intending by this means to ruine the Proteſtant Religon. The *French* obey'd and appear'd, where they were entertain'd with all manner of Gayeties and Triumphs: but for all this Court-holy-Water, they were, by order of the King, in (d) one day, as many as could be met withal, (which came to ſeveral thouſands) ſlain without reſpect to Sex, age or quality; the chief of whom was old Admiral *Coligny*, whoſe (e) head was ſent as a grateful preſent to *Rome*. Nor did this Maſſacre end here, but by the Kings Order was alſo acted all *France* over, to the unthought-of ſlaughter of many thouſand Proteſtants.

c *Cambden, Eliz.* an. 1572. *Euſeb. Philadelph. Coſmopol.* Dialog. 1. pag. 30.

d *Aug.* 24. 1572.

e *Thuan.* lib. 52.

This Carnage, though it made ſuch an impreſſion upon ſome, that ſeveral ſet themſelves to work, and (f) publiſh'd a Book of Verſes in Deteſtation of it; yet others imploy'd their wits as much in its Commendation, amongſt whom I finde (g) accuſed *Johannes Auratus*, Regius Profeſſor of the *Greek* Tongue in *Paris*, and one of the chiefeſt Poets in his time: if ſo, it ſeems he could weep and bewail more the killing of one (h) Sparrow by his Cat, then of ſo many thouſand *Chriſtians*.

f Ullmæ 1573. in 4o.

g Id. pag. 20.

h Poet. *Gall.* vol. 1. p. 314.

As for the *Romaniſts* in *France*, they celebrated theſe ſlaughters as one of the moſt glorious actions in the world; great rejoycings at Court for it, publick thanks render'd to God; and as a farther memorial of its Gallantry, the King had (i) new Medals or Coyns made with Inſcriptions to perpetuate the Fame of that bloudy day. And to compleat the triumph, a Miracle muſt be wrought to teſtifie Gods approbation of it, which you muſt finde in (k) St. *Innocents* Church-yard at *Paris*. So here this Church-yard may boaſt

i *Thuan.* lib. 53. *Cambden, Eliz.* anno 1572.

k *Thuan.* lib. 52.

boaſt of another Miracle, beſides its (*a*) conſuming the buryed Carkaſſes in leſs then ten days. But as for this new flouriſhing *White-thorne-Tree*, the famous *Thuanus* doth ſomewhat mitigate the wonder, by affirming that the thing might be as well (*b*) Natural or artificial. 1500

a *André du Cheſne* les Antiquitez des villes de *France*, chap. pag 63.7.

b Sive ſponte, quod aliquando contingit, cum natura deficiente in eo planta eſt, ut penitus exareſcat, ſive aqua tepida ab impoſtoribus infuſa. *Aug. Thuan.* Hiſt. *lib.* 52.

But the greateſt joy of all, for this ſlaughter, was at *Rome*, Cardinal *Loraine* giving the Meſſenger that brought the firſt news of it, a thouſand Crowns; the Letter was read in the *Conclave*, publick thanks were given in their Churches, the Cannons diſcharged, Bonfires made, a *Jubilee* publiſh'd throughout Chriſtendom. And a grand Proceſſion was made to the Church of St. *Lewis* [*Lewis* IX King of *France*, canoniz'd by Pope *Boniface* VIII, his feſtival day is the XXV of *Auguſt*] where was the Nobility, Biſhops, Cardinals, the ſeveral Ambaſſadors, the Pope under a Canopy, his Train being held up by the Emperours Amboſſador. And the better to retain in Memory this Maſſacre, the Pope had it (*c*) painted about his great Hall in the *Lateran*, and there Recorded in (*d*) Marble.

Thuan. lib. 53. *Spondan.* anno 1572. § 20.

And what muſt be the cauſe of all theſe (*e*) Joyes, Gaities and Triumphs in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and where not amongſt the *Romaniſts*? but that thirty thouſand *Proteſtants* were in a ſmall time deſtroyed by divers ſorts of deaths; ſome drown'd, ſome hang'd, ſome ſtarv'd, ſome Piſtol'd, others had their throats cut, their bodies drag'd about ſtreets, denyed Chriſtian buryal, *&c.* without any conſideration of Age, Sex, Quality or Relations: And all this in a ſuppoſed time of ſecurity and tranquillity, a peace being made, and the King paſſing his word and promiſe for their ſafety.

c *George Wheiſtone's Engliſh* Mirrour, *pag.* 175.

d *Jo. Nichol's* Pilgrimage B. 8

e Catholicorum Apologiis propugnata, quæ ut *Romæ*, atq; in *Hiſpania* immenſis laudibus celebrata. *Jo. de Buſſiers* Hiſt. *Fran.* Vol. 4. pag. 120. —— De ea, Lætitia ob vindicatos Hæreticos piorum animis concepta non parum eſt. —— Summar. ad Hiſt. *Hiſpan. Jo. Mariana.* anno 1572.

Now here would I ask the *Romaniſts* whether ever Queen *Elizabeth* did ſuch a cruel Action as this? If not, then why muſt *Charles* IX go away with all theſe Glories and Trophies, and our Queen laden with nothing but black accuſations of cruelty? As if Religon intitled one to more authority over his Vaſſals then the other.

The year (*viz.* 1572.) of this Maſſacre, ſome have troubled themſelves to lay down in theſe *Numeral* Letters.

Upon *Gaſpar Coligny* the Admiral.

gVIſano oCCVbVIt pIVs ab CoLLIgnIVs aſtV:
LVX qVater aVgVſtI ſena DoLenDa VenIt.

Or thus:

bartholoMæVs fLet, qVIa FranCICVs oCCVbat atLas.

And upon the City of *Paris* this.

LVtetIa Mater sVos natos DeVoraVIt.

And

1500. And here I cannot but take notice of one pretty cheat the Pope makes use of, to shew to the world his great liking of this Massacre, *viz.* that whensoever the famous Catholick *Thuanus* in his Narrative of this Butchery, hints (as he doth several times) of the cruelty of these Throat-cuttings,

These expressions sound so harsh in the ears of his good *Romanists*, that in the *Index Expurgatorius* they are all order'd to be dasht out, and to appear no more in print, lest good people should be corrupted by them; so wo be to them, who dare think amiss of this *Parisian* slaughter. But it is not here alone, but in many other places, that they have endeavour'd to falsifie and corrupt this Learned *Thuanus*, though one of their own Church, yet one that hated lying. For which *Jacobus Gretser*, *Johannes Baptista de Machaud*, or *Macaldus*, under the false name of *Jo. Baptista Gallus* I. C. with *Adam Contzen*, and other *Jesuits*, cannot pass him by without throwing some dirt upon him.

a *Adam Contzen*, Disceptatio de Secretis Societat. Jesu, *pag.* 40.

But though *de Thou*'s book were (*a*) burnt at *Rome*, yet will it remain as an instructive Monument to future Ages, though endeavour'd to be corrupted, as appears by the *Index Expurgatorius*; and possibly hath been, as is manifest by the late little *Thuanus Restitutus*.

But leaving these forraign comparisons, let us return home, and take a short view of our two Sister-Queens of different perswasions in Religion.

Queen *Mary*, whose Piety and Mercie is much commended by *Sanders* and other *Romanists*, Reigned about five years; yet in that short time were put to death for Religion above 260, without any regard to Sex, Quality or Age, Rich and Poor, Learned and Ignorant, Old and little Children that knew not the right-hand from the left; one springing out of its Mothers Womb, whilst burning at the Stake, and unhumanely the little infant thrown into the fire, to burn with its Heretical Mother, as they term'd it.

In twice this time, *viz.* for the first ten years of *Elizabeth*, not one *Romanist* suffer'd death for Religion; and though she Reigned above 44 years, yet in that long Rule, there were not so many put to death of the *Romanists* for Treason, or what else the *Romanist* pleaseth, almost by an hundred, as there were in the short time of Queen *Mary*. To which we may add, as is confest by (*b*) *Bzovius* their Papal Champion, that there was not any that suffer'd in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, but did teach the dangerous Doctrine, That *the Pope could depose Kings*.

b Innumerabiles *Anglicani* Martyres Ducem *Edmundum Campianum* secuti ——— docuerunt ——— Pontificem Rom. ——— posse quemcunq; etiam Regem ——— dignitate Regia exuere. *Abr. Bzovius de Rom. Pont. cap.* 46. *pag.* 621.

This were enough to testifie, that Queen *Elizabeth* was as happy and merciful to her Subjects, as her Sister Queen *Mary*: And to perswade those who throw so many commendations on the latter, not to rob the former of her due praise.

1570. The first that the *Romanists* pretended *Martyrologist* puts down to have suffer'd in Queen *Elizabeth's* days, is one *John Felton*; and yet this was not till the XII year of her Reign: so that they can pretend to no bloud for so many years. And what small reason they have to glory in this mans Martyrdom, let us judge by

by the Cauſe: in ſhort thus; for I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more of him hereafter. 1500.

Queen *Elizabeth* having triumphantly Raigned above X years in the Nation, to the great joy and comfort of her Subjects; at laſt Pope *Pius* V takes a humour in his head, and he, forſooth, muſt declare her to be no Queen; to which purpoſe he thunders out a *Bull*, declaring her *Heretick*, *Excommunicated*, *Deprived* and *Depoſed from her Dominions*: *Abſolves all her Subjects from Allegiance, and interdicts any that ſhall obey her*, &c.

Felton gets this *Bull*, hangs it upon the Biſhop of *Londons* Palace-gates, ſcorns to ſeek an eſcape, boldly vindicates the Pope and himſelf in what was done, defying the Queen and her Authority; for which he was arraigned, condemn'd and hang'd, neer the ſame place in St. *Pauls* Church-yard. Auguſt 8.

Now for any thus to contemn and vilifie his Soveraign, null her Authority, renounce his Allegiance, and ſo far to ſubmit himſelf to a Forreign juriſdiction even in Temporalities, as to declare his own Soveraign deprived and depos'd from her Kingdom; I ſay, what puniſhment this man incur'd, let the Reader judge; provided he will alſo conſider, that had a Proteſtant thus renounced his Obedience in Queen *Mary*'s days (not but that there were ſome *Calviniſtical* fire-brands then) the party ſhould have dyed for it; and thoſe who commend *Felton*, would have call'd the other Traytor. And yet *Felton* did it to procure a National Rebellion.

This and ſome other Diſturbances, occaſioned the next *Parliament* to put forth ſome (*a*) *Acts* for the preſervation of the Queens perſon, and the better quieting and ſecuring her Subjects and Dominions; all people having time given them to conſult either their own ſafety, or a complyance. So that who ſuffer'd afterwards, was for their diſobedience to theſe *Acts*, and the other Laws of the Realm. And the ſeveral deſignes and plots againſt her to take away both her Kingdoms and Life, might not onely oblige her to look to her ſelf, but alſo move her to a greater ſeverity then ſhe was naturally addicted to. (*a*) 13 *Eliz.* cap. 1, 2, 3.

Yet hitherto it was not death for *Prieſts* or *Jeſuits* to be in *England*, if they did nothing elſe. But ſome XIV years after this, the Queen and Parliament ſuppoſed they had Reaſon to (*b*) *Enact* it *Treaſon* and *Death* onely for being found here; yet they were ſo far from catching any one in a Trap, or without warning, that by the ſaid *Act* they all had time given to tranſport themſelves freely without any Attachment, with liberty to take Ship at what *Port* they pleas'd, the time allotted them being forty days after the ending of that preſent *Seſſion* of *Parliament*. Nay farther, that if any were ſick, then upon ſecurity they might remain in the Kingdom ſix Months longer, and then to depart. And all this was more favourable then the Proteſtants received from Queen *Mary*. (*b*) 27 *Eliz.* cap. 2.

Let us alſo add, that thoſe, whom ſhe had in priſon, ſhe ſent over upon her own charges, and with kinde uſage (ſo far was ſhe from thirſting after bloud, as ſome would have her:) for confirmation thereof, take one Certificate of twenty Jeſuits and Prieſts, and one Gentleman, ſent from the *Tower* of *London*, *Marſhalſee* and *Kings-bench*.

1500

To all Magiſtrates, Officers and Miniſters within the Realm of England, *or elſewhere, to whom it may any wiſe appertain. This may be to give certification, that we whoſe names are here under-written, who were imbarked at the* Tower-wharfe *of* London, *the* 21 *of* January 1584, *and there received into the charge of Mr.* (a) William Bolles, *and Mr.* (b) Antony Hall, *by Commiſſion from their Lordſhips, and other her Majeſties moſt honourable* Privy-Council, *Have been by them the ſaid* William Bolles *and* Antony Hall, *very friendly and honeſtly intreated, and with careful diligence ſafely conducted, tranſported and conveyed to the Province of* Normandy, *and by them left this third day of* February, *according to the* Engliſh *Computation in the year of Chriſt* 1584.

a One of the Yeomen Uſhers to the Queens Chamber.
b A Skinner of *London*.

Which ſaid Bolles *and* Hall *have in Our preſence, paid the* (c) *Maſter of the* (d) *Bark which Tranſported us, for the whole Fraught and Victuals in the Ship, for the time of our remaining aboard: And generally ſo well us'd us in all reſpects, that we cannot but acknowledge our ſelves much beholden to them, and fully ſatisfied in having been committed to the charge of ſo courteous Officers, ſith the caſe ſtandeth ſo with us, that we are baniſhed our Country, contrary to our deſires, wherein we take no little grief of minde.*

c *Matthew Stuart.*
d Call'd the *Mary Martin* of *Colcheſter*.

For Teſtimony whereof, we have hereto ſet our ſeveral hands, this preſent third of *February* 1584.

a The firſt Jeſuite that came into *England*; he was ſon to the Epigrammatiſt.
b Diſputed with Dr. *Jo. Rainolds*.
c Return'd into *England*, call'd Biſhop of *Calcedon*, and wrote.
d A Jeſuit, return'd into *England*, and wrote ſome Books.
e Continued *Sanders de Schiſmate*, ungrateful to the Queen.
f Return'd into *England*, wrote for the Oath of Allegiance.
g Return'd, and executed at *Mile-end-Green*. 1588.
h Return'd, executed at *Lancaſter*, 1560.
i Return'd, wrote in behalf of the Secular-Prieſts.
k Return'd, wrote ſeveral Books, was the chief man in putting out the *Doway* Notes on the *Old Teſt*.

(a) *Jaſper Heiwood*
(b) *John Hart*
William Tedder
Arthur Pits
Richard Slake
Richard Norris
(c) *William Biſhop*
(d) *Thomas Stephanſon*
Chriſtopher Tomſon
John Barnes
(e) *Edward Riſhton*
James Boſgrave
Samuel Coniers
(f) *William Warmington*
William Hartlie
(g) *William Dean*
(h) *Robert Nutter*
(i) *John Colleton*
(k) *Thomas Worthington*
William Smith
Henry Orton Gentleman

l Chron. fol. 710. col. 1.

The next year alſo, the Queen ſent over XXXII more Prieſts and Jeſuits; and with what civility and kinde uſage they were Tranſported, I ſhall refer you to (*l*) *Stow* or *Howes* for their own Certificate.

But to proceed: we might ſhew at large, even by the Confeſſion of *Romaniſts* themſelves, that the Queen did nothing againſt the ſaid *Romaniſts*, but even what ſhe was neceſſitated to do, for the

the preſervation of her ſelf and Kingdom: of which two or three inſtances will not be amiſs. 1500.

William Watſon, a zealous *Roman* Prieſt, and one who afterwards ſuffer'd for Treaſon, confeſſeth how the (a) Pope plotted her deſtruction, and that (as he hinteth) by the Inſtigation of ſome *Engliſh*; before which ------ *Her Majeſtie uſed us kindely for the ſpace of the firſt ten years of her Highneſs Raign; the State of the Catholicks in* England *that while was tolerable, and after a ſort in ſome good quiet. Such as for their conſcience were impriſoned or in durance, were very mercifully dealt withal (the ſtate and change of things then conſidered) ſome being appointed to remain with ſuch their friends as they themſelves made choice of; others were placed with Biſhops, and others with Deans; and had their Dyets at their Tables, with ſuch convenient Walks and Lodgings, as did well content them. They that were in ordinary Priſons, had all ſuch liberty and commodities, as the place and their Eſtate could afford them. Tea even thus much, and more, doth* Parſons *confeſs in his* Philopater: *as alſo Father* Creſwell *in his Scribe to the like effect.* ———— (b) *How great quiet the State and Court was in for twelve years ſpace! no talk of Treaſons or Conſpiracies, no Jealouſies nor Suſpicions, no Envie nor Supplications, no fear of Murtherings nor Maſſacrings, no queſtion of Conſcience nor Religion; all lived in quiet content, and right good fellowſhip was amongſt them,* &c. and then he confeſſeth, that the Jeſuits were the cauſe of the *Laws* againſt them, *Agnus Dei, Medals, Holygrains,* &c. He goeth on thus ———— (c) *I held directly* —— *that both her Majeſties Laws and Proceedings againſt all ſorts of Catholicks have been milde and merciful; the opinion and judgement of her Highneſs in Religion one way, and their foreſaid practices againſt her another way, duly conſider'd.*

a *Quodlibets* pag. 265.

b Id. pag. 266.

c Pag. 267. 268.

The ſame *Romaniſt* having almoſt above meaſure commended the Queens (d) Wiſdom and Government, ſeems to wonder why the Prieſts ſhould be moleſted: and though he ſaith their *Afflictions have been extraordinary*, yet he alſo acknowledgeth ——— *ſo alſo hath the cauſe thereof been extraordinary; and ſo far beyond the accuſtomed occaſions of perſecution given to any Prince in Chriſtendom, or Monarchie that is, or ever was in the world to this hour (unleſs the* PURITANS *of* Scotland, *which may in ſome ſort equal the offence here to be ſet down) as rather it is to be wondred at (all things duly conſidered) that any one Catholick is left on life in* England, *then that our perſecution hath been ſo great.*

d Id. pag. 274, 276.

P. 277.

For name one Nation (I know none can) under Heaven, where the Subject (eſpecially if they were Catholicks) ever ſought the death of their Soveraign, (though of a different Religion from them:) The conqueſt of their Native Land; the ſubverſion of the State; the depopulation of the Weal publick; the alteration and change of all Laws, Cuſtoms and Orders; and in few, the utter Devaſtation, Deſolation, and Deſtruction of all the Ancient Inhabitants of their Land, in ſo unnatural, unchriſtian, uncatholick a manner, as the Spaniſh Faction *have ſought it in our own fleſh and bloud againſt this Realm,* &c. ———— (e) *which ſeeing her Princely heart hath forborn, as no Soveraign on Earth would ever have ſuffer'd the like to have paſt unpuniſhed as ſhe hath; I muſt conclude and end as we began,* THAT HER LAWS

e Id. pag. 278.

1500. AND PROCEEDINGS HAVE BEEN BOTH MILDE AND MERCIFUL.——— And at (*a*) laſt doth confeſs that ſhe was even bound to do as ſhe did, ſuch was their Treaſonable Practices and Opinions for depoſing of Princes.

a Id. pag. 303, 304.

To him we might add *Clark* the Prieſt, who alſo ſuffer'd death with *Watſon* for Treaſon againſt King *James*: he (*b*) confeſſing and declaring that the Queens Laws and Government were not to be *defamed*, *traduced*, and *cryed out againſt ſo much for tyranny*, ſeeing their Treaſonable Actions were the occaſion of them. And to them we might add Father (*c*) *Parſons* himſelf, when he writes his minde freely to his friend.

b Reply to a Lybel, *fol.* 43. a

c Concert. Eccleſ. *Angl. part* 2. *fol.* 39. b.

But leaving theſe ſingle Teſtimonies, take theſe following, confirm'd and ſubſcrib'd by above a *Jury* of true Sons of the Papal Religion.——— (*d*) Having firſt thank'd the Queen for her Clemencie, and teſtified that ſhe deſired nothing of them but a true Profeſſion of their Allegiance.——————— *We whoſe names are under-written, in moſt humble wiſe proſtrate at her Majeſties feet, do acknowledge our ſelves infinitely bound unto her Majeſty therefore.——————— Whereas for theſe many years paſt divers conſpiracies againſt her Majeſties Perſon and Eſtate, and ſundry forcible attempts for invading and conquering her* Dominions *have been made under we know not what pretences and intentments of reſtoring Catholick Religion with the* Sword [*a courſe moſt ſtrange in this world, and undertaken peculiarly and ſolely againſt her* Majeſtie and her Kingdoms, *among other Princes departed from the Religion and Obedience of the See Apoſtolick, no leſs then ſhe*] *by reaſon of which violent* Enterpriſes, *her Majeſty otherwiſe of* ſingular Clemencie *toward her Subjects, hath been greatly moved to ordain and execute ſeverer Laws againſt Catholicks* [*which by reaſon of their Union with the See Apoſtolick in Faith and Religion, were eaſily ſuppoſed to favour theſe* Conſpiracies *and* Invaſions] *then perhaps had ever been Enacted or thought upon, if ſuch Hoſtility and* Wars *had never been undertaken.*

d The Proteſtation it ſelf you may ſee at large in *Roger Widdrington's* Theological Diſpute concerning the Oath of Allegiance, part 2. Sect. 1. pag. 346, 347, 348, 349.

All Secular-Prieſts.

William Biſhop	(c) *Antony Champney*
John Colleton	(d) *John Jackſon*
(a) *John Muſh*	*Francis Barneby*
Robert Charnock	*Oſwald Needham*
John Boſſevile	(e) *Roger Cadwallader*
Antony Hebborne	
(b) *Robert Drury*,	*Robert Button*

a Concern'd in the Quarrels at *Wisbich*, wrote in behalf of the *Prieſts*.

b Such an one preach'd and dyed by the fall of the Chamber at *Blackfriers*, 1623.

c Wrote againſt Mr. *Maſon*.

d I finde two Brothers of that name at the latter end of King *James* his Raign.

e Tranſlated *Theodorets* Hiſtory into *Engliſh*.

November 5. 1602.

In

1500.

In ſhort, we have it from good (*a*) Authority, that the Queen uſed to complain with grief, that ſhe was driven by neceſſity to proſecute ſuch Laws, for the preſervation of her ſelf and Subjects. And an honeſt (*b*) *Benedictan* Monk doth aſſure us, that the Queen deſigned a mitigation, upon ſecurity of their Allegiance, but that this toleration was both talk'd and written againſt at *Rome*, as very diſadvantagious to the Papal Cauſe.

If they thus oppoſe her Favours, 'tis not her fault: If they be angry with her for baniſhing the Prieſts, ſhe did no more then *France* and *Venice* once did with the *Jeſuits*: If ſhe did amiſs in taking their lives away, yet was ſhe not ſo cruel as the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, or the *French* Maſſacre; nor ſo fiery as her Siſter *Mary*: If ſhe be blameable, why ſhould the others be commended? Her Prudence may be ſhown by her proſperous Reign; Her Courage, by overcoming all difficulties and aſſaults; Her Clemencie, by her often pardoning her Enemies; Her good Government, by the Love and Honour her Subjects bare her, and the eſteem which *England* yet hath for her. And as ſhe was beloved at home, ſo was ſhe indear'd and fear'd abroad; and as ſhe was bleſs'd and happy in all her undertakings here, ſo let her not be vilified and beſpattered now ſhe is gone to another world honour'd with many Years and triumphs.

a *Cambden, Eliz.* anno 1581.

b *Roger Widdrington's* Confutation of the intemperate Reply of *Tho. Fitz-Herbert*, Preface, *pag.* 66. & 81.

CHAP.

1500.

CHAP. III.

The Pope undertook to depose Queen Elizabeth, *which occasioned some troubles in* England, *to the ruine of the undertakers.*

QUeen *Mary* being dead, her Sister *Elizabeth* succeeded in the Throne, though *White* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Watson* Bishop of *Lincoln*, were very forward and eager to have her Excommunicated; which they would have undertaken to perform, but that others more wary advised them against such rashness.

For some years of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, we hear of no great troubles, the *Papists* themselves privately within their own Houses exercising their own Religion quietly enough without any disturbance, and others of them without any scruple [but deeply herein charged by (a) *Sanders* for their dissimulation] going to the Reformed Churches, there to hear and enjoy Divine-Service. Nor could they perceive any thing in the *English-Liturgy*, that might any way offend a wisemans conscience, it being judiciously composed of Godly Prayers, waving all Disputes, and the nicer Points of Controversie. And in this peaceable condition they might have long continued, if Father *Parsons*, and some such Zealots, had not baul'd against such a security, and got a beyond-Sea Order against their joyning with the *Reformed*, in any of their Pious Devotions.

a De Schism, lib. 3 pag 342, 343.

No sooner is *Elizabeth* acknowledged Queen, but we are (b) told that she sent to the *English* Agent at *Rome*, *viz.* Sir *Edward Karn* (sent thither by Queen *Mary*) to acquaint the Pope, *Paul* IV, of her Sisters death, of her own Succession, desiring that all good Offices might be reciprocally exchanged between them. But the Pope Answer'd that the Kingdom of *England* was held in *Fee* of the Apostolick See; that she being Illegitimate, could not succeed, and therefore it was great boldness to assume the Name and Government of it without him. Yet if she will renounce her *Title*, and refer her self wholly to him, he would do what would stand with the honour of the Apostolick See.

b *Peter Heylin's* Ecclesia Restaurata, pag. 102, 103.

As for the Queen, she never troubled her thoughts to satisfie his Holiness in his demands; and for Sir *Edward Karn*, he dyed some (c) years afterwards at *Rome*, being the last Ambassador that went from the *English* Crown to the Pope.

d 1561.

This angry Pope dying, another succeeded of a milder temper, who, though he was earnestly prest to thunder out his *Bulls* against the Queen, yet, now knowing that Princes were too wise to

to deliver up their Kingdoms at the noise of such Paper-claps, he goeth another way to work. He sends *Vincentio Parpalia*, Abbot of St. *Saviors*, with a civil pen'd Letter for the Queen: His Instructions are said to be, That if she would joyn her self to the *Romish* Church, and acknowledge the *Primacie* of that Chair, that he would *disanul the sentence against her Mothers Marriage as unjust, confirm the* English Common-prayer-book *by his Authority, and grant the use of the Sacraments under both kinder to the English*. Add farther, that several thousand Crowns were promis'd to those who would procure her complyance. But this *Parpalia* went no farther then *Bruxels*, being not suffer'd to enter *England*. 1500. 1560.

Yet the said Pope would not desist here, but resolveth to try again, and send another *Nuncio, viz.* Abbot *Martinego*; but he also is deny'd, the Council suspecting he might make some troubles by his presence in *England*: the very noise of his coming having already fob'd up some indiscreet *Romanists* to vent themselves more boldly then formerly, to spread abroad false News of the Queens conversion, some by *Astrology*, and other ways to consult the length of her Reign and Life; and the Popes *Nuncio* then in *Ireland*, did not onely joyn himself with the Rebels against her, but also by his pretended Authority deprived her of all Right and Title to that Kingdom. 1561.

That which they call the *General Council of Trent* now sitting, the Queen is desired to send some thither: but this she thought would be to little purpose, seeing the designe of that *Convention* (as the Emperour and the *French* King (*b*) call'd it) was more of Interest then real honesty: Besides, it had now continued about XV years, and so improbable to alter any thing upon her desire. Nor was the Council it self free, as appears by the several (*c*) complaints put in there against such forcible abuses; some things, as the (*d*) Institution of Bishops, not being permitted to be discussed, the Pope fearing to be the looser: Nor was the (*e*) *Secretary* just in taking and setting down the suffrages; whereby he turn'd the Votes as he pleas'd. Nor would they allow any thing to be concluded on, but as they received (*f*) Instructions from the Pope; which occasioned the Proverb, That *the Holy Ghost was sent from* Rome *to* Trent *in a Cloak bag*. *Sanders* de Schism. *l.*3. *pag.*360.

b Hist. Council of *Trent*, pag. 279, 318.

c Id. *pag.* 167, 168, 507, 508, 530, 551, 565, 569, 635, 644, 659, 661, 683.
d Id. *pag* 589.
e Id. *pag.* 660.
f Id. *pag.* 497, 703.

Besides, *Ambrose Goligna*, a *Dominican*, publickly (*g*) preach'd against the *Protestants*, affirming that Faith and safe-conduct is not to be kept with them. And when some of the Reformed Divines went thither, the (*h*) Legat brake off the Debates, not letting the Council proceed; and suspended the Council for two years, pretending fear of Wars: against which action the *Spanish* Bishops (*i*) protested. And when the Legats party fears to be out-voted, then do they send to the Pope to make more Bishops, and convey them to (*k*) *Trent*: which Legats undertook not onely to direct, but command the whole Council; which spoil'd its Freedom.

g Id. *pag.* 374.
h Id. *pag.* 374, 375.
i Id. *pag.* 356, 367.
k Id. *pag* 254, 255, 256, 257.

To these may be added the tricks used to carry on their designes, and prevent a baffle, either by new making of Bishops, the better to out-vote, or suspending of all from acting or voting; or by removing them to other places, so to divide the Council; as when they were adjourn'd to (*l*) *Bologna*, whither those that depended on the Pope went, the rest refusing, staid still at

l Id. *pag* 267, 268, 269, 277, 278, 279, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 300, 301, 302, &c.

1500. at *Trent*, not ſubmitting to this removal or diviſion.

And little might here be expected but partiality, ſeeing the *Italians* were almoſt three to one of the number there; all the Subſcribers amounting to no more then 255, of which 187 were *Italians*; ſo that bating the intereſted *Italians*, there remains but a poor Catalogue of Biſhops, in reſpect of the great number that are in the Chriſtian World; yet muſt this be look'd upon as one of the moſt famous General Councils in the whole World: yet the *Romaniſts* cannot agree about its Juriſdiction or Authority; for though the (*a*) *French* hold the Council to be above the Pope, yet his Holineſs looks upon himſelf as no wiſe (*b*) bound to obſerve the Canons of *Trent*.

a Id. *pag.*661, 719

b *Pag.*818.

In ſhort, ſhould the *Engliſh* Clergy have appear'd in this Council, they muſt either have been there as Free-men, frankly to Diſpute and Debate as others did: But thus they could not, having been before condemn'd as Hereticks by *Julius* III. And at *Trent* here they were ſo Zealous, as to Excommunicate the Archbiſhop and Elector of (*c*) *Colen* for Hereſie, before they had determin'd what was Hereſie. If they could not appear as Free-men, then they muſt under the capacity of *Offenders*, as it were to receive ſentence of condemnation: but to this they thought they had no reaſon to ſubmit themſelvs; and we need not doubt how things would have gone with them. For we finde thoſe of *Trent* ſo buſie and zealous, that they were going to throw their (*d*) *Cenſures* againſt the Queen, but that the Emperour *Ferdinand* I. uſed his Intereſt to diſſwade them from it, thinking by this to ingratiate himſelf with her, hoping to marry his Son to her. But no more of this, ſeeing that the Learned Biſhop *Jewel* wrote an *Apologie* for our *Engliſh* Biſhops not going to that Council; which may be ſeen at the latter end of Father *Paul*'s Hiſtory.

c Id. *pag.* 165, 189, 259, 260.

d *Sanders* de Schiſm. *lib.*3. *pag.*361.

But leaving theſe Diſputes, and paſſing by the deſigne of *Arthur Pool*, *Antony Fortiſcue*, and ſome others, who contrived to

1562. joyn themſelves with the Duke of *Guiſe*, ſo from *France* to land an Army in *Wales*, to Proclaim the Queen of *Scots*, and make her Queen of *England*; we ſhall proceed, and finde the Pope himſelf to be the greateſt Stickler in the troubles againſt *Elizabeth*.

Pope *Pius* the Fifth being ſtrongly bent not onely to get Queen *Elizabeth* depoſed, but to have her (*e*) *Murder'd*; and in this humour, he was pleas'd to throw his charity upon her by calling of her (*f*) filthy and baſe names.

e — De medio tollere cogitabat. *Anton. Gabutius* vita Pii V. *l.*3 *c.*9.

f Malorum omnium ſentinam, flagitiorum ſervam, ib. ——— La ſentina di tanti mali. *Girol. Catena*, vita del Papa *Pio* V. *pag.*113.

1568. Thus reſolved, he procures one *Roberto Rodolfo*, a Rich *Florentine* Gentleman, to reſide in *England* under the colour of Merchandiſe; and thus diſguis'd, to ſtir up the people againſt the Queen. Then for more ſtrength, he works under-hand with the *French* and *Spaniard* to aſſiſt in the action; nor was the *Portugal* left unſolicited, all promiſing fair. But the *Spaniard* was moſt

1569. vigorous, ſending *Chapine Vitelli*, Marqueſs of *Cetona*, under the Vizard of an idle Ambaſſie, but the truth was, to countenance the Rebellion, and command the Forces which the Duke of *Alva* was to ſend over on that deſigne from the *Netherlands*: for more

ſurety

ſurety of which, *La Motte* the Governour of *Dunkirk* had come privately in the habit of a common Saylor to ſound the Ports. 1500.

In the mean-time *Rodolpho* having his Pockets full of the Popes money, ſpread it abroad by his diſcretion, gaining thereby many Proſelytes. They endeavour'd to make *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, Head of their Plot; promiſing him in Marriage *Mary* the unfortunate Queen of *Scots*, now ſecured in *England*: And at laſt, they over-perſwaded the good-meaning Duke to engage farther then was fitting for a Subject, being cheated thereto by ſome falſe friends. And into the ſame deſigne was drawn *Thomas Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*; *Charles Nevil*, Earl of *Weſtmerland*, with ſeveral others of Quality; who at laſt perceiving the Queen to have diſcover'd their plot, ſubmitted and beg'd pardon.

Nor was the Pope himſelf idle, but ſo zealous for this Rebellion, that he aſſured the *Spaniards*, if need be, he would go himſelf in perſon to aſſiſt them, and in that ſervice engage all the goods of the Apoſtolick See, as Croſſes, Chalices, and holy Veſtments. And the better to encourage the *Engliſh*, and make them more ready for ſuch Treaſon, he falls to the old trick, dapperly undertaking not onely to vilifie, but to deprive her of her Dominions, and abſolve her Subjects of their *Allegiance*. Before which time, (as the famous (a) *Thuanus* tells us) he had craftily and treacherouſly, though in vain, conſpired and attempted againſt her. Which accuſation doth ſo offend the Pope, that thoſe words are order'd by the *Index Expurgatorius* to be daſht out. The *Bull* it ſelf take as followeth.

Girolamo Catena vita del Papa *Pio* V. *pag.* 116.

a—Fruſtra aſtu & per Inſidias *Anglorum* Reginam adortus eſſet. *Thu.* lib. 44.

S. D. N. Pii Papæ V. Sententia Declaratoria contra *Elizabetham* prætenſam *Angliæ* Reginam, & ei adhærentes Hæreticos. Qua etiam declarantur Abſoluti omnes Subditi à Juramento Fidelitatis, & quocunq; alio debito; & deinceps obedientes Anathemate illaqueantur.

The Sentence declaratory of our Holy Lord Pope Pius *V. againſt* Elizabeth *the pretended Queen of* England, *and the Hereticks adhering to her: Wherein alſo all her Subjects are declared Abſolved from the Oath of Allegiance, and whatever elſe due unto her; and thoſe who hereafter obey her are hereby Anathematiz'd.*

Pius *Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei, ad futuram rei Memoriam.*

Pius Biſhop, ſervant of the ſervants of God, for a future Memorial of the matter.

Regnans in excelſis, cui data eſt omnis in Cœlo & in terra Poteſtas, unam ſanctam Catholicam & Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam,

HE who Raigneth in the Higheſt, to whom is given all power in Heaven and in Earth, hath committed one holy

1500. *extra quàm nulla eſt ſalus, uni ſoli in terris, videlicet, Apoſtolorum Principi* Petro, Petriq; *Succeſſori* Romano *Pontifici, in poteſtatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam.*

Catholick and Apoſtolick Church (out of which there is no Salvation) to one alone upon Earth, namely to *Peter* the the chief of the Apoſtles, and to *Peters* Succeſſor the Biſhop of *Rome*, to be govern'd in fulneſs of power.

Hunc unum ſuper omnes Gentes & omnia Regna Principem conſtituit, Qui (a) Evellat, deſtruat, diſſipet, diſperdat, plantet & ædificet; *ut fidelem populum mutuæ Charitatis nexu conſtrictum, in unitate Spiritus contineat, ſalvumq; & incolumem ſuo exhibeat Salvatori.*

a *Jer.* 1. 10.

Him alone he made Prince over all People and all Kingdoms, with power (a) *To pluck up, deſtroy, ſcatter, conſume, plant and to build*; that he may continue the Faithful, who are knit together with the bond of Charity, in the Unity of the Spirit, and preſent them ſafe and unblameable to their Saviour.

Quo quidem munere obeundo, Nos ad prædictæ Eccleſiæ Gubernacula Dei benignitate vocati, nullum laborem intermittimus, omni opere contendentes, ut ipſa unitas & Catholica Religio (quam illius Auctor ad probandam ſuorum fidem & correctionem noſtram tantis procellis conflictare permiſit) integra conſervetur.

In diſcharge of which Function, we who are by the goodneſs of God call'd to the Government of the foreſaid Church, do ſpare no pains, labouring with all earneſtneſs, that Unity and Catholick Religion (which the Author thereof hath, for the tryal of his Childrens Faith, and for our amendment, ſuffer'd to be puniſh'd with ſo great afflictions) might be preſerv'd whole and uncorrupt.

Sed impiorum numerus tantum potentia invaluit, ut nullus jam in Orbe locus ſit relictus, quem illi peſſimis doctrinis corrumpere non tentarint: Adnitente inter cæteros, Flagitiorum Serva *Elizabetha* prætenſa *Angliæ* Regina, *ad quam veluti ad* Aſylum *omnium infeſtiſſimis profugium invenerunt. Hæc eadem Regina Regno occupato ſupremi Eccleſiæ Capitis locum in omni* Anglia, *ejuſq; præcipuam authoritatem atq; juriſdictionem monſtroſe ſibi uſurpans, Regnum ipſum jam tum ad fidem Catholicam & bonam frugem reductum, rurſus in miſerum exitium revocavit.*

But the number of the ungodly have gotten ſuch power, that there is no place left in the whole World, which they have not endeavour'd to corrupt with their moſt wicked Doctrines. Amongſt others, *Elizabeth* the *Pretended* Queen of *England*, and the *ſervant of wickedneſs*, hath aſſiſted thereunto; in whom as in a *Sanctuary* the moſt pernicious of all have found a refuge. This very woman having ſeiz'd on the Kingdom, and monſtrouſly uſurping the place of Supreme Head of the Church of all *England*, and the chief Authority and juriſdiction thereof, hath again brought back the ſaid Kingdom into miſerable diſtraction, which was but even then newly reduced to the Catholick faith, and an hopeful condition.

For

Vsu namq; veræ Religionis quam ab illius desertore Henrico VIII, *olim eversam, claræ memoriæ* Maria *Regina Legitima* hujus sedis *præsidio reperaverat, potenti manu inhibito, secutisq; & amplexis hæreticorum erroribus Regium Consilium ex* Anglia *Nobilitate confectum diremit, illudq; obscuris hominibus Hæreticis complevit, Catholicæ fidei cultores oppressit, improbos Concionatores atq; impietatum administros reposuit; Misse, Sacrificium, Preces, Jejunia, Ciborum Delectum, Cœlibatum, Rituſq; Catholicos abolevit: Libros manifestam Hæresim continentes toto Regno proponi, impia Mysteria & Instituta ad* Calvini *præscripta & observata, etiam à Subditis servari mandavit. Episcopos, Ecclesiarum Rectores & Sacerdotes Catholicos suis Ecclesiis & Beneficiis ejicere, ac de illis & aliis rebus Ecclesiasticis in Hæreticos homines disponere, deq; Ecclesiæ causis decernere ausa, Prelatis, Clero & Populo ne* Romanam *Eccles. agnoscerent, neve ejus Præceptis Sanctionibusq; Canonicis obtemperarent, interdixit: Pleroſq; in nefarias leges suas venire &* Romani Pont. *Authoritatem atq; Obedientiam abjurare; seq; solam in Temporalibus & Spiritualibus Dominam agnoscere, jurejurando coegit; Pœnas & supplicia in eos, qui dicto non essent audientes, imposuit, easdemq; ab iis qui in unitate fidei & Prædicta Obedientia perseverarunt, exegit: Catholicos Antistites & Ecclesiarum Rectores in vincula conjecit; ubi multi diuturno languore & tristitia confecti, extremum vitæ diem miserè finierunt.*

For having by strong hand forbid the Exercise of the true Religion, which *Mary* a lawful Queen of famous Memory had by the assistance of this See restored, after it had been overthrown by *Henry* VIII, a Revolter from the Truth; She following and imbracing the errors of Hereticks, hath removed the Royal Council, consisting of the Nobility of *England*, and fill'd it with obscure Heretical fellows; hath suppreſt the embracers of the Catholick Faith; setled dishoneſt Preachers and wicked Ministers; aboliſh'd the Sacrifice of the *Mass*, Prayers, Fastings, choice of Meats, unmarried life, and the Catholick Ceremonies; commanded all the Kingdom over, Books manifeſtly Heretical to be read, and impious Mysteries and Institutions, according to the Rules of *Calvin*, which she her self entertains and receiveth, to be likewise obſerved by her Subjects. She hath presumed to throw Bishops, Parsons, and other Catholick Prieſts out of their Churches and Benefices, and to beſtow their and other Church-livings upon Hereticks, and to determine of Eccleſiaſtical matters; to forbid the Bishops, Clergy and People to acknowledge the Church of *Rome*, or to obey the Precepts or Canonical Sanctions thereof: Hath compell'd moſt of them to obey her wicked Laws, and to abjure the Authority and Obedience of the Bishop of *Rome*; and by Oath to acknowledge her to be ſole Governeſs, as well in Spiritual as Temporal Affairs. Hath impos'd penalties and puniſhments upon thoſe who obey'd not the ſame; hath exacted them of thoſe who perſevered in the Unity of Faith and their foreſaid Obedience; and hath caſt the Catholick Prelates and Parsons into Priſon, where, many of them being 1500.

1500.

Quæ omnia cum apud omnes Nationes perſpicua & notoria ſint, & gnaviſſimo quamplurimorum Teſtimonio ita comprobata, ut nullus omnino locus excuſationis, defenſionis aut tergiverſationis relinquatur: Nos multiplicantibus aliis atq; aliis ſuper alias impietatibus & facinoribus & præterea Fidelium perſecutione, Religioniſq; afflictione impulſu & opera dictæ Elizabethæ *quotidie magis ingraveſcente; quoniam illius animum ita obfirmatum atq; induratum intelligimus, ut non modo pias Catholicorum Principum de ſanitate & converſione præces monitioneſq; contempſerit, ſed ne hujus quidem ſedis ad ipſam hac de cauſa* Nuncios *in* Angliam *trajicere permiſerit, ad armæ Juſtitiæ contra eam de neceſſitate converſi, dolorem lenire non poſſumus, quod adducamur in unam animadvertere, cujus Majores de Republica Chriſtiana tantopere meruere.*

a Abbot *Parpalia* and *Martiningo*, 1560, 1561.

Illius itaq; Authoritate ſuffulti, qui nos in hoc ſupremo Juſtitiæ Throno, licet tanto oneri impares, voluit collocare, de Apoſtolica poteſtatis plenitudine Declaramus prædictam Elizabetham *Hæreticam & Hæreticorum Fautricem, eiq; adhærentes in prædictis,* Anathematis *ſententiam incurriſſe, eſſeq; a Chriſti Corporis unitate præciſos.*

Quin etiam ipſam prætenſo Regni prædicti jure, necnon omni & quocunq; Dominio, Dignitate, Privilegioq; privatam.

ſpent with long languiſhing and ſorrow, miſerably ended their lives.

All which things ſeeing they are manifeſt and notorious to all men, and by the cleareſt Teſtimony of very many ſo ſufficiently proved, that there is no place at all left, either for excuſe, defence or evaſion: We ſeeing that impieties and wicked actions are multiplyed one upon another, and moreover that the Perſecution of the Faithful, and Affliction for Religion, groweth every day heavyer and heavyer, through the inſtigation and means of the ſaid *Elizabeth:* We therefore underſtanding her minde to be ſo hardned and obdurate, that ſhe hath not onely contemn'd the Godly requeſts and admonitions of Catholick Princes, concerning her amendment and converſion, but alſo hath not ſo much as permitted the (*a*) *Nuncio's* of this *See* to paſs into *England*; are neceſſitated to betake our ſelves to the weapons of Juſtice againſt her, not being able to mitigate our ſorrow, that we are drawn to take Puniſhment of one, to whoſe Anceſtors all Chriſtendom hath been ſo much beholden.

Being therefore ſupported by his Authority, who hath placed Us (though unable for ſo great a burthen) in the Supreme Throne of Juſtice; *We* do out of the fulneſs of our Apoſtolical power *declare* the 'foreſaid heretical *Elizabeth*, being the favourer of Hereticks, with all her adherents in the matters aforeſaid, to have incur'd the ſentence of *Anathema*, and to be cut off from the unity of Chriſts body.

And we alſo *declare* her to be deprived of her pretended Title to the Kingdom aforeſaid, and of all Dominion, Dignity and Priviledge whatſoever.

And

Et etiam Proceres, Subditos & Populos dicti Regni, ac cæteros omnes qui illi quomodocunq; juraverunt, a juramento hujuſmodi, ac omni prorſus Dominii fidelitatis & obſequii debito, perpetuo abſolutos; prout Nos *illos præſentium Authoritate* Abſolvimus, & Privamus eandem Elizabetham *prætenſo jure Regni, altiſq; omnibus ſupra dictis.*

And alſo *declare* the Nobility, Subjects and People of that Kingdom, and all others who have in any ſort ſworn unto her, to be for ever abſolved from any ſuch Oath, and from all manner of Duty of Dominion, Allegiance, and Obedience to her. *As We* alſo do by the Authority of theſe preſents *Abſolve them, and Deprive the ſame* Elizabeth *of her pretended Title to the Kingdom, and all other things aboveſaid.* 1500.

Præcipimuſq; & Interdicimus univerſis & ſingulis Proceribus, Subditis, Populi, & aliis prædictis, ne illi ejuſve monitis, Mandatis & legibus audeant obedire, qui ſecus egerint, eos ſimili Anathematis ſententia innodamus.

And We command and forbid all and every the Noblemen, Subjects, People, and others aforeſaid, that they preſume not to obey her, or her Monitions, Mandats or Laws; and thoſe who ſhall do otherwiſe then here commanded, we do involve them in the ſame ſentence of Anathema.

Quia vero difficile nimis eſſet, Præſentes quocunq; illis opus erit perferre; Volumus, ut eorum Exempla, Notarii Publici manu, & Prælati Eccleſiaſtici, ejuſve Curiæ Sigillo obſignata, eandem illam prorſus fidem in judicio & extra illud ubiq; Gentium faciant, quam ipſæ præſentes facerent, ſi eſſent exhibitæ.

And becauſe it would be a matter of too much difficulty to convey theſe preſents to all places whereſoever it ſhould be needful: *Our* will is, that the Copies thereof, under a publick Notaries hand, and ſeal'd with the Seal of an Eccleſiaſtical Prelate or of his Court, ſhall carry altogether the ſame credit with all people judicially and extrajudicially, as the (*a*) *preſents* ſhould do, if they were exhibited or ſhew'd.

a The Original.

Datum *Romæ* apud S. *Petrum*, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Milleſimo Quingenteſimo Sexageſimo Nono. Quinto Kalend. (*b*) *Martii*: Pontificatus noſtri Anno Quinto.

Dated at Rome *at S.* Peters, *in the year of Chriſt* 1569. 24 *of* February, *in the Fifth year of Our Popedom.*

b Their *Bullaria* Edit. Rom. 1638. by a miſtake hath VKal. *Maii*, but the former Edit. *viz. Rom.* 1617. in this is right enough.

Cæ. Glorierius.

H. Cumyn.

Cæ. Glorierius.

H. Cumyn.

As I ſhall not trouble the Reader with the divers Readings and Words (though the ſence be the ſame) which happens ſome times in ſeveral Copies and Editions of this *Bull*; neither ſhall I concern my ſelf with the true *Date* of it, as how the fifth year of this

1500. this mans Popedom cometh to be 1569, which rather falls out 1570, in which year ſome alſo *Date* it: but in what I have done, I follow the Lord (*a*) *Coke*, Mr. (*b*) *Cambden*, (*c*) *David Camerarius*, (*d*) *Peter Matthæus*, (*e*) *Nicolas Sanders*, with ſome others: Though all is not Goſpel which drops from the laſt mans pen, his tongue being no ſlander; yet out of his inventions will *Spondanus* and ſuchlike Forreigners ſpoil their Church-ſtories of *England*.

a Reports, *part* 5.
b *Eliz.* anno 1570.
c De *Scotorum* fortitud *lib.*4. *cap.*1. *p.*265.
d Summa Conſtitutionum. *pag.*624, 625.
e De Schiſmate *Anglicano*, lib.3. pag 368,369, *&c.*

Mr. *Cambden* ſaith, that the Pope did ſecretly *Anathematize* the Queen in 1569, but did not publiſh it till the year after. But let it be as it will, the Learned *Juel*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, writ a Tract (a little after Printed) againſt it, as coming into *England*, and to his hands 1569. And they themſelves confeſs, that this year, the Pope ſent Dr. *Nicolas Morton*, a Prieſt, from *Rome* into *England*, to (*f*) declare in his name that the Queen was an Heretick, and ſo had no right to rule; and that ſhe ought to be looked upon no otherwiſe then an Infidel Pagan, nor in any thing to be obey'd.

f — Anno Domini 1569. R. D. *Nic. Morton* S.T.D. — In *Angliam* miſit ut certis illuſtribus & Catholicis viris, Authoritate Apoſtolica, Denunciaret, *Elizabetham*, quæ tunc rerum potiebatur, Hæreticam eſſe; ob eamq; cauſam omni Dominio & poteſtate, quam in Catholicos uſurpabat, jure ipſo excidiſſe, impuneq; ab illis velut *Ethnicam* & *Publicanam* haberi poſſe, nec eos illius legibus aut Mandatis deinceps obedire cogi. *Nic. Sanders* de viſibili Monarch. *lib.*7. *pag.*730. & 2036, 2037.

Accordingly *Morton* gets into *England*, ſhews the *Papal* Curſe or Cenſure, Argument enough to authorize a Rebellion: the deſigne is laid every where; many are prepared and in a readineſs, the Plot being thought glorious and (*g*) praiſe-worthy: but the main let it ſeemeth was, that the Queens deprivation by the *Bull* was not ſpread carefully enough about, to let all *Romaniſts* know of it. But in the *North* remain'd the greateſt reſolution. Upon which, the Queen eſpecially ſuſpecting the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland*, ſent to them to appear before her; but they jealous of their own guilt, in this neither obey her, nor her Lord-Lieutenant of the North, *Thomas Radclyffe*, Earl of *Suſſex*, Reſident at *York*.

g Illorum Nobilium laudanda Conſilia. *Sanders* ib.

So being puſht on by their followers, hoping not to want friends and partakers in *England*, to have ſome help from *Scotland*, and that Succors would not be wanting them from *Alva* in the *Netherlands* in behalf of *Spain*, which were appointed to land at *Hartilpool* in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*; the great contriver and carrier on of all theſe deſignes, being *Pius* V, as Biſhop (*h*) *Goodman* himſelf doth confeſs. Thus incourag'd, they flee to Arms, tear and trample under feet the Engliſh *Bibles* and *Common prayer-Books*, command all people to joyn with them, by Proclamation declaring now this, now that; in ſome of their Colours being painted the five wounds of Chriſt, in others the Chalice: at laſt they get to *Clifford-Moor*, not far from *Wetherby* in the *Weſt-Riding* of *Yorkſhire*, where they Muſter, and found their ſtrength to conſiſt of betwixt four and five thouſand.

h Anſwer to Sir *Anthony Weldons* Court of King *James*, *p.*55. a MS.

Suſſex and others making head againſt (*i*) them, they retreat Northwards; and at laſt perceiving their weakneſs, divide, flee, every man ſhifting for himſelf. The two Earls get into *Scotland*; thence

i You may ſee ſome of their names in the *Act* 13 *Eliz.* cap.1.

thence *Westmerland* slips into the *Netherlands*, and lived at *Louaine*, very poorly, under the *Spanish* Pension. But *Northumberland* was delivered up to the *English*, and beheaded at *York* 1572, and was look'd upon by the *Romanists* as a glorious and holy (*a*) Martyr, and the drops of his bloud as Sanctified Relicks. And in many other places of the North several were executed (the better to terrifie Posterity) who also are reckon'd as renowned Martyrs. But here passing by the Insurrections of the *Dacres's*, as coming to no great head, I shall return to the foresaid Papal *Bull*. 1500.

(*a*) Concertat. Eccles. Cathol. in *Anglia*, part 2. fol. 46, 49. *Sand.* de Schism. *Angl.* l. 3. p. 363. de visib. Monarch. *pag.* 732

This *Bull* being Printed at *Rome*, was by some (*b*) *Heavenly means* (for so they word it) convey'd into the hands of one *John Felton*, who (that the good *Romanists* might have cognizance of such their Rebelling Priviledges) boldly sticks it up, on the Bishop of *London's* Palace-gates in *Pauls* Church-yard [*May* 25. 1570.] and so stout he was, that he scorn'd to withdraw himself, or flee for his own security; upon which he is seiz'd on, clapt up in the *Tower*; confesseth what he had done, and vindicates the fact; being so far from acknowledging the Queen to be his Prince or Soveraign, that he only called her the *Pretended Queen*, affirming he had done her no wrong, she, forsooth, having nothing to do in the *Throne*, being justly deprived by the Pope. For which he is condemn'd, and suffer'd as a Traytor in the said Church-yard (*August* 8) And though he thus denyed his Allegiance and obedience, renounced his Soveraign and her Authority, and by this action, as much as in him lay, deprived her of Title, Rights and Dominions; yet we shall finde no man more commended by the *Romanists* for this deed, then this *Felton*.

(*b*) Ita divinitus comparatum est. *Sand.* de visib. Mon. *pag.* 374.

If the Learned (*c*) *Thuanus* say, that it was *a very bold or a rash action*, the *Index Expurgatorius* will not have those words to stand, as if they derogated from the glory of the action; and so orders them to be blotted out of his History. Father (*d*) *Parsons* will assure us, that he was a *glorious Martyr*; of which Title (*e*) *Sanders* and others declare him abundantly worthy: And in this opinion, joyns with them, no less man then (*f*) *Spondanus*, Bishop of *Pamiers*, who shews his partiality, by his willingness to trust too much to lying *Sanders*,

(*c*) Lib. 44. Ingenii sive audacia sive meritate.

(*d*) Respons. ad Edict. Reginæ ℔ 352.

(*e*) De visib. Mon. *pag.* 734. Concertat. Eccles. Cathol. in *Anglia*, part 2. fol 42.

But above all, well fare *Hilarion de Coste*, a zealous Fryar, as you may suppose; for he will have him to out-do all the Worthies and Heroes in the world; calls him —— (*g*) *The valiant Souldier and brave Champion of Jesus Christ; commends his invincible courage and zeal for the Faith, which was so wonderful, Noble and Heroick, that* England *doth place his Martyrdom amongst her most glorious Trophees, and most signal Victories, having thus bravely triumph'd over Heresie, whereby his fame is renoun'd in all Writers, who for his valour and courage do praise and equal him with* Mutius, Horatius, *and* Clodia, *who ventured their lives for the safety of their Country.*

(*f*) Anno 1570. ℔ 4.

(*g*) —— Ce Valeureux Soldat & brave Champion de *Jesus Christ*, avec une force d' Esprit invincible, & l' Ardeur de la foy qui le poussoit, eut bien le courage & l' asseurance d' attacher en plein ville de *Londres* —— Certainement cette action fut merveilleusement genereuse & Heroique. —— Aussi l' Eglise d' *Angleterre* met son Martyre parmy les plus glorieux Trophees & au range de ses Victoires plus signalees, comme celuy par lequel ainsi que j'ay desie dit, elle semble avoir triumphé plus glorieusement de l' Heresie: aussi ce coup genereux fait par ce brave Gentilhomme *Anglois* est chanté & rechanté par tous les Escrivains qui ont traitté de Schism de la persecution d' *Angleterre*, lequels universellement le tiuent & extollent comme un acte courageux & comparable à ces miracles de valeur & ces Prouesses que firent jadis un *Mutius*, un *Horace*, & une *Clodia* vierge *Romaine*, qui mirent leur vie au hazard pour salut de la Patrie & de la Republique, & qui pour cela sont & seront eternellement renommez dans l' Histoire. *Hist. de Coste* Histoire Catholique, *l.* 3 *pag.* 560.

Thus

1500. Thus much for the honour of *Felton*; yet when the ſame Pen cometh to tell us of *Elizabeth*, it will allow her no other commendation then (*a*) *The impious and wicked Queen, the true* Jezabel *of our Days.* Thus our late *Puritans* or *Presbyterians*, and this man, ſeem to have the ſame School-maſter, who can commend an *Oliver*, and ſuchlike Rebels, but throw all the filth and ſlanders imaginable upon their Soveraign King *Charles* the Martyr.

a— Cette impie & maudite Reine *Elizabeth*, vraye *Izabel* de noſtre temps. ib.

Another remark there is concerning this *Bull*, the determination whereof ſhall be left to the judgement of the Reader; and for his greater light, let him take this following Narrative.

One *John Nichols* born in *Wales*, thence went to *Oxford*, ſtaying one year in *White-hall*, ſince call'd *Jeſus Colledge*, then removed to *Brazennoſe Colledge*, ſo to his own Country, where he taught a Gentlemans Children; is Ordain'd, turns Curate in *Somerſetſhire*; at laſt gets to *London*, whence he ſhips himſelf for
1579. *Antwerp*; goeth to *Rheimes*, and at length to *Rome*, where he is admitted into the *Engliſh* Colledge. Here he ſtaid about a year, returns
1581. again into *England*, is ſeiz'd on at *Iſlington*, and ſent to the *Tower* of *London*, where he makes a publick Recantation, and in a little time publiſheth theſe following Books, for no more are come to my knowledge.

His Pligrimage,
A declaration of his Recantation.
His Oration and Sermon made at Rome, *with his Anſwer to an infamous Libel.*

b Declaration of the Recantation, K. VIII

In one of his (*b*) Books he hath theſe words:
About (c) *Midſomer laſt was Twelvemonth, they renewed theſe* Bulls of Excommunication, *granted by this Pope* (d) Gregory, *under the colour and name of* Pius Quintus *publiſhed. There were five hundred Copies printed at* Rome, *as two of you (my Brethren) can verifie the ſame; and how they were publiſh'd (as I heard at* Rome) *in the* Engliſh *Seminary at* Rheims, *and were put faſt to Pillars in the City. Theſe* Bulls *of* Excommunication *were ſcatter'd throughout all* Italy, Spain, *and part of* Germany.

c 1580.

d Gregory XIII.

Then a little after he proceedeth thus—*One of your Readers in* Divinity-poſitive, *I am certain before two hundred Scholars, and not ſo few, (as one of you may teſtifie the ſame) moſt impudently and deviliſhly ſpake, that it was lawful for any man of Worſhip in* England, *to give Authority to the vileſt wretch that is, to* ſeek the death *of our Soveraign Queen.*

1582. But this *Nichols* ſtayeth not long in *England*, but ſlips again beyond Seas, upon what account I know not, though I am not apt to think upon any deſigne of turning *Mahumetan*, as (*e*) one would hint to us: however it was, being got as far as *Rouen*, he is ſeiz'd on, clapt up in priſon, and like to pay for his old Tales he had vented againſt the *Romaniſts.* In this perplexity and reſtraint, they tell us how he (*f*) recanted all he had formerly utter'd againſt them, proteſting that what he had formerly divulged, was either through vain-glory, envy, fear, or hopes of Reward.

e *Sanders* de Schiſm. *lib.* 3. *pag.* 415, 416.

f De Schiſm. *pag.* 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, &c. Card. *Allens* Anſw. to the *Engliſh* Juſtice, *p.* 30, 31.

That

That he did recant, we onely have from themſelves; and I can trace him no farther then his impriſonment at *Rouen*: for what they did with him, or what became of him afterwards, I know not; this I am certain, that after they ſay he went out of *England*, that *Dudley Fenner* (an old *Puritan*) publiſh'd a (*a*) Book in his behalf: and it is as true, that *Nichols* himſelf doth ſeveral times proteſt and call God to witneſs, that he hath publiſh'd nothing but truth; to which purpoſe, he himſelf did in print anſwer the objections and imputations laid againſt him by Father *Parſons*. But however it be, I think no great ſtreſs is to be laid upon it or him; and ſo ſhall not conclude that *Gregory* XIII renewed this *Bull*, but rather think that *Nichols* might miſtake the reforcing of it for the Popes interpretation or qualification of it: Yet might not they forge and falſifie *Nichols* his Letters, as they did afterwards *Anthony Tyrrel*'s (*b*) Recantion, and that in Print? 1500.

(*a*) Call'd *An Anſwer to the Confutation of* John Nichols *his Recantion*, London, 1583. In *quarto*.

For ſo it was, that *Pius* V in the *Bull* Anathematizing all people whatever (without any diſtinction) that did any way obey the Queen, the *Engliſh-Romaniſts* look'd upon themſelves as under that Curſe and Cenſure, ſeeing they were forced to obey her, till they had ſtrength enough to Oppoſe or Depoſe her. Upon this, *Parſons* and *Campion*, then at *Rome*, Petition *Gregory* XIII, (who ſucceeded *Pius* V) in the name of the *Engliſh*, to free the *Romaniſts* from that Curſe by his Papal Authority, and a favourable interpretation: Which is granted thus:

(*b*) *Vid.* Concertat. Eccleſ. *Angl.* part 3. at the end.

Facultates Conceſſæ P P. *Roberto Parſonio & Edmundo Campiano*, Pro *Anglia*, die 14 *Aprilis*, 1580.

Faculties granted to the two Fathers, Robert Parſons *and* Edmund Campion, *for* England, *the* 14 *day of* April, 1580.

PEtatur à Summo Domino Noſtro, Explicatio Bullæ Declaratoriæ *per* Pium *Quintum contra* Elizabetham *& ei adhærentes, quam* Catholici *cupiunt intelligi hoc modo, ut obligeat ſemper illam & Hæreticos, Catholicos vero nullo modo obligeat rebus ſic ſtantibus, ſed tum demum quando publica ejuſdem* Bullæ *executio fieri poterit.* &c.

LEt it be deſired of our moſt holy Lord the Explication of the *Bull Declaratory* made by *Pius* the Fifth againſt *Elizabeth*, and ſuch as do adhere to or obey her; which *Bull* the *Romaniſts* deſire to be underſtood in this manner, *viz*, that the ſame *Bull* ſhall always oblige her and the Hereticks, but the *Romaniſts* it ſhall by no means binde as affairs now ſtand, but hereafter when the publick execution of the ſaid *Bull* may be had or made, *&c.*

Has prædictas Gratias conceſſit Summus Pontifex Patri Roberto Parſonio *&* Edmundo Campiano *in* Angliam *profecturis, die* 14 Aprilis, 1580. *Preſente Patre* Oliverio Manarco *aſſiſtente.*

The Pope granted theſe foreſaid Graces to Father *Robert Parſons* and *Edmund Campion*, now to go for *England*, the 14 day of *April*, 1580. being preſent, the Father *Oliverius Manarcus* aſſiſtant.

1500.

And that the *Bull* it ſelf was thus qualified, or better timed, as we commonly ſay, appears by the Teſtimony of Mr. *John Hart* (one of the moſt Learned of their Prieſts then in *England*) in theſe following words.

Lord *Burghley's* execution of Juſtice.

The Bull *of* Pius Quintus *(for ſo much as it is againſt the Queen) is holden amongſt the* Engliſh Catholicks *for a lawful Sentence, and a ſufficient* diſcharge *of her* Subjects Fidelity, *and ſo remaineth in force; but in ſome points touching the Subjects, it is alter'd by the preſent Pope.*

For where in that Bull, *all her Subjects are commanded not to obey her; and ſhe being Excommunicate and Depoſed, all that do obey her, are likewiſe Innodate and* Accurſed; *which point is perilous to the Catholicks. For if they obey her, they be in the* Popes Curſe; *and if they diſobey her, they are in the Queens danger.*

Therefore the preſent Pope, to relieve them, hath alter'd that part of the Bull, *and diſpenſed with them to obey and ſerve her without peril of Excommunication; which Diſpenſation is to endure but till it pleaſe the Pope otherwiſe to determine.*

Thus the *Romaniſts* conclude themſelves free and quit of the Papal Curſe for their not Rebelling againſt their Soveraign; though this interpretation or qualification doth no way leſſen their Treachery, ſeeing it was not ſo much their loyalty, as her ſtrength and proſperity that ſecured her in her Throne; their Obedience being onely a compulſion; the want of a ſufficient force and opportunity being their onely let and hindrance, whilſt their prayers, hearts, and reſolutions were for her Depoſition: ſuch powerful and direful effects have ſuch Papal *Bulls* over ſome mens ſouls and conſciences, to the anulling of Oaths and Allegiance, and the diſtraction of Kingdoms. But enough, and it may be too much concerning this *Bull.*

Chap.

1500.

CHAP. IV.

William Parry *his divers attempts and Treasons againſt the Queen.*

NOt to trouble the Reader with every ſmall attempt, I ſhall paſs by the mad fury of Mr. *John Sommervil*, of *Elſtow* in *Warwickſhire*, whoſe hot brain took ſuch fire by their treaſonable Doctrines, that he reſolved to kill the Queen; but in this raging intent, was ſeiz'd on, carryed to priſon, where he laid violent hands of himſelf. Nor ſhall I here trouble my ſelf with *Throcmortons* tampering with *Mendoza*. 1583.

It ſeems all their ſpight laid at the Queen; and the better to procure her ruine, there was a little Book compoſed, and call'd *A Treatiſe of Schiſm*, which amongſt other things exhorted the women at Court, to act the ſame againſt the Queen, as *Judith* had done with commendations againſt *Holofernes*. The Author of this pernicious Pamphlet, was one *Gregory Martin*, formerly of St. *Johns* Colledge in *Oxford*, and contemporary with *Campion*. The Duke of *Norfolk* made him Tutor to his eldeſt Son: and indeed his Learning was noted, being a good Linguiſt, and one who had read much; but in his Writings was very paſſionate, and ſo ſometimes inconſiderate: he dyed at *Reimes*, 1582. 1584.

In *London* now lived one *William Carter*, who had formerly been *Amanuenſis* to Dr. *Harpsfeld*, and now the chief Printer for the *Romaniſts*, keeping two Preſſes at their devotion: he gets this Book, commended by *Allen*, and prints above a thouſand; for which he is tryed, confeſſeth his printing it, vindicates all contain'd in it, is condemn'd and executed, and hath the honour to be Regiſter'd amongſt their (*a*) Martyrs.

(*a*) Concertat. Eccleſ. Catholi. *Angl.* part 2. fol. 127. *&c. Ruſton* de Schiſm. *Angl. l.* 3.

But let us go to a more ſetled contrived Treaſon, and this acted by *William Parry* (for ſo he call'd himſelf) a Doctor of Law, and a ſworn ſervant to the Queen: Which take as I gather it out of his own confeſſion, letters, tryal, and examination.

In the year 1580, having out-lived his incomes, he became much indebted to one Mr *Hugh Hare* of the *Temple*, who ſuing him for his debt, ſo incenſed *Parry*, that meditating a revenge, one night he went to *Hares* Chamber in the *Temple*, broke open the door, aſſaulted him, and left him there for dead (though he afterwards recover'd); for which offence he was committed to *New-gate*, indicted of Burglary, tryed, found guilty, and condemn'd to be hang'd; and ſo had ſuffer'd, if the Queen through her mercy had not pardon'd him, and given him his life.

But now let us ſee how he requites the Queens grace and favour.

1500. In 1582, he gets a Licenſe for travel, and ſo paſſeth beyond Seas: goeth to *Paris*, thence to *Lyons*, to *Milan*, and ſo to *Venice*, where he fell acquainted with *Benedicto Palmio*, a great Jeſuit, and one received into that Order in the Founders days. *Parry* to him opens his boſome, telling him that he had ſome deſire to relieve the oppreſſed *Romaniſts* in *England*; which he would reſolutely undertake, if the Pope and other learned Divines would warrant the lawfulneſs of the Action.

Old (a) *Palmio* aſſures him of the lawfulneſs of the Enterpriſe, commends his Zeal, and incourageth him in it. This done, he commends him to *Campeggio* the Popes *Nuntio* at *Venice*; by whoſe means he wrote to the Pope *Gregory* XIII, declaring to his Holineſs his deſigne, and deſiring of him a Paſs-port, or Safe-conduct to go to *Rome*, to confer with him about it. The Safe-conduct is ſent him, but not ample enough; and ſo deſires one more full, which is promis'd.

In the mean time he falls acquainted with *Chriſtofero de Salazar*, Secretary to the *Spaniſh* King in *Venice*, to whom he had alſo open'd ſomewhat of his intent. For the better carrying on of the journey and good will, he gets the ſaid Secretary to commend him to the Duke *di Nova Terra*, Governour of *Milan*, and to *Conde Olivaris*, then *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *Rome*; which is promis'd.

Parry having ſtaid at *Venice* ſome time, returns to *Lyons*, whither was ſent to him a ſufficient Safe-conduct from *Rome*, aſſuring him that he might go and come in the (b) word of a Pope, through all the Church-Dominions, without any let or hindrance. But this came too late, he being obliged to go to *Paris*, where he meets with (c) *Thomas Morgan*, who told him, that it was now expected that he ſhould do ſome notable ſervice to God and the Catholick Church. In ſhort, *Parry* there undertook to kill the Queen, if it were warranted to him by ſome Learned Divines; and if his Holineſs would grant him a full pardon.

Aniball à Codretto, a noted Jeſuit then in *Paris*, and Provincial of *Guienne*, lovingly receives him, commends and confeſſeth him. *Morgan* recommends him to *Ragazzoni*, the Popes *Nuncio* then at *Paris*, who received him kindely, ſent his Letters to the Pope, promiſed to remember him in his Prayers, and wiſhed him good ſucceſs. And the better to incourage him, *Morgan* aſſured him that the Laird (d) *Ferneburſt* then in *Paris*, ſhould preſently go into *Scotland*, and be ready upon the firſt news of the *Queens fall*, to enter *England* with 20 or 30000 men, in behalf of the Queen of *Scots* (then in *England*.)

Parry thus incouraged, leaves *France*, lands at *Rye*, ſo goeth to *London*: where he contrives, the better to get acceſs to the Queen, and credit with her, to diſcover how he had been perſwaded to kill her; which he doth at *White-Hall* as cunningly as he can: the Queen gave him hearing, and began to put ſome confidence in him.

1583. In the mean time the Maſterſhip of St. *Catherines* falls void, which, thinking he had gain'd the Queens favour, he endeavours by Petition to get for himſelf. Whilſt he was following this ſuit, Letters came to him from *Rome*, from Cardinal *Como*, wherein he found his enterpriſe commended and allowed: the Paper it ſelf take as followeth.

Mon

a—*By him it was reſolved, that he might lay* violent hands upon her Maieſty; *and commended in that reſolution, and encouraged thereunto.*— Theſe are the words of *W. C.* that is, *Clarke* the Prieſt, in his Reply to a Libel of Fa. *Parſons*, fol. 60. *b.*

b—In verbo Pontificis per omnes juriſdictiones Eccleſiaſticas, abſq; impedimento.

c One that ſolicited the Queen of *Scots* affairs: of him ſee more in a Book call'd, *The Eſtate of the Engliſh Fugitives*, pag. 51, 52, 53, printed 1596.

d *Thomas Kar*, a faithful friend to the Queen of *Scots*, and ſo at this time forced to ſecure himſelf in *France*. He was Father to *Rob. Car* Earl of *Somerſet*.

1500.

Mon Signore,

La Santita di N. S. ha veduto le lettere di V. S. del primo, con la fede incluſa, & non può ſe non laudare la buona diſpoſitione & reſolutione che ſcrive di tenere verſo il ſervitiò & beneficio publico; nel che la Santita ſua eſſorta di perſeverare, con ferme riuſcire li effetti che V. S. promette.

Et acchioche tanto maggiormente V. S. ſia ajutata da quel buon Spirito che l' ha moſſo, le concede ſua Beneditione, plenaria Indulgenza, & Remiſſione di tutti li peccati, ſecondo che V. S. ha Chieſto: Aſſicurandoſi che oltre il merito, che n' ha vera in cielo, vuole anco ſua Santita conſtituirſi debitore a riconoſcere li meriti di V. S. in ogni miglior modo che potra; & cio tanto piu, quanto che V. S. uſa maggior modeſtia in non pretender niente.

Metta dunque ad effetto li ſuoi Santi & honorati penſieri, & attenda a ſtar ſano. Che per fine io me le offero di cuore, & le deſidero ogni buono & felice ſucceſſo.

Di *Roma* il 30 di *Gennaio* MDLXXXIV.

Al piacerdi U.S.

N. *Cardinale* di Como.

Sir,

His *Holineſs* hath ſeen your Letter of the firſt, with the Certificate incloſed: And cannot but commend the good diſpoſition and reſolution which you write to hold towards the ſervice and common good; wherein his *Holineſs* doth exhort you to perſevere, and to bring to effect that which you have promiſed.

And that you may be the more aſſiſted by that good ſpirit which hath moved you thereunto; His *Holineſs* granteth unto you his *Bleſſing*, *Plenary Indulgence*, and *Remiſſion of all your ſins*, according as you have deſired: Aſſuring you, that beſides the *Merit* which you ſhall receive for ſo doing in Heaven, His *Holineſs* will farther make himſelf debtor to acknowledge your deſervings in the beſt manner that he can: And the more, becauſe you uſe the greater modeſty, in not pretending any thing or reward.

Put therefore to effect your Holy and Honourable purpoſes, and regard your health. And to conclude, I offer my ſelf unto you heartily, and deſire you all good and happy ſucceſs.

Rome January 30. 1584.

At your ſervice,

N. Card. *di Como.*

What was the meaning of this Letter, *Parry* himſelf ſhall tell you; of which in his Confeſſion thus:

In March *laſt, while I was ſuing for* S. Katherines, *at* Greenwich (*as I remember*) *came Letters to me from Cardinal*

1500. *nal* Como, *dated at* Rome *the laſt of* January *before, whereby I found*

The Enterpriſe commended and allowed, and my ſelf abſolved (in his Holineſs name) of all my ſins, and willed to go forward in the name of God.---- It confirm'd my Reſolution to KILL *her, and made it clear in my Conſcience, that it was* LAWFUL AND MERITORIOUS.

Here we have him (*a*) confirm'd in his wickedneſs; and it was no ſmall addition to this, the denyal he had of St. *Catherines* Maſterſhip.

In this paſſion he addreſs'd himſelf to Mr. *Edmund Nevil* [who claimed the Inheritance of the *Nevils*, Earls of *Weſtmerland*, and the Title of Lord *Latimer*, as next Heir-male] which *Nevil Parry* offer'd to call cozen; in him he endeavours to foment a diſcontent; and having, as he thought, fully brought over, diſcourſeth more openly with him. At laſt he opens to him about killing the Queen, which he call'd—— *An Act honourable and meritorious to God and the world.*--- At ſeveral times they conſult about it, either of killing of her in *White-hall* Garden, and ſo to eſcape by water, or by St. *James's* on horſe-back. But at all this *Nevil* ſeem'd ſtaggering.

Parry, to take away all doubts from him, lent him a (*b*) Book made by Dr. *Allen* (afterwards for his Treaſons made Cardinal) which had been ſent him out of *France*. And how this Book wrought with *Parry* himſelf, you ſhall ſee by his own confeſſion, thus:

It redoubled my former Conceits; every word in it was a warrant to a prepared minde: it taught that Kings may be Excommunicated, Deprived, and violently handled: It proveth that all Wars Civil or Forregn undertaken for Religion is honourable.

Nevil alſo declares himſelf convinced of the lawfulneſs and braveneſs of the action: and ſo they both ſwear in *Parry's* lodging ſecrecie, and to kill her; of which thus *Parry* in his Confeſſion.

—— *He came to me the next morning to my lodging in* London; *offer'd to joyn with me; and took his Oath upon a Bible, to conceal, and conſtantly to purſue the enterpriſe, for the advancement of Religion; which I alſo did, and meant to perform:* THE KILLING OF THE QUEEN WAS THE MATTER.

The manner and place to be on Horſe-back, with eight or ten Horſes, when ſhe ſhould ride abroad about S. James, *or ſome other like place.*

All

a And Biſhop *Goodman* in his anſwer to Sir *Ant. Weldons* Court of King *James*, ſaith that Car. *Como* incouraged *Parry* to kill the Queen, *pag.* 85,86. a Manuſcript.

b It was call'd —*A Defence of* Engliſh *Catholicks*, againſt the Book call'd, *The Execution of Juſtice*; which Book was made by the Lord *Burleigh*.

All this while, *Parry* carryed himſelf pretty fair with the Queen, 1500.
ſeveral times conferring with her, telling her of Cardinal *Como*'s Letter: by which diſcoveries [though he did it onely the better to gain opportunity and credit] he obtained ſo much favour of the Queen, that ſhe not onely thought him a truſty loyal Subject, but intended him a liberal Penſion or Allowance.

Whilſt he thus gets eſteem with the Queen, and at the ſame time contrives her death, *Nevil* reſolves to diſcover all; doth ſo, and is examined by *Leyceſter*, and Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*. The Queen wonders at the juggle and contrivance, but had it kept ſecret; and the better to finde out the Plot, *Parry* is ſent for by the (*a*) Secretary to his houſe; there to ſee (according as the Plot was laid) if he would any way confeſs this, who had ſhew'd himſelf ſo ready on his own head, to diſcover the Forraign deſignes againſt her Majeſty.

(*a*) Sir *Fran. Walſingham.*

The Secretary entertains him kindely, telling him, that the Queen had appointed him to deal with him in a matter that highly concerned her Majeſty, knowing him to be one, who bare an extraordinary Devotion to her. Having thus begun, the Secretary told him, that the Queen had been advertiz'd, that there was ſome plot in hand againſt her own perſon; wherewith ſhe thought, he could not but be made acquainted, conſidering the great truſt that ſome of her greateſt Enemies repoſed in him. Of this ſhe deſired to underſtand his knowledge; and whether he himſelf might not ſome time have let ſlip ſome ſuſpitious words, not with any real deſigne againſt her, but to diſcover the intention of others.

Parry (ſtrongly confiding in *Nevil*) earneſtly denyed it again and again, with ſeveral proteſtations, that he was neither party nor privy to any ſuch motion or enterpriſe. *Walſingham* dealt fairly with him, telling him that there was a Gentleman, and his friend, who would prove the contrary to his face. Yet *Parry* denyeth all; though probably had he confeſt (and theſe were hints enough) and accuſed *Nevil* at this firſt asking, he might have ſaved himſelf: and in this his great cunning was overſeen.

Parry thus obſtinate in denyals, is not permitted to go home, but lodged that night at Mr. Secretaries houſe within *London*. This puts him in a peck of troubles, fills his head full of ſuſpitions; and having conſulted with his pillow, the next morning he deſired to ſpeak with the Secretary: which granted, he confeſſeth, that now he had call'd to remembrance, that he once had ſpeech with one *Nevil* concerning a point of Doctrine contain'd in one of Dr. *Allens* books, where it was maintain'd, that it was lawful to take away the life of a Prince, to benefit the *Roman* Religion: but proteſted that he talked nothing of the Queen.

That night he was examin'd at *Leyceſter-houſe* before ſeveral; but ſtill he denyed all: whereupon *Nevil* was brought before him, who punctually juſtified every circumſtance before his face; yet the other, as formerly, denyed all. However, he is ſent to the *Tower*, where perceiving the exactneſs of the proof againſt him, he freely, and of his own head, confeſs'd all, and ſent his humble Letter to the Queen, which take as followeth.

YOur Majeſty may ſee by my voluntary confeſſion, the dangerous fruits of a diſcontented minde; and how conſtantly I purſued

1500. *purſued my firſt conceived purpoſe in* Venice, *for the relief of the afflicted Catholicks, continued it in* Lyons, *and reſolved in* Paris *to put it in adventure, for the reſtitution of* England *to the ancient obedience of the Sea Apoſtolick.*

You may ſee withal how it is commended, allowed, and warranted in Conſcience, Divinity and Policie by the POPE, and ſome great Divines; *though it be true or likely, that moſt of our* Engliſh *Divines (leſs practiſed in matters of this weight) do utterly miſlike and condemn it.*

The enterpriſe is prevented, and conſpiracie diſcover'd, by an honourable Gentleman, my kinſman, and late familiar friend, Mr. Edmond Nevil, *privy, and by ſolemn Oath (taken upon the Bible) party to the matter; whereof I am hardly glad, but more ſorry (in my very ſoul) that ever I conceived or intended it,* how commendable or meritorious ſoever I thought it. *God thank him, and forgive me, who would not now (before God) attempt it (if I had liberty and opportunity to do it) to gain your Kingdom. I beſeech Chriſt that my death and example may as well ſatisfie your Majeſty and the world, as it ſhall glad and content me.*

The Queen of Scotland *is your priſoner, let her be honourably intreated, but yet ſurely guarded.*

The French *King is* French, *you know it well enough; you will finde him occupied, when he ſhould do you good; he will not loſe a Pilgrimage to ſave you a Crown.*

I have no more to ſay at this time, but that with my heart and ſoul I do now honour and love you, am inwardly ſorry for mine offence, and ready to make you amends by my death and patience. Diſcharge me a Culpa, *but not* a Pœna, *good Lady.*

And ſo fare well, moſt gracious, and the beſt natured and qualified Queen that ever lived in England.

From the *Tower* the
14. of *February*,
1584. W. Parry.

In ſhort, *Parry* is Arraigned and Tryed at *Weſtminſter*, where at firſt, he confeſſeth all, and that he had a deſigne to kill the Queen; but at laſt, falls into a rage, denyeth it, layeth his bloud upon the Queen and the Judges, and ſummons the Queen to anſwer for his bloud before God. However, he is condemn'd, and
a 2 *March* 1584. afterwards (*b*) executed in the *Palace-yard*.

And here it will not be amiſs to tell what this flaunting and boaſting *Parry* was, ſeeing his impudence pretended great kindred, worth, and no ſmall favour abroad.

His Father was call'd *Harry ap David*, who kept an Ale-houſe in a little Village, *Northop*, not far from the River *Dee* in *Flintſhire* in *North-Wales*; his Mother was a Baſtard, begot by one *Conway*, the Prieſt of *Haulkin*, a poor Pariſh cloſe by. Upon the death of his Father, his Elder Brother kept the Ale-houſe, and did ſo after our *Parry* was executed.

The Traytor now in hand was one of the younger Sons, and was call'd *William ap Harry*, (according to the cuſtom of *Wales*).

When

When young, he learned a little to write and read, went and ſerved one *John Fiſher* of *Cheſter*, who pretended to the Law; with him he continued ſome years, ſerving as his Clerk; in which time he learned the *Engliſh* Tongue, and at ſome ſpare hours went to the Grammar-School, where he got ſome skill in *Latin*. 1500.

About the year 1560, he ran away from his Maſter, got up to *London*, where for ſome time he lived after a ſhirking faſhion, all his ſtudy being to fill his belly and cover his back: at laſt he found a good Maſter, and by degrees, with him and other Maſters, he got ſome money in his purſe. He ſcorns his old name *ap Harry*, but call'd himſelf *Parry*, pretending a kin to all of that name: and from his Mother, Daughter to one *Conway* a Prieſt, he pretends a kindred to the Family of Sir *John Conway*, and ſo allyed to the foreſaid *Edmund Nevil*. Thus having voted himſelf a Gentleman, he marryeth a rich Widow in *South-Wales*; ſhe dyeth; he lives bravely, waſtes all, and runs into debt: His chiefeſt care is for ſome time to avoid the Serjeants: at laſt he falls in with a rich Widow, Mrs. *Heywood*, old enough to be his Mother; and her at laſt he marryeth, but lyeth with her Daughter; ruines the Eſtate, and runs far in debt to Mr. *Hugh Hare* of the *Temple* (aforeſaid) whom in his Chamber he endeavour'd to aſſaſſinate, and is himſelf executed for Treaſon.

Of this *ap Harry* or *Parry*, ſeveral Couplets were made in thoſe times; ſome of which for diverſion take as followeth, where you may ſee his life and Qualities alſo Epitomized.

William Parry,
Was ap Harrie,
By his name;
From the Ale-houſe
To the Gallows
Grew his fame.

Gotten Weſtward
On a Baſtard,
As is thought;
Wherefore one way
Kin to Conway
Hath he ſought.

Like a Beaſt
With Inceſt
He begun;
Mother marryed,
Daughter carryed
him a Son.

1500.

Wales *did bear him,*
France *did ſwear him*
To the Pope:
Venice *wrought him,*
London *brought him*
To the Rope;

Wherewith ſtrangled,
And then mangled
Being dead;
Poles ſupporters
Of his quarters
And his head.

And thus much for *Parry* and his Treaſons; which ſtuck ſo cloſe upon the Papal Reputation, that their *Index Expurgatorius* commands the whole ſtory to be daſht out of *Thuanus.*

Chap. V.

1. Babington, *&c.'s Treaſons againſt the Queen.*
2. *The Romaniſts endeavour to inveigle the more ignorant People to them by their falſe and cheating Exorciſms.*

Sect. 1.

Babington, *&c.'s Treaſons againſt the Queen.*

THe former Treaſon was ſcarce ended, when another begun; which was briefly thus:

In the *Engliſh* Seminary at *Rheimes* in *France*, there were ſome who pin'd their faith ſo much upon the Popes ſleeve, that they thought his Authority could do any thing; and that the Depoſing *Bull* of *Pius* V againſt Queen *Elizabeth* was dictated by the *Holy Ghoſt*: thus wickedly perſwaded, they thought it meritorious to take away her life; and to dye in the attempt, would be a glorious Martyrdom. *Cambd.* Annals, an. 1585.

Amongſt the reſt, Dr. *William Gifford*, Rector of the Students there, and the finiſher of the Book call'd *Calvino-Turciſmus* (*William Reinolds*, of whom formerly, was its firſt Author.) He and one *Gilbert Gifford*, and one *Hodgſon* Prieſts, ſo inculcated this treaſonable Doctrine into one *John Savage* (ſaid to be a Baſtard) that he willingly and ſolemnly vowed to kill the Queen.

To make the day more ſure, *John Ballard*, an *Engliſh* Prieſt of *Rheimes*, plyeth it about *England* and *Scotland*, to carry on the Cauſe, and to prepare his Diſciples; then goeth into *France* to treat with *Don Bernardin de Mendoza* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador there, and ſome others, about the invading of *England*. Having done his errand, he returns to *England*; to forward the deſigne, gets to *London*, where in a Souldiers habit, under the falſe name of Captain *Foſcue*, he agitates his plots.

At *London* he opens the buſineſs to one Mr. *Anthony Babington* of *Dethick* in *Derbyſhire*, a young Gentleman, rich, well bred, and ſomewhat learned; he had a little before gone to *France*, (without Licenſe) and faln in acquaintance with the Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow* Ambaſſador for the Queen of *Scots*, and *Thomas Morgan* an *Engliſh* Fugitive, but a great ſtickler for her.

1500. *Babington* is againſt an Invaſion, as fearing it would not take effect as long as the Queen lived. *Ballard* tells him that that need not trouble him, becauſe *Savage* had ſworn to kill her. *Babington* likes the murther, but moves that five other reſolute Gentlemen might be joyned to *Savage*. This agreed on, they carry on the deſigne for the Invaſion. In the mean time *Babington* giveth notice to the Queen of *Scots* of the deſigned Murther, and deſires her that—— *The Heroical Actors in this buſineſs might be rewarded, or elſe their Poſterities, if they periſht in the attempt*; for ſo he worded it. And in this conſpiracie, ſeveral Gentlemen of Quality were aſſiſtants.

Sir *Francis Walſingham*, that faithful and cunning Secretary, by his Spies diſcovers all, and informs the Queen: and in this, *Gilbert Gifford*, Prieſt (who lurk'd in *England* under the name of *Luſon*, to minde *Savage* of his Oath) was ſomewhat aſſiſtant to *Walſingham*, who had ſuch a liberal hand to intelligence, that though he left himſelf poor, yet ſo truſty he was to his Soveraign, that there was ſcarce a plot againſt her, but ſome of his Spies were intimate and Actors with the chiefeſt of them.

This Plot having run on for ſome time, the Queen thought it dangerous to go too far: ſo *Ballard* is apprehended. *Babington* jealous of a diſcovery, he with ſome of the Confederates hide themſelves in St. *Johns* Wood near the City. Notice being given of their withdrawing, they are proclaimed Traytors; at laſt are found and ſeized on, and the reſt of their Fellow-rebels. Fourteen of whom were (*a*) executed in St. *Giles's* Fields, where they uſed to meet and conſult about the Murther and Invaſion.

(*a*) *September*, 1586.

Sect. 2.

The Romaniſts indeavour to inveagle the more ignorant people to them by their falſe and cheating Exorciſms.

THe *Engliſh* Romaniſts about this time had great hopes of their deliverance from their Queen, by reaſon of the great helps and forces they expected from beyond Seas. And the better to ſtrengthen their own party, and gain Proſelytes in *England*, they fell a conjuring, and playing the fool with the Devil, perſwading ſome ſimple people that they were poſſeſt; and then, forſooth, they muſt be Exorciſed: and to carry on the deſigne, what abominable cheating and ridiculous tricks they uſed, may be ſeen by the (*b*) *Examinations* of the parties themſelves. And yet to this day, do we finde many fond people deluded by theſe Exorciſing Stage-playes, by which cheats theſe Gypſies in Divinity gain to themſelves the favour of good lodging and dyet, and the diſpoſal and impoveriſhing ſometimes of the Eſtates of their too credulous Patrons.

And to theſe Hobgoblin-Mountebanks, we may add ſuch Miracle-Mongers, as the ſimple *Iriſh* Prieſt, who in 1663, pretended to

(*b*) See a Book call'd, *A Declaration of Egregious Popiſh Impoſtures in caſting out of Devils.* The Author of it was Dr. *Sam. Harſnet*, after Biſhop of *Norwich*, and at laſt Archbiſhop of *York*.

to do pretty feats in *England*; and in the latter end of *July*, the ſame year, was ſo confident as to appear at *Oxford*, where ſeveral Diſeaſes crouded to him, all which he undertook to cure, with half a dozen words of falſe *Latine*; but to little purpoſe God-wot; yet had he the formality of a Scribe, to write down the names, places of abode, Trades, and Diſeaſes of the Patients; which for ought that I know, may hereafter, (when the ſtorie's forgot, and the parties dead) be publiſh'd as an excellent preſervative againſt Hereſie, and a confirmation of their Cauſe. 1500.

That in theſe ſort of *Exorciſms*, there lurks alſo a Rebellious Devil, may appear by the Confeſſion of one of their own Prieſts, *Anthony Tyrrel*, written with his own hand, and avouched upon his Oath 25 of *June* 1602; part of which take as followeth.

—*In the year* 1584, *I and* John Ballard *Prieſt (ſince executed with Mr.* Babington *and the reſt) coming together from* Rome *through* Burgundy, *found there a great preſs of Souldiers, and were advertiſed, that they were to ſerve under the Duke of* Guiſe. *When we came to* Roan, *we heard then directlie, that the ſaid Preparations were againſt* England.

The ſame year (as I remember) Mr. Creighton, *a Scotiſh Jeſuit, was taken at the Sea, and after brought into* England; *who by the occaſion of certain* (a) *Writings which he had, was driven to confeſs at large (as I have been informed) what the whole Plot was, and how far both the Pope and the King of* Spain *had ingaged themſelves in it. Here of I doubt not but that ſundrie Catholicks in* England *had ſufficient notice from beyond the Seas, and eſpeciallie Mr.* Edmunds, *alias* Weſton *the Jeſuit, who was then the chief, as Mr.* (b) Garnet *(as I take it) is at this preſent, and therefore could not be ignorant of ſuch important matters, wherein principal men of his own ſocietie was ingaged.*

a This *William Creichton* is the ſame who acted in *Spain* for the Invaſion of *Scotland*; and at his return into *Scotland*, was taken by the *Dutch*: the Papers which he had, he tore and threw over-board, but the winde blew them back again into the Ship: Sir *William Wade*, with a great deal of pains laid them together again, whereby he found out the deſigne of the Pope, *Spaniard*, and the *Guiſes* to invade *England*.

b He was afterwards executed as a Traytor in the Gun-powder-treaſon.

Not long after my coming into England, *in the year* 1585, *Mr.* Martin Aray, *a Prieſt, meeting me at the end of* Cheapſide, *as I was turning to enter into* Pauls *Churchyard, took me by the hand, and whiſpering me in the ear, bad me*— "Be of good cheer, for "that all things went now very well forward: The King of *Spain* "(*quoth he*) is now almoſt ready with his Forces to come into *Eng-*"*land*, and we ſhall be ſure to hear ſome good news thereof very "ſhortly: Wherefore it ſtandeth us now in hand, that be Prieſts, "to further the Catholick Cauſe, as much as poſſibly in us lyeth"— *or to this effect. And this was the State of that time, nouriſhed (as I well perceived) with great hope of ſome great alteration, by the means before expreſs'd.*

About the time of Mr. Arayes *aforeſaid Communication with me, Mr.* Edmunds, *alias* Weſton, *had latelie (as it was reported) caſt a Devil out of one* Marwood: *Whereupon he the ſaid Mr.* Aray, *at the time before mentioned, did highlie commend unto me the* Exorciſms *of Fa.* Edmunds, *ſaying that he (the ſaid* Edmunds) — "would "make the Devils themſelves now confeſs, that their Kingdom

was

1500. " was neer at an end. *Upon the pretended diſpoſſeſſion of the ſaid* Marwood, *ſundry other Prieſts, moved thereunto (I am perſwaded) by the inſtigation of Mr.* Edmunds, *or for that they meant to ſhew their zeal in imitating of him, did take upon them to* Exorciſe, *and caſt Devils out of divers perſons,* viz. (a) Sara *and* (a) Friſwood Williams, William Trayford, (a) Anne Smith, (a) Richard Mainy, *and* Elizabeth Calthrop, *whoſe Neck was found broken at the bottom of a pair of Stairs (as the brute went then amongſt us.)*

(a) These, viz. *Sara* and *Friſwood Williams, Anne Smith,* and *Richard Mainy* confeſs'd all the Prieſts leger-de-main with them.

When I ſaw this Courſe, I liked it well, and was my ſelf an Actor in it; and did well perceive, that it was the matter whereat Mr. Aray *had aim'd, when he told me, that* ---- It ſtood us Prieſts in hand to further the Catholick Cauſe, as much as poſſibly we could---- *And indeed our proceedings therein, had for a time wonderful ſucceſs. I cannot in my Conſcience eſteem the number fewer, that in the compaſs of half a year were by that means reconciled to the Church of* Rome, *then five hundred perſons; ſome have ſaid three or four thouſand.*

As touching the ſeveral manners of diſpoſſeſſing the ſaid Parties, and of their fits, trances and viſions, divers diſcourſes were penned, amongſt the which I my ſelf did pen one. Mr. Edmunds *likewiſe writ (I am perſwaded) a quire of paper of Mr.* (b) Mainy's *pretended Viſions; for he thought, as it ſeemed, to have wrought ſome great matter by him, but was diſappointed very ridiculouſly,* &c.---- *We omitted not the Relicks and Bones of Mr.* Campian, *Mr.* Sherwin, *Mr.* Brian, *and Mr.* Cottam, *to have ſome little Teſtimony by implication from the Devil, to prove them holy Martyrs.*

(b) This Mr. Richard Mainy did under his own hand, and upon Oath, confeſs at large all their jugling and cheating tricks with him.

----*We that were Prieſts, were thereby greatly magnified by Catholicks, Schiſmaticks, and weak Proteſtants; the two former being confirmed in the* Roman *Catholick faith; and the third ſort thereunto reconciled, as hath been before mentioned. And that cannot be denyed, but that in the Courſe which we held with the ſaid pretended Demoniacks, many occaſions were given, and aptly taken, to ſcorn and deride the Orders and Service now eſtabliſhed by her Majeſties Laws in the Church of* England.

Likewiſe I muſt confeſs, that the Courſe we held was ſo pleaſing to ſuch as ſaw it, or were informed of it by thoſe that they truſted, as it proved very gainful unto us all that were Prieſts. We had, out of Queſtion, procured unto our ſelves very great Favour, Credit and Reputation: So as it was no marvail, if ſome young Gentlemen as Mr. Babington, *and the reſt, were allured to thoſe ſtrange attempts which they took in hand, by Mr.* Ballard, *who was an Agent amongſt us. They ſaw, as they ſuppoſed, (for both Mr.* Babington, *and divers of his Company were oftentimes at the* Exorciſings) *that we had a great commandment over Devils, which prevail'd greatly with them, as I think. It would have been a very ſtrange thing (I am perſwaded) that we could not have wrought men at that time to attempt: which was prudently foreſeen by Father* Edmunds *of purpoſe (as I am reſolved in my conſcience) to prepare the hearts and mindes of Catholicks by thoſe practices, that when ſuch forces as were intended ſhould have come into* England, *they might have been more readily drawn by him, and us, to have joyned their forces with them. And this is that I can ſay concerning the*

occa-

occasions, or inducements, that such matters were taken in hand at the time articulated. 1500.

Now as touching the substance of the general Interrogatory it self, I have perused the several Examinations and Confessions of Sara Williams *and* Frisswood *her Sister, of* Anne Smith, *and of* Richard Mainy *Gentleman; and am fully perswaded, that they have deposed the truth, in such points whereof they were examined, belonging to their pretended Possession and Dispossession.*

The effect whereof is, that they were drawn by our cunning carriage of matters, to seem as though they had been possess'd, when as in truth they were not, neither were there any of the Priests ignorant, in my conscience, of their dissimulation; nor the parties themselves (as now it appeareth) of our dissembled proceeding with them.

After I had been my self first at one of their Exorcisings, *it was my chance to lye that night with Mr.* Thomson, *a Priest, and a great Actor in those matters, at his chamber by the* Spittle; *and falling into some conference about it, I used some such words, as though I doubted whether the party were actually and really possessed. For I my self being not acquainted with any plot devised by Fa.* Edmunds, *or any other, spake my minde somewhat more plainlie then I perceive Mr.* Thomson *well liked of.*

His answer to me was in effect, that— "He being my friend, "did earnestly wish me to cast forth no such speeches, what- "soever I did think: For *(quoth he)* the matter is judged to be "so by Father *Edmunds*, and some others that are Priests. Besides; "such Catholicks as have been present at such fits, have re- "ceived it for a truth, that the parties are possess'd. And al- "though I for my part will not make it an Article of my "Creed, yet I think that Godly credulity doth much good, "for the farthering of the Catholick Cause, and for the de- "facing of our common Enemies, and their proceedings: *Or to this effect.*

Not long after also talking with Mr. Stamp, *at the Lord* Vaux *his house in* Hackney, *concerning these matters; and demanding of him seriously his opinion what he thought of them; his answer was,*— "That they were things of such importance, as would "farther the Catholick Cause, more then all the Books, that had "been written of late years, about the controversies in Religion "with the Protestants.— *With which answer I seemed to rest contented, because I saw thereby he was not willing to enter into any plainer course with me.*

— *For although both my self (as I said before) and so I think of the rest, did know that all was but counterfeit; yet for as much as we perceived, that thereby great credit did grow to the Catholick Cause, and great discredit to the Protestants, we held it lawful to do as we did,* &c.—

June 25. 1602.

Anth. Tyrrell.

Mr. (*a*) *Gee* will afford you more hints of their cheats and juglings; whither I refer the Reader: and the (*b*) Author of Father *Pauls*

a Foot out of the snare. New shreds to the old snare. Hold fast.

b Pag. 64. F.

1500. *Pauls* life, writes againſt ſuch Stage-play-Exorciſms, or Puppy-Devils.

But to proſecute our Hiſtory: the Queen was ſeldom without diſhoncurable attempts againſt her: *Don Bernardin de Mendoza*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador in *England*, and afterwards a buſie blade for the *Covenanters* in *France*; here he diſingeniouſly forgetting his place, falls a plotting againſt the Queen, and incourageth others to it; for which he was forbid the Kingdom, and ſo ſneak'd into *France*.

But we ſhall preſently meet with another Ambaſſador more unworthy then the former, and this is *l'Aubeſpine* the *French* Ambaſſador, then lying in *England*; one wholly given up to the *Guiſian* faction. Nothing will ſerve him but the murther of the Queen; to effect which, he tampers with one Mr. *William Stafford*, a Gentleman of good Relations. And at laſt, by his Secretary *Trappie*, deals more openly and plainly with him; promiſeth him, not onely Riches, but great Honour, and ſpecial favour with the Pope, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and with all Catholicks whatever.

Stafford refuſeth ſo bloudy an enterpriſe; but tells him of one *Moody* then in Priſon, as one deſperate enough for any deſigne. *Moody* is talk'd with; gladly undertakes it, provided he might be freed out of Priſon. They conſult of the manner. *Moody* propoundeth Poyſon, or a bag of Gun-powder laid under her bed, and ſecretly fired. But neither of theſe pleas'd *Trappie*, who better diſcover'd his meaning, by wiſhing that ſuch another bold fellow might be found, as was that (*a*) *Burgundian*, who had kill'd the Prince of *Orange*.

a *Baltazer Gerard*, who piſtol'd *William* Prince of *Orange* in *Delfe*, anno 1584. 10 of *July*. Some ſay that he was inſtigated by ſome Jeſuits to perpetrate this murther. However, *Orange* deſerved better at *Gerards* hands, having ſhew'd him ſome friendſhip and favour. *Gerard* was taken, and ſuffer'd death, without any repentance or ſigne of grief for his fault.

Mr. *Stafford* having conſider'd with himſelf the heinouſneſs of this Treaſon, goeth and reveals it to the Queens Council: whereupon *Trappie* is ſeiz'd on, juſt as he thought to have paſs'd into *France*; and upon examination confeſſeth all.

Upon this the Council ſends to ſpeak with the Ambaſſador; he (*b*) waits upon them; they tell him the reaſons wherefore they ſecured his Secretary: *l'Aubeſpine* rants againſt the Council, and pleads the priviledge of his place: *Stafford* and *Moody* are brought in, confeſs the Treaſon, and poſitively accuſe the Ambaſſador as the Inſtigator. He on the other hand at firſt denyeth it, then pleads that had he known it, yet being an Ambaſſador, he ought not to diſcover it, unleſs it be to his own Maſter. After ſome diſcourſe, *Cecil* Lord *Burghley* gravely admoniſh'd him, to *beware how he committed Treaſon any more, or forgot the Duty of an Ambaſſador, and the Queens Clemencie; and that he was not exempted from the guilt of the offence, although he eſcaped the puniſhment.*

b *Jan.* 12. 158$\frac{6}{7}$.

But let others diſpute the Priviledge of Ambaſſadors: and ſo I leave him as I finde him.

Char.

Chap. VI.

The Spaniſh Invaſion.

THe greateſt Enemies the Queen had, were thoſe whoſe births oblig'd them to obedience; but whether their Religion, its intereſt, or ſome bad Principles of the Parties, prompted them to ſuch Treaſons, let others judge. 'Tis certain the *Jeſuits*, and other *Engliſh* Prieſts, were the occaſion of the Queen of *Scots* her ruine; they ſtill thruſting her on to ſo many inconveniences againſt the Queen and Kingdom, that *Elizabeth* was the ſooner perſwaded to conſult her own ſafety, by taking away that which ſought her overthrow.

As for theſe people, when they ſaw no hope of reſtoring the *Roman* Religion, either by *Mary* of *Scotland*, nor her Son; they began to finde out new Maſters; and none more fit for them then the *Spaniard*, whom they vapour'd to be Heir to the *Engliſh* Crown. And concerning this, (a) *Ruggerius Tritonius*, Abbot of *Pinaro*, in his life of Cardinal *Vincentius Laureus*, tells us an odd paſſage, *viz.* that *Mary* the Queen of *Scots*, the day before ſhe ſuffer'd death, did under her own hand in the *French* Tongue declare, that her Son *James* ſhould not Inherit *England*, if he remain'd a Proteſtant, but that the right of the Kingdom ſhould be tranſlated to *Philip* of *Spain*. And theſe Papers were ſent to the ſaid Cardinal *Laureus*, being by *Sixtus* V. made Protector of *Scotland*; who gave them to *Conde Olivares*, then Ambaſſador for the King of *Spain* at *Rome*, with order to ſend them to his Maſter *Philip*: and this did *Robertus Titius* publiſh [though without *Tritonius* the Authors knowledge, and then living] in *Italy* 1599. dedicating it to Cardinal *Montalto*.

Camden, anno 1586

a Vita Vincent Laurei Card. pag. 72.

And this is ſomewhat agreeable to one of the charges laid againſt her at her tryal, that ſhe ſent a Letter to *Mendoza* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, wherein ſhe promis'd to give her right of *England* to the King of *Spain*, if her Son *James* would not be of the *Romiſh* perſwaſion.

The firſt of theſe Stories (b) Mr. *Sanderſon* looks upon as a meer trick and fable; and whether ſhe was really ſo concern'd for her Sons Religion, as to uſe any means for his converſion to Popery, King *James* can tell beſt himſelf: and thus he ſaith,

b Hiſtory of Queen *Mary* & *James* VI, pag. 120.

— (c) *In all her Letters (whereof I received many) ſhe never made mention of Religion, nor labour'd to perſwade me in it; ſo at her laſt words, ſhe commanded her* (d) *Maſter-houſhold, a Scotiſh Gentleman my ſervant, and yet alive; ſhe commanded him (I ſay)*

c Monitory Preface to the Apology, pag. 34.

d Viz. Melvyn.

1500. *to tell me, that although ſhe was of another Religion then that wherein I was brought up, yet ſhe would not preſs me to change, except my conſcience forced me to it. For ſo that I led a good life, and were careful to do Juſtice, and govern well, ſhe doubted not but that I would be in a good caſe with the Profeſſion of my own Religion.*

But whether ſhe undertook to give away the Title of *England* from her Son, was no great matter, it being againſt all Law, Juſtice and Reaſon, ſhe having no power to diſpoſe of the Inheritance of *England*: yet the *Romaniſts*, when all other endeavours fail'd, to rob King *James* of his Kingdoms and life, had the confidence about the year 1613. to (*a*) publiſh a book, affirming King *James* to be but a meer cheat or counterfeit, and a mock-King; denying him to be the Son of the aforeſaid Queen *Mary*.

a Jeſuitica per unitas Belgii provincias Negotiatio. E. 4.

But laying aſide ſuch Forgeries; that the *Spaniard* hath had a deſigne not onely to rule theſe Iſlands, but to be the Univerſal Monarch, hath been the opinion of many men: amongſt others, I finde (*b*) one hath made an Extract from their Original Papers, whither I ſhall refer the Reader. But whatever his former attempts have been, of late he hath rather loſt then gain'd. And though *Naples*, *Flanders*, *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, &c. might do him ſome injury, if they were in the poſſeſſion of others; yet as they ſtand divided, and in a poſture of defence, he can never grow rich by their Coyn. *But to return home,*

b Deſſein perpetuel des Eſpagnols à la Monarchie Univerſelle, Printed 1624. in quarto.

1588. Where we happen in the year, which above an hundred years before, the famous *German* Aſtronomer, *Johannes Regiomontanus*, had affirm'd would be *moſt wonderful*. The Propheſie it ſelf Originally in the *German* Language, went about by Tradition; and *Johannes Schœnerus* repeated them to the noted *Bohemian* Mathematician (*c*) *Cyprianus Leovitius*, who firſt publiſh'd them 1577; which becauſe they have made a great noiſe in the world, [though I finde no great matter in them, ſeeing ſuch general predictions may ſerve almoſt for any year] take thus in the Original.

c Ephemeridum Novum, &c. 10.

Tauſent funff hundert achtſig acht,
Das iſt das Jar das ich betracht;
Geht in dem die Welt nicht under,
So gſchicht doch ſunſt groſs mercklich wunder.

Often have I been troubled at the fate
Of the year fifteen hundred eightie eight;
And (if the world it ſelf don't end) you'll ſee,
For its events, moſt wonderful 'twill be.

In this year I think *France* was the greateſt ſufferer, the *Covenanters* or *Leaguers* there by their *Barracado's* forcing the King *Henry* III out of *Paris*; and he to prevent his greater danger, cut off the Cardinal and Duke of *Guiſe*, which occaſion'd ſo much war, and his own Murther. And beſides theſe two, the third party in that Kingdom, *viz.* the *Hugonots*, received a great loſs by the Death of the Prince of *Conde*, ſuppos'd by ſome to be poyſoned. *England* was in ſome fear, and at ſome charges by the noiſe of the *Invincible Armada*: but *Spains* loſs was ineſtimable

by

by its overthrow. The Lord *Maitland* Chancellor of *Scotland*, undertook in ſhort thus to give us the year. 1500.

(*a*) Papa *Dei, petit Orbis* Iber, *Dux* Guiſius *Orci*
Regna, annus mirus, ſi potientur, erit.

a Poet. *Scot.* vol. 2. pag. 138.

And (*b*) *Andrew Melvyn* hath a Copy of Verſes ſomewhat to the ſame purpoſe. Upon this great Navy, (*c*) *Simon Stenius*, (*d*) *Adeodatus*, *Seba*, *Beza*, and ſeveral other Forreigners beſtow'd their Poetry, to the no ſmall trouble of the *Index Expurgatorius*, which was forced to take the pains to caſheer ſome of them.

b Id. pag. 133.

c Poet. *Germ.* vol. 6. p. 310.
d Poet. *Gall.* vol. 3. p. 655.

For ſome years had this great *Fleet* been in preparing from ſeveral parts in the world: but the Hiſtory of the preparations, fight and victory, I ſhall leave to other Writers, and follow mine own deſigne. Certain it is, the *Spaniard* ſcarce doubted of a Conqueſt; which made one thus to deſpiſe the Queen.

Tu qui Romanos *voluiſti ſpernere leges,*
Hiſpano *diſces ſubdere colla jugo.*

Thou who the Pope doth ſcorn, his Laws revoke,
Shalt yeild thy neck unto the Spaniſh *Yoak.*

And in this hight of idle fancie, *Mendoza* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *Paris*, in the great Church of *Noſtre Dame*, flouriſh'd his Rapier, crying out *Victoria*; but when the contrary News was known, the very waggiſh Pages in the Streets would beg ſome ſmall Gifts or Preferments in *England* from his Lordſhip, as ſuch little Villages as *London*, *York*, &c. Thus would they jeer the haughtineſs of the *Spaniard*, who aim'd at the Government of the whole world; and it may be *Alexander*-like, not content with it neither: to which purpoſe I remember this *Diſtich*.

Præda licet non ſit mundus ſatis ampla Philippo,
Ampla ſatis mundo præda Philippus *erit.*

But though the *Spaniard* thought his Fleet and Forces invincible; yet to make all Cock-ſure, he would have the Royal-Standard belonging to them to be bleſt and ſanctified; and that with as great Ceremony and Devotion as heart could invent.

There was then in *Portugal* one *Maria de la Viſitation*, Prioreſs of the Monaſtery *De la Annunciada* at *Lisbone*; She for ſome years had ſo cunningly carryed her ſelf as a great Saint, pretending to be ſo well acquainted with *Chriſt*, that ſhe uſed to call him Husband; had (St. *Francis*-like) his Wounds or Marks imprinted on her; undertook to Propheſie and do Miracles; inſomuch as Pope, King, and Biſhops, as well as other credulous *Romaniſts*, put no ſmall truſt and confidence in her Sanctity. Vid. *Cyprian Valera* at the end.

This is the good wench they pitch'd on, to bleſs the Royal Standard with Victory. It was carryed in Proceſſion by *Don Franciſco de Cordova*, the talleſt blade amongſt them; there being preſent, the better to honour this grand Ceremony, *Albert* the Arch-duke, and then Cardinal and Governour of *Portugal*;

1500. the Papal *Nuncio*, the Archbiſhop Prime Inquiſitor, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* Commander of the great *Fleet*, with many Nobles, Prelates, Gentry and others; that ſuch a concurſe of people had ſcarce been ſeen.

Maria the gifted *Nun*, with many Ceremonies giveth it her grave and pretty bleſſing; preſents it to the *Conde Medina Sidonia*, pronouncing good ſucceſs, with Victory to him and his Fleet, and that he ſhould return a Conqueror. At this good and ſure *Token*, we may ſuppoſe the people mad with joy; but the bad Event cool'd their courage; and, which was to them as great a wonder, the latter end of this ſame year, this their Holy *Maria* proved a meer Cheat and Impoſture: yet in her predictions concerning the good endeavours of Pope *Sixtus* V, our (a) *Engliſh Romaniſts* put no ſmall confidence.

a Sed ſupra omnes alias præſumptiones lætaſq; hominum præſagiones de hac Pontifice, illud unum maxime omnium animis inhæret ac ſpe quadam certa replet futurorum bonorum, quod FOEMINA ILLA SANCTISSIMA *Ulliſponenſis*, cujus hodie tam evidentia cernuntur evidentia miracula, ac per Univerſum mundum Teſtimoniis *certiſſimis* confirmantur, multis diebus priuſquam moriretur, aut ægrotaret *Gregorius* XIII prædixit illius mortem revelatam ſibi à Domino, alteriuſq; ſucceſſionem, in cujus Pontificatu, ſua Divina Poteſtas conſtituiſſe dicebat magna quædam facere ad ſuum honorem Eccleſiæq; utilitatem, *&c.* *Crudelitatis* Calvinianæ *Exemplo duo recentiſſima ex* Anglia. Printed in *octavo* 1585.

And the truth is, *Sixtus* V was as furious againſt *Elizabeth* as their hearts could wiſh, and very active in this *Spaniſh* Invaſion; for the carrying on of which, he had not onely promiſed the aſſiſtance of his (b) Treaſure, but his Papal Curſe to boot, whereby he undertook to deprive the Queen of her Kingdoms and Dominions; Abſolving her Subjects from their Allegiance, publiſhing his *Cruſaido*, as againſt *Turks* and *Infidels*, whereby out of his kinde-heartedneſs to Rebellion, he gave Plenary Indulgences and Pardon of all ſins, to all who gave their helping hand.

b *Ant. Cicarella* in vita *Sexti* V.

With this goodly ſtuff *William Allen*, a little before made a Cardinal, is ſent into the *Netherlands*, the better to encourage the *Engliſh Romaniſts* to Rebellion. *Allen* pulls out his Papal Tool, which he forgeth into a Pamphlet in the *Engliſh* Language, which he prints at *Antwerp*, calling it,

The Declaration of the Sentence of Sixtus Quintus.

And as a farther interpretation of the Papal intent, and the better to ingage the *Engliſh* to Rebellion, he joynes a ſecond Part to it, call'd,

An Admonition *to the Nobility and People of* England.

And that the Reader may better underſtand the honeſty of the Paper; take the ſum of it thus:

Em. Meteram. Hiſt. Belg. lib. 15 p. 473, 474. Sam. Purchas Pilgrimes, vol. 4. lib. 10. cap. 11. pag. 1895, 1853.

IT begins with *calling the Queens Government impious and unjuſt; her ſelf an* Uſurper, *obſtinate and impenitent, and ſo no good to be expected, unleſs ſhe be deprived.*

Therefore Pope Sixtus V, *moved by his own and his Predeceſſors zeal, and the vehement deſire of ſome principal* Engliſhmen, *hath*

hath uſed great diligence with divers Princes, eſpecially with the Spaniſh *King, to uſe all his force, that ſhe might be turn'd out of her Dominions, and her Adherents puniſhed.* And all this for good Reaſons. 1500

Becauſe ſhe is an Heretick, Schiſmatick; is Excommunicated by former Popes, is Contumacious, Diſobedient to the Roman *Biſhop, and hath taken to her ſelf the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction over the* (a) *ſouls of men.*

a No ſuch thing.

Becauſe ſhe hath againſt all Law and Right uſurped the Kingdom; ſeeing none (forſooth) *muſt be Monarchs of* England, *but by the leave and conſent of the Pope.*

Becauſe ſhe hath committed many Injuries, Extortions and other wrongs againſt her Subjects.

Becauſe ſhe hath ſtir'd up Seditions and Rebellions, between the Inhabitants of Neighbour-Countries.

Becauſe ſhe hath entertain'd (b) *Fugitives and Rebels of other Nations.*

b What did the Pope and *Spaniard* do?

Becauſe ſhe ſent and procured the (c) Turk *to invade Chriſtendom.*

c A ſlanderous untruth.

Becauſe ſhe perſecuted the Engliſh Romaniſts, *cut off the* (d) *Queen of* Scots, *and aboliſhed the* Roman *Religion.*

d Though I wiſh it had not been done, as being an Enemy to bloudſhed, yet the *Romaniſts* were the chief Promoters of her death, by continually thruſting her on to new deſignes againſt Queen *Elizabeth*. But whether is worſe, Queen *Elizabeth* to put to death the Queen of *Scots*, no way ingaged to her; or the *Engliſh Romaniſts* to ſeek and endeavour the Murther of Queen *Elizabeth*, their own Soveraign, to whom they owed all Allegiance and Service? Nor is this ſo bad as the poyſoning of the Queen of *Navar*, and the Maſſacre at *Paris*, 1572.

Becauſe ſhe hath rejected and excluded the ancient Nobility, and promoted to honour obſcure people, and alſo uſeth Tyranny.

Wherefore ſeeing theſe offences, ſome of them rendring her uncapable of the Kingdom, others unworthy to live: His Holyneſs *by the power of God and the Apoſtles,* Reneweth *the* Cenſures *of* Pius V *and* Gregory XIII *againſt her; Excommunicates and deprives her of all Royal Dignity, Titles, Rights and Pretences to* England *and* Ireland; *declares her Illegitimate, and an Uſurper of the Kingdoms, and abſolves all her Subjects from their Obedience and Oaths of Allegiance due to her.*

So he expreſly commandeth all under pain and penaltie of Gods wrath, to yeild her no Obedience, Aid or Favour whatſoever; but to imploy all their power againſt her, and to joyn themſelves with the Spaniſh *Forces, who will not hurt the Nation, nor alter their Laws or Priviledges, onely puniſh the wicked Hereticks.*

Therefore by theſe preſents We *Declare, that it is not onely lawful, but commendable to lay hands on the ſaid* Uſurper, *and other her adherents; and for ſo doing, they ſhall be well Rewarded.*

And laſtly, to all theſe Roman *aſſiſtants, is liberally granted a Plenary Indulgence and remiſſion of all their ſins.*

Here we have the ſum of this Treaſonable Libel, with which *Allen* thought to do great matters againſt his Queen and Country; and theſe were prepared to be ſpread abroad the Kingdom upon

1500. upon the *Spaniards* landing; yet no ſooner is the news known of their defeat, but *Allen* calls in the Impreſſion, burning all he could lay his hands on; onely ſome few eſcaped his Fingers; both he and the Printer having before given ſome Copies to their Friends. The *Romaniſts* for the moſt part priz'd it dearly: though ſome more ſober diſliked it as too ſevere, yet ſome others (we need not Queſtion) might be of the Jeſuit *Currey*'s opinion, *viz.* That —— *it was a work of that worth, as it would yet bite in time to come.*——

Quodlibets, pag. 240.

This *Invaſion* was very much aſſiſted by the *Engliſh Romaniſts* (though not by all, for the Lord *Montague* and ſome others were againſt it.) In *Flanders* lay *Charles Nevil* Earl of *Weſtmerland*, the Lord *Pagit*, Sir *William Stanley*, with about ſeven hundred more *Engliſh*, ingaged and ready to joyn with the Prince of *Parma* againſt their own Country.

What Company in *England* would have taken their parts, I know not. This is certain, that *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, the unfortunate Eldeſt Son of *Norfolk*, was unhappily too much Prieſt-ridden, which procured his impriſonment and a tryal; the cauſe of all which might be laid to *Allen*, who had ſuch a ſway and power over the ſaid Earl, that he could make him do any thing. And the Earl was over-perſwaded to ſet his affection on the *Spaniſh* Fleet, rejoycing at its coming, praying heartily for its ſucceſs, and grieved beyond meaſure at its overthrow. But he is not the firſt Nobleman who confided too much in bad counſel, and whoſe Zeal for Religion hurryed him on to inconveniences.

As for Cardinal *Allen*, he was born in *Lancaſhire* of good Parentage; was bred up at *Oxford* in *Orial* Colledge, where he was *Proctor*; was preferr'd to a Canonſhip in *York*; in Queen *Elizabeth*'s days quits *England*, becometh Penſioner to the *Spaniard*, to carry on whoſe deſignes againſt his Queen and County, he was very induſtrious; for which ſervice *Sixtus* V. created him a *Cardinal* 1587. *Auguſt* 7, and he dyed at *Rome* 1594. *October* 16.

We have formerly ſhown his ſeditious and King-depoſing Principles, of which his foreſaid *Admonition* will give a farther proof: and who were the Promoters of this *Invaſion*, his own words will beſt tell you.

Quodlibets, pag. 240, 241, 247.

——*The King of* Spain *at length, as well by his Holineſs Authoritie and Exhortation, as by his own unſpeakable Zeal and Piety, moved alſo not a little by* My *humble and continual ſuit, together with the afflicted and baniſhed Catholicks of* our Nation, *of all and every Degree, who have been by his ſpecial compaſſion, and Regal Munificencie, principallie ſupported in this our long Exile, hath condeſcended at laſt to take upon him this ſo Holy and Glorious an Act*, &c.

And then proceeds to incourage, nay and threaten too, the *Engliſh* to take up Arms againſt their Queen, and to joyn with the *Spaniards*, and the other Invaders.—— *If you will avoid the Popes, the Kings and other Princes high indignation, let no man of what degree ſoever, Obey, Abet, Aid, Defend or Acknowledge her*, &c.---- Adding---- *That otherwiſe they ſhould incur the Angels Curſe and Malediction, and be as deeply Excommunicated as any, becauſe that in taking her part, they ſhould fight againſt God,*

God, againſt their (a) lawful King, *againſt their Country; and notwithſtanding all they ſhould do, they ſhould but defend her bootleſs, to their own preſent deſtruction and eternal ſhame.* 1500.

(a) How cometh *Philip* to be lawful King of *England?* Vid. *Tho. Bels* Anatomy, *pag.* 98, 124.

As for the Secular Prieſts, you ſhall hear *Watſon* and *Bluet*, the chief of them, thus Confeſs ---- *We had ſome of us greatly approved the ſaid Rebellion, highly extol'd the Rebels, and pitifully bewail'd their ruine and overthrow. Many of our affections were knit to the* Spaniards; *and for our obedience to the Pope, we all do profeſs it.*

The attempt both of Pope and Spaniard *failing in* England, *his Holineſs, as a Temporal Prince, diſplayed his Banner in* Ireland; *the Plot was, to deprive her Highneſs firſt from that Kingdom if they could, and then by degrees to depoſe her from this. In all theſe Plots, none more forward then many of us that were Prieſts.*---- Theſe are the words ſet down in the Book call'd (b) *Important Conſiderations*, compoſed by *Bluet* and *Watſon* two Prieſts.

(b) Pag. 15.

As for the Jeſuits [but of *Parſons* I ſhall treat more particularly hereafter] you ſhall hear what (c) *Clark* the Prieſt ſaith, who with *Watſon* ſuffer'd afterwards for Treaſon againſt King *James*.

(c) *C.W.* A Reply to Father *Parſons* Libel, *fol.* 64, 65.

Firſt, it is moſt certain, that all the world had very admirable expectance of that Army, and the Jeſuits *more then any.*

Secondly, it is plain by the Cardinals Book [(d) *if it were his*] *written as a preparative to that action, that he was made Cardinal of purpoſe for that Exploit, and to have been ſent hither preſently upon the* Spaniards *Conqueſt. But Father* Parſons *ſaith that he labour'd to ſet forward at that time the* Cardinals *preferment* (*if you will believe him*) *which maketh it evident* a primo ad ultimum, *that Father* Parſons *was a dealer in that action.*

(d) They would hint to us, as if *Parſons* were the Compiler of the *Admonition*; but 'tis certain, that *Allen* was the Author of it; his name being to it, and *Pitſeus* with the other *Romaniſts*, confeſſing *Allen* to be the Author.

Thirdly, it is certain, that the Jeſuits *in* Rome *were great with the* Spaniſh *Ambaſſador-Leger there, and had great recourſe unto him when the matter was on foot; doth not this then argue them to be concurrers thereunto?*

Fourthly, it is likewiſe moſt true, that the Engliſh Jeſuits *in* Rome, *appropriated certain Palaces in* London *to themſelves, to fall unto their lots (when this matter was in handling) to wit,* Burghley-houſe, Bridewel, *and another which I have forgot; making themſelves cock-ſure of their already-devoured Prey. This all the Students that lived in the* (e) *Colledge at that time will witneſs with me. Now would I demand of you, what reaſons they might have to be their own Carvers, if they had not ſome intereſt in that affair?*

(e) *Vix.* The *Engliſh* Colledge at *Rome.*

Fifthly, we know, that they were more forward in Rome *concerning this matter, then the Cardinal or any other;* Inſomuch, *as at the firſt news of the* Spaniards *coming down into the* Narrow-Seas, *they would have had* Te Deum *ſung in the Colledge-Church for joy of Victory, if the Cardinal had not ſtayed it.*

---- *And to conclude, doth not the poſting of Father* Parſons *into* Spain, *preſently after the overthrow of this Army, for farther dealing with the* Spaniard *for the time to come, and his better information in* Engliſh *affairs; and Father* Holt *poſting into the*

Low-

1500 Low-Countries *for the like purpoſe, to keep the* Spaniard *ſtill in hope of future times, that this miſhap might not withdraw him from ever enterpriſing the like afterwards, ſhew that they were dealers in the former? Doubtleſs all theſe Circumſtances cannot but ſufficiently prove it, that they were, in the judgement of wiſemen.*

And many other paſſages in confirmation of theſe things might be produced, but that they are needleſs, the truth of them being ſufficiently known; and we ſhall hint ſomewhat more in the ſtory of Father *Parſons*.

However their goodly pretences were for the propagation of Religion, the ſettlement of the Kingdoms, with the ſecurity of the Natives; yet we are told, that as there were ſevere (*a*) puniſhments appointed for thoſe they were pleas'd to call Hereticks; ſo the *Romaniſts* themſelves were to expect no (*b*) favour from their hands, affirming that their conquering Swords ſhould make no diſtinction between the one and the other; their buſineſs being more to make way for the *Spaniſh* Dominion then his Religion.

a Cabala, pag. 372, 373.

b *Watſons* Quodlibets, pag. 176, 177, 242, 249.

And we need not queſtion, the better to carry on this their pretended Holy War, but that in *Spain* (*Presbyterian-like*) as the Learned and Ingenious Poet doth word it, the

Hudibras Canto 1.

> — *Goſpel-Trumpeter, ſurrounded*
> *With Long-ear'd Rout, to Battel ſounded;*
> *And Pulpit, Drum Eccleſiaſtick,*
> *Was beat with fiſt, inſtead of a ſtick.*

Their Prieſts and Fryars to make no ſmall clutter to perſwade the people of the glories and rewards of ſuch a Noble Enterprize. Amongſt the reſt, I finde *Johannes Oſorius* the Jeſuit not a little concerned in this work.

Concionum, *Tom.* 4. *pag.* 72, 73, *&c.*

Two Sermons he makes in juſtification of the War, and in commendation of the *Spaniards*, his Country-men, for thus fighting againſt Hereticks; and is ſo credulous, that he falleth a giving (*c*) thanks for a ſuppoſed Victory. But a little after is forced to alter his Note, and make (*d*) three Preachments of Humiliation upon the overthrow of the Navy; in the ſecond of which, the zealous man groweth a little (*e*) pettiſh and angry.

c Id. pag. 84.

d Id. pag. 90, 91, *&c.*

e Pag. 106. Cum ergo poteremus à Deo Dæmonium peſſimum ab *Anglia* pelli.

What Relation this *Caſtillian* was to the *Portuguiſe Hieronimo Oſorio*, I know not; but it ſeemeth, that they were both grand Enemies to Queen *Elizabeth*, and were willing enough that the *Engliſh Romaniſts* ſhould enlarge and quit themſelves from all tyes of Loyalty and Obedience, though it were to the deſtruction of their Native Country and Nurſing Princeſs; as ſome obſerve, that formerly one (*f*) *Diego Oſorio* was born by the ripping up of his Mothers belly.

f *Antonio de Torquemeda*, jardin de Flores curioſas. Colloq. 1. pag. 26.

'Tis (*g*) ſaid, that in this Expedition, the *Spaniſh* Commanders were expreſly enjoyn'd, that if when landed they ſhould not be able to ſubdue the Nation, and make good their Conqueſt; they ſhould yet be ſure not to leave a Tree ſtanding in the Forreſt of

g *Jo. Evelyn's Sylva*, or Foreſt-Trees, *cap.* 32. §. 4. *pag.* 108.

of *Dean*; by which, they thought, they might in time ruine us, or hinder us from harming them, by thus weakning us, in deſtroying the means of our Shipping. But 'tis well they fail'd in all their deſigns: and a ſhame take thoſe (be their pretence or Religion whatever), who have ſince aſſiſted to the deſtroying thoſe Noble and hearty Oaks: And I fear private intereſt or knavery have too much endamaged our other *Nurceries* of Shipping. But 'tis now held modiſh and in faſhion to cheat the Publick; though to take a few pence from a private man, muſt be branded with Thievery, and very gravely condemn'd to the Gallows. 1500.

1500.

Chap. VII.

Lopez, Squire, York, *and other's Treaſons againſt the Queen.*

THis grand intended *Invaſion* of the *Spaniards* being ruin'd and brought to nought, *England* might now afford it ſelf ſome eaſe, her Enemies not being able on a ſudden to recruit their great loſſes; this defeat in a manner breaking the back, and cracking the credit of *Philip*. But as by degrees he recovered, ſo by the inſtigation of the *Engliſh* Fugitives was he perſwaded to carry on the ſame ill will towards the Queen of *England*.

And here we cannot forget *Richard Hesket*, who being ſet on work by Sir *William Stanley*, and other *Engliſh*, undertook to
1592. perſwade *Ferdinand* Lord *Strange*, (a little after by the death of
1593. his Father *Henry*, became Earl of *Darby*) to depoſe the Queen, and take upon him the Title of the Crown; making *Pedegrees* for him, drawing his pretended right from *Mary* his great Grand-Mother, Daughter to *Henry* VII. And for a better encouragement, they gave him large promiſes of aſſiſtance of men and money from the *Spaniard*; but withal threatning him with aſſured deſtruction, unleſs he would undertake the deſigne, and conceal it.

But the Earl far contrary to their expectation diſcovers *Hesket*, who confeſſing all, is executed. As for the Earl, he preſently after ended his life, tormented in a ſtrange manner, not without
John Stow, p. 767. ſuſpition of Poyſon, others ſay of Witchcraft. As for the Treaſon it ſelf, thus confeſſeth *Bluet* and *Watſon*, two of their
Vid. Tho. Bels Anatomy, pag. 22. chief Prieſts, in their Book call'd, *Important Conſiderations*.

—While the Invaſion *was talk'd of, and in preparation in* Spain, Richard Hesket *was ſet on by the* Jeſuits 1592, *or thereabouts, with Father* Parſons *conſent and knowledge, to have ſtir'd up the Earl of* Darby *to Rebellion againſt her Highneſs.*

This failing, we have another more dangerous, ſet on by perſons of the higheſt rank; but it ſeems not unworthy the baſeſt actions, though any Religion might be aſhamed of them.

As a Prologue to this, we may underſtand, that *Don Sebaſtian*, the forward King of *Portugal*, having ruined himſelf in the *African* Expedition, and his great Uncle Cardinal *Henry* ſucceeding him in the Kingdom, and dying unmarryed, ſeveral made claim to the

the *Portugal* Crown. Amongst the rest, *Don Antonio* Prior of *Crato*, natural Son to *Lewis* brother to *Henry*. To him, being a *Portugaise*, many of the people bare an affection; so that at last the rest let their Titles sleep, and the Quarrel onely remain'd between *Philip* II of *Spain* and this *Antonio*. But *Philip* having the longest Sword, under the conduct of *Alva* wan the Kingdom; so that *Antonio* was forced to flee for refuge to our Queen *Elizabeth*, who afforded him some assistance and favour; by which means and protection, many *Portugaise* shipt themselves for *England*, where they were received as friends, with all respect and honour. 1500.

Amongst the rest was *Roderigo Lopez* a *Jewish* Physitian, whom the Queen entertain'd in her own Service, making him Physitian to her Houshold; and *Stephano Ferreira de Gama*, with *Emanuel Loise*. These three were inticed by the *Spaniard* to undertake the murther of the Queen; for which they were promis'd great rewards: but *Lopez* was to be the main instrument.

1. *Lopez* confess'd, that of late years he had been allured to do service secretly to the King of *Spain*; which he did by the means of one *Manuel Andrada* a *Portugal*, an Agitator under *Don Bernardino Mendoza*, the *Spanish* Ambassador in *France*.

2. That the said *Andrada* brought him from *Christofero de Mora* [a *Portugaise*, but a great favourite of King *Philips*, and an especial Instrument for reducing *Portugal* under the *Spanish* Crown] a rich Jewel, and an encouragement from *Philip* himself.

3. That he was informed of the King of *Spains* hopes of him, not onely by *Andrada*, but by *Roderique Marques* a *Portugais* also, but imployed by the *Spaniard* on such wicked designes.

4. That he the said *Lopez* did assent to these wicked Counsels.

5. That he did secretly advertise the *Spaniard* divers times, of such affairs of the Queens as he could learn.

6. That he did also assent to take away the Queens life by poyson, upon a reward promised him of fifty thousand Crowns.

7. That he sent *Andrada* to confer with Count *Fuentes* about it.

8. That he directed *Stephano Ferreira de Gama* to write Letters to *Stephano Ibarra*, the Kings Secretary at *Bruxels*, to assure the said Earl *Fuentes* and *Ibarra*, that he would undertake as he had promised to destroy the Queen by poyson, provided that he might have the said 50000 Crowns.

9. That he sent these Letters by one *Gomez Davila* a *Portugal*: That the reason why the murther was not executed according to promise, was, because he perceived the delivery of the 50000 Crowns defer'd, though promis'd him from day to day.

10. That to take away this delay of the Execution, Count *Fuentez*, by the King of *Spains* order, did signe and deliver Bills of exchange for the said Money.

1500.

Tho. Robinſon's Anatomy of the Nunnery of *Liſbone*, p. 9.

This money, or part of it, for ſecurity to Lopez, *was delivered to the cuſtody of the Engliſh* Nuns, *then at* Rhoan *in* France; *which monies* [*the Plot failing, and* Lopez *executed*] *was given to the ſaid* Nuns, *who carryed it with them to* Lisbone *in* Portugal, *where they ſetled themſelves in a* Nunnery, *as appears by their Regiſter-book.*

And at the ſame time, by one of the Lords of the Privy-Council, through the interception of Letters, this deſigne was diſcover'd, and *Lopez* ſeiz'd on: he was forward alſo to (*a*) purge old Lord *Burghley* out of this world.

a *Jo. Speed's* Hiſt. in Queen *Eliz.* p. 117.

All this was alſo confeſs'd by *Stephano Ferrera*, and *Emanuel Loiſie*; and that Dr. *Lopez* his Children were to be advanced by the King of *Spain*, and ſeveral other circumſtances And that the Count *de Fuentez*, and *Ibara*, were privy to all theſe actions, take this following Confeſſion to aſſure it.

b One of great credit with the *Spaniſh* Councellors at *Bruxels*.

The Confeſſion of (*a*) *Manuel Loiſie Tinoco*, by his own hand-writing, the 22 of *Febr.* 159¾.

I Manuel Loiſie Tinoco, *Gentleman of* Portugal, *confeſs that the Count* de Fuentez, *and the Secretary* Ibarra *call'd me into the Cabinet of the Count; and both of them together, either of them for his own part, took my hands, putting them within their own, and told me, that before they would declare unto me a certain buſineſs of great Importance,* — "Thou muſt give unto us thy faith and ho-"mage to keep it ſo ſecret, that although thou happen to be ta-"ken there of the *Engliſh*, thou ſhalt not diſcover this ſe-"cret, becauſe it importeth the Quietneſs of all Chriſten-"dom.

And after I had given them my word and faith, with all fidelity and ſervice in ſuch an affair, they told me, Stephen Ferrera de Gama *hath written to us, how* D. Lopez *hath offer'd and bound himſelf to kill the Queen of* England *with poyſon, with condition the King of* Spain *ſhould recompence his ſervices according to the quality of them. All which paſſed in the City of* Bruxels, *in the houſe of the Count* de Fuentez; *and as far as I can remember, it was the* 9 *day of* December *paſt. All this I certifie to have paſſed in great truth and certainty, and do affirm it under mine Oath.*

Again.

I Manuel Loiſie Tinoco, *a* Portugal *Gentleman, do confeſs that it is true, that being in* Bruxels, *in the houſe of the Count* Fuentes, *he cauſed me to be call'd for, and demanded of me, of what Quality and Country* Andrada *was: And after that I had told him all that I knew of him, he commanded his Secretary to ſhew me all the Letters that* Andrada *had written to him from* Calice: *He ſhewed me three Letters; in the firſt he ſignified, that he was come from* England, *where he had been priſoner a long time; and that he*

was

was ſent by order of Dr. Lopez, *who* [*as a man very zealous and friendly to the ſervice of the King of* Caſtile] *was determined to do the King ſuch a piece of ſervice, as thereby he might with great ſafety ſatisfie himſelf on the* Engliſh *Nation. But ſo, as the King ſhould recompence his ſaid ſervices with honours and favours, according to the quality thereof; For he was old, and many ways indebted, and would now finde reſt for his old age.* 1500.

And declaring the quality of the ſervice, he told him, that Dr. Lopez *bound himſelf to diſpatch the Queen with poyſon. Wherefore it behooved him to advertiſe the King of* Spain *thereof with all ſpeed, and he would attend at* Calice *until the anſwer came from* Madrill.

The ſame deſigne was alſo carryed on to murther *Don Antonio*, who then call'd himſelf King of *Portugal*. Concerning which, take part of *Stephano Ferrera de Gama*'s Confeſſion taken the 18 of *Febr.* 159¼.

—*He ſaith, that* Manuel D' Andrada, *about a month before he went out of* England, *did declare to him, that if the King of* Spain *would, that D.* Lopez *would poyſon the Queen of* England, *and the King* Don Antonio *alſo. Which ſpeech being afterwards utter'd to D.* Lopez *by* Ferrera, *the Doctor anſwer'd,*— " As for the King, " he ſhall dye with the firſt ſickneſs that ſhall happen to him: " But for the Queen, we have no (*a*) anſwer as yet from the " other ſide.

(*a*) Meaning, that the buſineſs was not as then fully concluded on, the Doctor being not fully aſſured of his money, without which he declared he would not poyſon her.

In ſhort, *Lopez*, *Ferrera* and *Loiſie*, were condemn'd and executed at *Tybourn*; where *Lopez* thinking to make ſome Vindication, affirmed that *he loved the Queen as he loved Jeſus Chriſt:* at which the ſpectators could not but ſmile, knowing *Lopez* to be of the *Jewiſh* Profeſſion.

At the ſame time that *Lopez* was dealing withal about the Queens Murther, they, to make more ſure, perſwaded one *Patrick Cullen* an *Iriſhman*, and a Fencer, to commit the ſame villany againſt her Royal Perſon. In this Treaſon *Stanley* was very active, who, with *Sherwood* and *Holt*, two Jeſuits, confirm'd him in the lawfulneſs of the action; giving him thirty pounds towards his journey into *England*, (being then in the *Low-Countries*.) But he was taken, confeſs'd all, and is executed.

At the ſame time alſo, lived in the *Netherlands* one *Edmund York*, Nephew to the Traytor *Rowland York*. This *Rowland* was a vapouring *Londoner*, the firſt that brought into *England* the uſe of Tucks or Rapiers in ſingle Duels; before which, the manly Back-ſword and Buckler was onely in practice by the greateſt Gallants: This was that ſcandalous *Rowland York* alſo, who baſely betray'd his truſt, and deliver'd *Zutphen* (of which he was Governour) with himſelf, unto the *Spaniards*, and perſwaded Sir *William Stanley* to do the ſame with *Deventer*; both of them for the future fighting under the Spaniſh Colours againſt their own Soveraign Queen and Country.

The *Engliſh* Fugitives beyond Seas, perſwaded this mans Nephew, *Edmund York*, and one *Richard Williams*, with others, to

1500 kill the Queen. And this wicked Treason was agitating the same time, that *Lopez* and *Cullen* were consulting about theirs. But these Traytors were also seised on, and suffer'd.

1. They confess'd, that for an incouragement, *Hugh Owen* (a noted Traytor) at *Bruxels*, had an assignation subscribed by *Ibara*, the *Spanish* Secretary, of forty thousand Crowns, to be given them, if they would kill the Queen.

2. That the said Assignation was deliver'd to *Holt* the Jesuit, who shew'd also the same to *York*, and produced the *Sacrament* and kiss'd it, swearing that he would pay the said monies, when the murther was committed.

3. That *Stanley* did earnestly perswade *York* to undertake it, animating him with the Example of his Uncle *Rowland*.

4. That to forward the plot, there were several consultations, *Holt* the Jesuit sitting as President.

5. That *Holt* said if this designe fail'd, they would then imploy no more *English*, but Strangers.

6. That at these consultations, there used several to be present, as *Thomas Throgmorton*, *Charles Paget*, *Hugh Owen*, Dr. *William Gifford*, the finisher of *Calvino-Turcismus*, of whose Treasons we have heard formerly; Dr. *Thomas Worthington*, the chief promoter of the *Doway*-Bible, adding some notes to it: He also turn'd *Bristow*'s *Motives* into *Latine*; and in his old age turned Jesuit at *Rome*.

7. It was also confess'd, that there were designed to come into *England*, to attempt her death, one *Tipping* an *Englishman*, one *Edmund Garret* an Ensigne, with a *Wallon* and a *Burgundian*.

8. That one *Yong* had undertaken a Treasonable action too.

9. It was also confess'd that these three, *York*, *Williams*, and *Yong*, determin'd at their coming into *England*, to have put themselves into the service of some great Noblemen of the Queens Council, thereby to have free access to the Court; and every one of them to seek their opportunities.

10. That *Williams*, through zeal to the Cause, had wish'd his sword in the Queens Guts.

11. That they had vow'd, come what will of it, to be the death of her. And how furious and abominable *James Archer* the *Irish* Jesuit and others were, in this *Parracide*, Dr. (a) *Robert Abbot* (and a little after Bishop of *Salisbury*) hath abundantly from their Confessions confuted the Impudent *Andræas Eudæmon-Joannes*, and satisfied all Forraigners.

a Antilogia, *cap* 8. *fol* 116, 117, 118, 119, 120.

And besides those common rewards of riches and favour with advancement here, they were promised the highest of Spiritual Benefits, because their Treasonable Actions could be no less then meritorious; by which they would be certain to enjoy Heaven and its Glory hereafter: For no less rewards and enjoyments did these evil Councellors impudently promise to these bloudy Traytors. As if these Casuists were related to the old Hereticks, the (b) *Cainani*, who reverenced *Cain* for killing his brother *Abel*, and worshiped *Judas* for betraying our Innocent *Saviour*. But why might not they promise as much, when they knew that the

b *Gabr. Pratol.* Elench. Hæret *p.* 110.

Pope

Pope, who cannot err, had formerly bequeath'd such blessings to the enemies of Queen *Elizabeth?* 1500.

All these designes failing, the Fugitives and other Traytors were at their wits end, seeing the Queen raign prosperously and successful; and all their attempts against her ruined, always discover'd, and the main instruments seiz'd on, and deservedly executed. But at last another opportunity offer'd it self.

In the year 1595, Sir *Francis Drake* making his last voyage against the *Spaniards* in *America*, in which he dyed, there was one *Edward Squire*, who was first a Pettifogging Clerk, afterwards an under-servant in the Queens Stables; and now would try his fortune, as a Souldier in this voyage. It was his chance to go in a little *Pinnace*, which unluckily straying from the rest, on the Coasts of *America*, was taken by five great *Spanish* Ships. By which means, much of *Drakes* designe was discover'd; and so a great part of the exploit prevented.

Squire at last was carryed into *Spain* as a prisoner. Here (*a*) *Walpoole* a Jesuit meets with him, and procures him as an Heretick to be put in the *Inquisition*; where with afflictions and fair speeches he drew him to be a zealous *Romanist*.

(*a*) There were three Brothers of *Norfolk* all Jesuits, viz. *Henry*, *Michael*, and *Richard Walpoole*.

This done, he perswades him to kill the Queen; commends the action to him as pious and meritorious, offers him large promises: And at last *Squire* is fully perswaded, and undertakes the murther. At this, the Jesuit *Walpoole* rejoyceth, hugs and incourageth him, bindes him by several Oaths, under pain of Damnation, to be secret, and perform his promises, and not to fear death: *For*, saith he, *what doth it profit a man to gain the whole world and loose his own soul?* Assuring him that if he did but once doubt of the lawfulness and justness of the Action, that mistrust would be enough to damn him, such a sin being seldom pardon'd. *Rob. Abbot.* Antilog. fol. 122, 123.

This said, he imbraceth him; then throwing his left Arm about *Squires* neck, so hugging him with his right-hand, he makes the signe of the Cross upon *Squires* forehead, thus blessing him:—*God bless thee, my son, and strengthen thee; be of good cheer; I will pawn my soul for thine, and thou shalt always have the benefit of my prayers; and whether thou livest or dyest, thou shalt enjoy a full pardon and remission of all thy sins.* And another time thus incouraged him: *There is one thing necessary, which if thou prefer before all other things, and dost fulfill it, I have my desire, and thou shalt be a glorious Saint in Heaven.*

Squire thus devilishly resolved, gets into *England*, goeth to *Greenwich*, where the Court then was; watcheth opportunity; and being informed that the Queen was to ride abroad, goeth to her Horse, holds him according to his place, and cunningly puts strong poyson upon the Pummel of the Saddle; yet saying with a loud voice as she mounted, *God save the Queen.* But such was the providence, that her Majesty, neither in getting up, riding, or getting down, once touch'd the Pummel: yet he doubted not, but that in time it would work the intended ruine, fully perswaded the Queen had laid her hands on it.

Presently after this, the Earl of *Essex* set sail for the Island-voyage against the *Spaniard*: And in this Fleet *Squire* ventured once more as a Souldier, with which he return'd into *England*, and lived for some time securely, not thinking that he should ever be discover'd.

But

1500 But see the luck on't: of this poyson, being great expectation amongst some, and seeing no signes of any such effect, they became incensed against *Squire*, thinking that he had left them and the Cause in the lurch, and meerly deluded them. Thus jealous and inraged, a revenge is resolved on, and *Squire* cunningly accused of some designe against the Queen. *Squire* upon the noise is examined, and wondring how any thing should be known a-
1598. gainst him; yet suspecting *Walpoole* his Confessor, and believing all was fully discover'd, freely confesseth all as aboveſaid; so as a Traytor is condemn'd and executed.

Of these late bloudy Treasons, *Watson* and *Blnet*, two Priests, thus in Print declare to the world.

See *Bels* Anatomy, *p.*22,23. —— *Father* Holt *the Jesuit, and others with him, perswaded an* Irishman, *one* Patrick Collen *(as himself confessed) to attempt the laying of his violent and villanous hands upon her Majesty. Shortly after*, 1593, *that notable stratagem was plotted, for Dr.* Lopez *the Queens Physitian to have poysoned her. This wicked designation being thus prevented, by Gods providence, the Traiterous Jesuit* Holt *and others did allure and animate one* York *and* Williams, *to have accomplish'd that with their bloudy hands, that the other purposed to have done with his poyson, we mean her Majesties destruction. Hereunto we may add, the late villanous attempt* 1599 *of* Edward Squire, *animated and drawn thereunto, as he confessed, by* Walpoole *that pernitious Jesuit.* These words are set down in their *Important Considerations*, pag. 33. And yet Father *(a) Parsons* doubts, whether *Squire* for all this committed Treason, or no; such was the loyalty and honesty of this *Jesuit*.

a Answer to the fifth part of Sir *Edw. Cokes* Reports, Epist. Dedicat. *p.*2.

Thus in part have we seen the great dangers Queen *Elizabeth* run through; her life being continually sought after, both by her own subjects and Forreigners; nor did they want incouragements to oppose their own Queen and Country: Pope *Gregory* XIII allowed them a *(b)* Colledge at *Rome*, the *Guisians* in *France* another at *(c) Rhemes*; the *Spaniard* gave them one at *(d) Valladolid* in *Castile*, and allowed them *(e)* others in other places; besides allowed the chiefest of them Pensions, and maintain'd many hundred *English* in his Wars; though his pay and Pensions were but badly paid to them, yet more and better then such Trayterous Fugitives deserved.

b See the *Bull*, *tom.*2. *p.*319.
c *Sixtus* V by *Bull* desires all to assist it. *ib. p.*411.
d *Clement* VIII confirmed this: *vid. Sand.* de Schism. *lib.* 4. five Appendix, *p.*104.

And for all these Pensions, private fees for Treason, and vast Treasure spent in his attempts against the Queen; what did the *Spanish* King expect for a recompence, but the Crown and Kingdom of *England*? for the obtaining of which, the neareſt that he came, was once (*viz. July*, 1595.) when *Diego Brocher*, with four Gallies, got very early in a morning unperceived, upon the Coasts of *Cornwal*, struck into *Mounts Bay* by St. *Michaels Mount*, fired *Pauls*-Church, standing alone in the Fields, *Mousehole*, *Meulin* and *Pensans*, three poor fisher-Towns, and presently stole home again, without killing one man.

e See *Thomas Fuller's* Church-Hist. *lib.*9. *Cambden*, anno 1555.

This beggerly enterprize was all the reward and recompence of his vast Treasure and toyl spent against *England*. And let them never prosper otherwise, who attempt any mischief against it, and so unworthily foment and maintain Traytors, against their respective legal Soveraigns.

But better had it been for *Philip* and *Spain*, if he had followed the advice of his Grand-father *Charles* V, that famous Emperour,

who

who uſed often to lay down this for a certain Rule, inſomuch that it was one of his Proverbs, 1500.

Con todo el mundo guerra,
Y puſe con Inglatierra.

With all the world make War,
But with England *do not Jar.*

Whilſt theſe Murtherers were, according to their engagements, conſulting the death of the Queen, we muſt not think the *Spaniſh* intereſt altogether Idle, but they had alſo their other Inſtruments and preparations on foot, the better to ſecure this Kingdom to them upon her fall.

As for the Jeſuits, how active they were for the diſturbance of *England*, a *Romaniſt* himſelf ſhall tell you; his words are theſe.

We have alſo certain intelligence, that the Jeſuits have deviſed a means to have had the Tower *of* London *ſeized into their hands, and how they would have it held until the* Spaniard *came to reſcue them. Divers of their Letters have been ſhewed to divers priſoners for proof againſt them, when they have anſwered in defence of the Jeſuits, that they thought them free from ſuch ſtratagems; and amongſt the reſt, there is one of the* XX *of* June 1596, *wherein there are theſe words.* *A. P.* Reply to a notorious Libel, p. 81, 82.

It may be, if the Kings faintneſs and puſillanimity hinder us not (as heretofore it hath) the Armado *will be with you about* Auguſt *or* September. *This is one good help,* Ireland *will be onely for us. The Earl of* Tyrone *and* Odonnel *would gladly have help from hence, and they are well contented to let the* Spaniards *have certain Holds and Forts for their uſes. This will greatly pleaſure to trouble and diſquiet* England; *and in the mean time ſerve for Harbour for their Ships that ſhall paſs that way,* &c.

It were neceſſary you ſhould make it known aforehand, that no Catholick man or woman ſhall take harm, either in body or goods. Let every man be quiet till the Spaniards *be landed, then ſhall there preſently* Proclamation *be made of all ſecurity.*

Of theſe Proclamations there were two hundred printed in *Spain*.

Amongſt other contrivances to bring this Kingdom into confuſion, was the deſigne of *Anthony Rolſton* an *Engliſh* Fugitive, who was ſent over into *England* by the *Spaniſh* Agitators, and Father *Creſwell*, under pretence of procuring a Peace, but the truth was (as *Rolſton* himſelf confeſſed) to diſcover what proviſions there were for war, to incourage the *Romaniſts*, and by Bribes and fair promiſes to corrupt ſome great Lords about the Queen, amongſt the reſt *Eſſex*, as the ſaid Earl confeſs'd himſelf. *Cambden*, an. 1598.

And the better to make cock-ſure, and carry all before them, another Fleet is prepared to invade *England*; and for a further encouragement, as well of *Engliſh* as others to be aſſiſtants

1500. assistants in this enterprise, their Lord high *Admiral* draws up a Proclamation, which was printed and published; and you may take it as followeth, as I meet with it.

Dr. *Mat. Sutcliff's* Blessings on Mount *Gerizzim*, or the happy Estate of *England*, *pag.* 292, 293, 294, 295.

*CO*nsidering the Obligation which his Catholick Majesty, *my Lord and Master, hath received of God Almighty, to defend and protect his holy Faith, and the Apostolical* Roman *Church: he hath procured by the best means he could, for to reduce to the ancient and true Religion the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland, *as much as possibly hath been in his power. And all hath not been sufficient to take away the offence done against God in damage of the self-same Kingdoms, with scandal of whole Christianity; yea rather abusing the Clemencie and Benignity of his* Catholick Majesty, *the heads and chief of the Hereticks, which little fear God, have taken courage to extend their evil Doctrine with the oppressing of Catholicks, Martyring them, and by divers ways and means taking from them their lives and goods,* (b) *forcing them by violence to follow their damnable Sects and Errours, which they have hardly done to the loss of many souls.*

(b) He hath forgot the *Spanish Inquisition.*

Which considered, his Catholick Majesty *is determin'd to favour and protect those Catholicks, which couragiously have defended the Catholick Faith; and not onely those, but such also as by pusillanimity and humane respects have consented unto them, forced thereunto through the hard and cruel dealings of the said Catholicks Heretical Enemies. And for the execution of his holy Zeal, he hath commanded me, that with force by Sea and Land, which he and shall be at my charge, to procure all means necessary for the reduction of the said Kingdoms unto the obedience of the Catholick* Roman *Church.*

In Complement of the which, I declare and protest, that these Forces shall be imploy'd for to execute this holy intent of his Catholick Majesty, *directed onely to the common good of the true Religion and Catholicks of those Kingdoms, as well those which be alreadie declared Catholicks, as others who will declare themselves such. For all shall be received and admitted by me in his Royal Name, which shall separate and apart themselves from the Hereticks. And furthermore, they shall be restored to the Honour, Dignity and Possessions which heretofore they have been deprived of. Moreover, every one shall be rewarded according to the Demonstrations and Feats which shall be shown in this Godly enterprise. And who shall proceed with most valour, the more largely and amply shall be remunerated with the goods of obstinate Hereticks.*

Wherefore seeing Almighty God doth present to his Elect so good an occasion, therefore, I for the more security, Ordain and Command the Captains General of Horse and Artillerie, the Master General of the Field, the Captains of Companies of Horse and Foot, and all other Officers greater and lesser, and men of War; the Admiral General, and the rest of the Captains and Officers of the Army: that as well at Land as Sea they use well, and receive the Catholicks of those Kingdoms, who shall come to defend the Catholick Cause, with Arms or without them: For I command the General of the Artillery that he provide them of Weapons which shall bring none.

Also I Ordain and straitly command, that they have particular respect unto the Houses and Families of the said Catholicks, not touching

touching, as much as may be, any thing of theirs, but onely of thoſe that will obſtinately follow the part of Hereticks: in doing of which, they be altogether unworthy of thoſe favours which be here granted unto the good, who will declare themſelves for true Catholickes; and ſuch as ſhall take Arms in hand, or at leaſt ſeparate themſelves from the Hereticks, againſt whom and their favourers all this War is directed, in defence of the honour of God, and good of thoſe Kingdoms; truſting in Gods Divine mercy, that they ſhall recover again the Catholick Religion ſo long agone loſt, and make them return to their ancient quietneſs and felicity, and to the due obedience of the holy Primitive Church. 1500.

Moreover, theſe Kingdoms ſhall enjoy former immunities and priviledges, with encreaſe of many others for time to come, in great friendſhip, confederacie and traffick with the Kingdom of his Catholick Majeſty, *which in times paſt they were wont to have, for the publick good of all Chriſtianity. And that this be put in execution ſpeedily, I exhort all the faithful to the fulfilling of that which is here contain'd, warranting them upon my word, which I give in the name of the* Catholick King *my Lord and Maſter, that all ſhall be obſerved which is here promiſed.*

And thus I diſcharge my ſelf of the loſſes and damages which ſhall fall upon thoſe which will follow the contrary way, with the ruine of their own ſouls, the hurt of their own Country, and that which is more, the honour and glory of God. And he which cannot take preſently Arms in hand, nor declare himſelf by reaſon of the tyranny of the Hereticks, ſhall be admitted from the Enemies Camp, and ſhall paſs to the Catholick part in ſome skirmiſh or battel; or if he cannot, he ſhall flee before we come to the laſt encounter.

In teſtimony of all which, I have commanded to diſpatch theſe preſents, confirmed with my Hand, ſealed with the Seal of mine Arms, and Refirmed by the Secretary underwritten.

Though Father *Perſons* was very ſolicitous to underſtand the ſucceſs of theſe preparations, yet he did not expect any great matters to be performed by them: and ſo it fell out, to the no ſmall grief (we need not queſtion) of many *Romaniſts*. And to augment the ſorrow of the Hiſpanioliz'd Faction, the death of the *Spaniſh* King hapned the ſame year; to whom ſucceeded his ſon *Philip* III, of whoſe attempts againſt Queen *Elizabeth* you may hear in the next Century.

W. Clarkes Reply unto a Libel, fol. 65.

The end of the ſeventh Book.

THE

THE HISTORY Of the HOLY League AND Covenant IN FRANCE.

Book VIII.

Chap. I.

An INTRODUCTION *to the* Holy League.

THE Beginning of this *Century* had like to have been troublesom to *Germany* by a mischievous *League*, design-ed in the Bishoprick of *Spire*, by a Company of barbarous, clowniſh, ruſtick *High-ſhooes*, and ſo by the *Germans* 'tis call'd *Bundtſcuch*. These, like our *Levellers*, were to raiſe themſelves into as high a Grandeur as any, by ſwearing to reduce all other men to their meanneſs, by equalling all mankind into the ſame condition, by rooting out all Magiſtracy, Dignities and Laws. 1502. Nicol. Baſel Addit. ad Chron. Nancleri p. 394. Laurus Surius Com. p 36.

As for the Church, (which is continually ſtruck at by Traitors and ſuch Sacrilegious Wretches) ſhe was not to eſcape their Villanies, they deſigning to rob her of her Revenues, Titles and Decency, to viliſie and diſcourage her Prieſts, thereby to make her contemptible to very Pagans; yet for all this, as all other Rebels do, they make a grand ſhew of Zeal and Religion; appointing ſuch Prayers daily to be ſaid for good ſucceſs, *viz.* The *Pater Noſter* and *Ave Maria*, and theſe five times a day, and as a word of Cognizance they had the Virgin *Mary*, and *St. John* the *Evangeliſt*. And thus conſtituted, they were reſolved

1502 to give no quarter, but kill all their Opposers as Enemies and Traitors to God. But by the assistance of the Emperour *Maximilian* I. and *Lodowick* the good Bishop of *Spire*, this intended Rebellion was crushed in the very bud, by a timely discovery being made, which occasioned the deserved punishment of several of the chief Undertakers.

But from this we shall proceed to another sort of *Leaguers* or *Covenanters*, who carried on their Rebellions with more success and vigour, which had like to have ruin'd the whole Kingdom of *France*.

In this *League* there were three Families chiefly concern'd, of whom for the better understanding of the History we shall with all haste speak a word or two; not that we design to set down all their Children (leaving that to the *Heralds*) bnt onely those who may afford some light to the more common Readers of this short Essay of the *French League*.

The Families are these of

I. VALOIS, ending by the death of Henry III.
II. BOURBON, next Heir to the Crown, beginning with Henry IV. *King of* France *and* Navarre.
III. GUISE, assisted by their Chief, LORRAIN.

FRANÇOIS I. *de VALOIS.*

Henry II. de Valois *King of* France, *wounded in the eye at Tilt by Count** Montgomery, *of which he died*, 1559. — Catherine de Medicis, *daughter to* Lorenzo *Duke of* Urbin, *Cousin to* Alexander *Duke of* Florence. *She died at* Bloys 1589.

* Beheaded at *Paris* as a Rebel 1574, and the sentence of Treason revoked 1576.

François II. *King of* France, *died* 1560. — Charles IX. *King of* France, *died* 1574. — Hen. III. *King of* France, *murdered by a Monk* 1589. — François *Duke of* Alençon, Anjou, Brabant, &c. *died* 1584.

By the death of King *Henry* III. the Line of *Valois* (so called from a little Territory North-East of *Paris*, betwixt *Picardy* and *Champaigne*) fail'd, and that of *Bourbon* as next Heir succeeded to the Throne, in the Person of *Henry* IV.

ALENCON, a Town in lower *Normandy*; it was formerly an Earldom, but King *Charles* VI. raised it up to a Dukedom, 1414, though † *du Verdier* by a mistake would make us believe, that it was made a Dutchy by King *Lewis* IX. surnamed the *Saint*.

† *Le vray estat de la France*, pag. 65.

BOURBON.

This Family is so named from a Town in *Aquitaine* call'd *Bourbon*, with a difference of *l'Archambault*, to distinguish it from another in *Burgondy* call'd *Bourbon l'Ancien*, but by corruption of speech *Bourbon Lancy*.

It was erected from a Barony into a Dukedom by *Charles* IV. surnamed *le Bel*, 1327. It would be endless to speak of the Antiquity of this Family, according to some men; and for its Commendations * *du Chesne* hath said enough by affirming, that *the Women of it were born to people Christendom, and the Men to defend it*. They draw their relation to the *French* Crown from *Robert* Son to S. *Lewis* IX.

* *Les Antiquitez*, p. 628.

Charles

1502

Charles de Bourbon *the first* — Françoiſe *Daughter to* René
Duke of Vendoſme, *died* 1536. | *Duke of* Alençon, *died* 1550.

Antoine de Bourbon *married to* Jane *daughter and heireſs to* Henry d'Albret *ſecond King of* Navarre, *and ſo by his Wife became King of* Navarre. *He was wounded at the ſiege of* Rouen, *of which he died* 1562.
|
Henry III. *King of* Navarre, *and the* IV. *of* France, *was murdered* 1610.

Charles *the old* Cardinal de Bourbon, *by the* Leaguers *called King* Charles X. *He died in priſon* 1590.

Lewis de Bourbon *Prince of* Condé, *ſlain at the battel of* Jarnac 1569.
|
Henry *Prince of* Condé *died* 1588.
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Henry *born* 1588. *died* 1646.

Charles *the Younger Cardinal of* Vendoſme, *after the death of his Uncle called of* Bourbon, *died* 1594. *He was Head of the* Third-lings *or third party.*

VENDOSME, a Town in *Beauſſe*, was from an Earldom erected to a Dukedom by King *Francis* I. 1514.

CONDE', a Town in *Hainault* or *Henegow*, whence theſe Princes of the Houſe of *Bourbon* took their Title.

GUISE.

This Family is a branch of the Houſe of *LORRAIN*; the Antiquity of which hath been undertaken by *François de Roſieres*, born at *Bar-le-Duc*, and Archdeacon of *Thoul*, and ſo being born a Vaſſal to that Family, we may allow him to ramble as far as he pleaſeth for Originals; and though he Preface his Hiſtory with *Adam* and his Children, yet his modeſty alloweth him to fetch this Family no higher then the ſtory of *Troy*: as it was the faſhion of old Monkiſh Tale-tellers to draw the beginning of moſt Kingdoms from the Legendaries of that ſcatter'd People

Lotharius Emperour of *Germany* (and the rebellious ſon of *Lewis le Debonnaire*) made his younger ſon *Lotharius* or *Lothaire* King of thoſe Territories, which from him were called *Lorrain*, as if it were *Lotair-Riick*, and *Lot-Reyck*, the Dominion, Poſſeſſion, Juriſdiction, or Kingdom of *Lotaire* or *Lotharius*, which was then in a far larger extent then that which is now the Dukedom, to which now the name only belongs.

1502 to give no quarter, but kill all their Oppoſers as Enemies and Traitors to God. But by the aſſiſtance of the Emperour *Maximilian* I. and *Lodowick* the good Biſhop of *Spire*, this intended Rebellion was cruſhed in the very bud, by a timely diſcovery being quell'd, which occaſioned the deſerved puniſhment of ſeveral of the chief Undertakers.

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Lotharius Emperour of *Germany* (and the rebellious son of *Lewis le Debonnaire*) made his younger son *Lotharius* or *Lothaire* King of those Territories, which from him were called *Lorrain*, as if it were *Lotair-Riick*, and *Lot-Reyck*, the Dominion, Possession, Jurisdiction, or Kingdom of *Lotaire* or *Lotharius*, which was then in a far larger extent then that which is now the Dukedom, to which now the name only belongs.

René *Duke of* Lorrain, *who also call'd himself King of* Sicily *and* Hierusalem, *and his eldest Son Duke of* Calabria. — Philippe *Sister to the Duke of* Guelderlandt, *and after his death her Husband* René *took upon him that Title also.*

Antoine *Duke of* Lorrain & Bar, Counte de Vaudemont, Marquess de Pont, *died* 1544. — Renee *daughter to* Guilbert de Bourbon, *Count of* Mont-pensier; *died* 1439.

Claude *Duke of* GUISE, *Baron* de Joinville, *came to the Court of* France, *and obtain'd the Government of* Champaigne *and* Burgondy. *He married* Antoinette *daughter to* François Counte de Vændosme; *she died* 1583. *This* Claude de Guise *was the first and top of that House, which by his children divided it self into these following branches.*

Jean *Cardinal of* Lorrain, *lived in the* French *Court a great Favorite with King* François I. *He died* 1550.

François *Duke of* Lorrain, *died* 1545.

Nicolas Conte de Vaudemont, *and Duke of* Mercoeur. *died* 1576.

Charles III. *married to* Claude *daughter to* Henry II. *King of* France. *He died* 1608.

- Charles de Lorrain, *Cardinal* de Vaudemont, *Bishop of* Toul. *He died* 1587.
- Philippe-Emanuel *Duke of* Mercoeur, *died* 1602.
- Louyse de Lorrain *Wife to K.* Henry III. *of* France.

- François Count de Vaudemont.
- Charles de Lorrain, *a Cardinal, chosen to be Bishop of* Strasburg, *which occasioned great troubles. He died* 1607.
- Henry II. *Duke of* Lorrain.

François *Duke of* Guise, *kill'd by* Poltrot *at* Orleance, 1563.

- Henry *Duke of* Guise *kill'd at* Bloys 1588.
  - Charles *Prince of* Joinville, *after his Fathers death call'd Duke of* Guise.
- Charles *Duke of* Mayenne *died* 1611
  - Henry *slain before* Montauban, 1621.
  - Catherine *Wife to the Duke of* Nevers.
  - Lewis *Card.* de Guise, *kill'd at* Bloys, 1588.
- Catherine *second Wife to the Duke of* Montpensier. *She died* 1596.

- Anne d'Este *Sister to the Duke of* Ferrara, *and Widow to* Francis *Duke of* Guise, *was afterwards married to the Duke of* Nemours.

- Lewis de Guise *made Card. by* Julius III. *He died* 1578
- Charles *Cardinal of* Lorrain, *a Legat in the Council of* Trent. *of him* François d'Isle *makes his* Legend.

Claude *Duke of* Aumale *slain at the siege of* Rochel 1573.
- Charles.

René *Marquess of* Elboeuf *died* 1566.
- Charles *Duke of* Elboeuf.
- Charles *Duke of* Elboeuf *and Count de* Harcourt.

- François *call'd the* Grand Prior *died* 1562.

GUISE, a little ſtrong Town in *Picardy*, which King *Francis* I. raiſed to a Dukedom, and honoured *Claude* one of the ſons of *Rene* Duke of *Lorrain* with that Title.

BAR, a little Dukedom in *Lorrain*; the chiefeſt Town of it is now call'd *Bar-le-Duc*, ſo call'd to diſtinguiſh it from other *Bars* upon the *Seine*, the *Aube*, &c. it was erected into a Dukedom by *Philippes de Valois* VI. 1329. The eldeſt ſon of *Lorrain* (if married) hath this Title.

PONT, now better known by the name of *PONT-A-MOUSSON*, a Marqueſſet and Title of the eldeſt ſon (if unmarried) of the Duke of *Lorrain*.

VAUDEMONT, or *Vauldemont*, a Town in *Lorrain*, being the Title of an Earldom.

JOINVILLE, a little Town on the borders of *Champaigne* towards *Lorrain*, a Principality of the *Guiſes*.

MERCOEUR, a Town in *Languedoc*, raiſed to a Dukedom by *Charles* IX. 1569. for *Nicolas* Nephew to the Duke of *Guiſe*.

MATENNE in *Beauſſe* in the little Territory *Le Maine* (*Cœnomanenſis Ager*) erected to a Dukedom by *Charles* IX. 1573. for *Charles* brother to *Guiſe*.

ELBOEUF in higher *Normandy* from a Marqueſſet raiſed to a Dutchy by *Henry* II. 1581. and given to *Charles* Granchild to *Claude* Duke of *Guiſe*.

AUMALLE, (*Aubmalle*, *Aumarle*, *Albemarle*, in Latin *Alba Mala*, for thus and more variouſly hath it formerly been writ) a Town in higher *Normandy*, anciently an Earldom, with which Titles the Kings of *England* as Dukes of *Normandy* uſed to honour ſome of their Subjects; and the *French* Kings having the poſſeſſion of it have uſed the ſame liberty. *Charles* VII. made it a Peerdom of *France* 1458. and *Henry* II. raiſed it to a Dukedom for one of *Guiſes* ſons 1547, but it is now honoured by *George Monck* Duke of *Albemarle*. Arturus du Monſtier. *Neuſtria Pia*, p. 731, 732, &c.

By this the common ſort of Readers may the better diſtinguiſh and underſtand the variety of *Cardinals* to be met withall in the Hiſtories of the *French* Troubles, and may alſo ſee to what Greatneſs and Honours the *Guiſian* Family hath in a ſhort time been raiſed to in *France*, but whether they were anſwerably grateful to that Crown let others judge.

Some are apt to tell us that *Claude de Vaudemont* (afterwards the firſt Duke of *Guiſe*) came into *France* in the Reign of *Lewis* XII. (Predeceſſor to *Francis* I.) in no ſplendent condition, but by wheedling himſelf into the Favour of King *François* I. obtained to be the Kings Falconer, whence by degrees he rais'd himſelf and his Poſterity above the Princes of the Bloud Royal. And they alſo tell us, that *Francis* I. was ſo ſenſible of the Aſpiring humour of that Family, that upon his death-bed he adviſed his ſon *Henry* to have a care of them, otherwiſe * *They will turn you into your doublet, and your ſubjects into their ſhirts.* Ant. Colynet, *p.* 1 *and* le Contre-Guiſe.

* *Mon fils, j'ay bien apperçeu & cognois pur vray que la Race n'en vaut rien, & que ſi vous faites le contraire, ils vous mettront en pourpoint, & voſtre peuple en chemiſe.* François de l'Iſle, fol. 6. b.

Some may look upon *Lewis* XI. of *France* as a cunning King, being Maſter of Hypocriſie; others may conclude him rich, when they ſee his Account run ſo thriftily (if not beggarly) as Jean Bodin *de la R. publ. que l.* 6. *c.* 2 *p.* 952, 953.

* *Two*

1502
* 20 *Sols.* † 15 *Deniers.*

* *Two ſhillings for two new ſleeves for the Kings old doublet.*
† *One peny half-peny for a box of greaſe to greaſe his boots.*

But certainly he was none of the wiſeſt for turning away his Fathers old Faithful Counſellers and Servants, for neglecting and deſpiſing the old Nobility, and pleaſing and ſorting himſelf with the Plebeans and thoſe of the meaneſt rank; inſomuch that his *Taylor* was his *Herald*, and his *Barber* his *Embaſſadour*.

This way of meanneſs and negligence is ſeldom without a miſchief attending it; and this Family of *Valois* now growing towards its end, wanted the vigour and prudence of her former Kings: now were they *Sardanapalus* like, more apt and fit to accompany the worſt of Women, and hold a Diſtaff, then to manage a Sceptre, or protect a People. Pleaſures were all their ſtudy, and to neglect buſineſs all their care: they were only the picture of Kings, having neither life nor action to Government or Majeſty; leaving affairs to be managed by any that could thruſt themſelves uppermoſt. By which eaſineſs they had the honour to be commended by ſome, hated by others, pitied by moſt as *good-natur'd Kings*, born to enrich a few Favourites, but ruine the whole Kingdom beſides. Though ſome cunning Miniſter of State can throw all their own Extortions, Cheats, and Villanies upon the King, thereby making a double Cheat, abuſing both the King and People.

And thus it happened with theſe of *France*, to whoſe very Name and Family I find ſome to have ſuch a ſpite and hatred, that I meet with a *Cordelier* (called *Melchior*) publickly in the Pulpit to have told the People, 1559. that *As long as any of the Line of* Valois *reigned the people could not be free from oppreſſion, all that Family being ſo highly addicted to tyranny.* And another time he affirmed to his Auditors, that *It was very convenient that four of the greateſt in the* Kingdom *ought to be rooted out, for the eaſment and comfort of the people.*

Guil. Ribier Lettres & Memoires d'Eſtat, tom. 2. p. 799, 800.

That this *Gray Frier* meant the King then in being (viz. *Henry* II.) I cannot ſay; but for number ſake it is not unworth the obſervation, that beſides the King there were but Four men (*viz.* his Four ſons) living then in the whole world of that Family, after whoſe deaths it ended, and the Crown fell to that of *Bourbon*. Nor is it unworth the notice, that the people were then ſo apt to Sedition, that *Antoine* King of *Navarre* who (under his own hand gave the King notice of theſe expreſſions) was puſſled or at a ſtand how to behave himſelf in this affair, fearing the rage of the people, ſhould he forthwith call the *Frier* to an account.

But it is not only the Houſe of *Valois* that is aimed at, but that of *Bourbon* too, as being next Heirs to the Crown of *France*. And this deſign is heavily laid in the diſh of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, who (as they ſay) had for many years conſulted how to make themſelves Poſſeſſors of the Throne of that Kingdom; and finding none ſo much capable by Right, Title, and Intereſt, as thoſe of the Family of *Bourbon*, to thwart and oppoſe their deſigns it was their beſt policy to procure their ruine: to which purpoſe take this following Narrative (but in ſhort) of the *Guiſards* againſt the Houſe of *Navarre* (being the chief of that of *Bourbon*) which though * *Spondanus* looks upon as a Fable, and it may be according to *Pereſixe*, that the young Prince of *Navarre* might be then at *Paris*; yet take the ſtory (though poſſibly with ſome miſtakes) upon the credit of *Thuanus* and *Gomberville*, now one of the *French* Academy, and ſo let him and the preſent Archbiſhop of *Paris* (alſo of the Academy) bandy and rectifie it as they pleaſe.

* *An* 1564. & 8.

An-

Antoine de Bourbon King of *Navarre*, at the Siege of *Rouen* being ſhot into the left ſhoulder with a Muſquet bullet, of which wound he a little after died; thoſe of *Guiſe* conſulted how to make their beſt benefit by the ſaid death. *Jane* the Widow Queen of *Navarre* lived at *Pau*, the chief Town in the Territory of *Bearne*, adjoyning to the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and with her ſhe had her young Prince *Henry* (afterwards call'd the *Great*) now about 9 years old. 1562

De Gomberville. *Les Memoires de* M. *de* Nevers, *v l.* 2. *p.* 579, *&c.* Thuan. *lib.* 35.

At this time *Philip* II. King of *Caſtile* having wars with the *Africans* and *Moors*, his Recruits from *Italy* and *Germany* were to rendezvouz at *Barcelona* in *Catalonia*.

Now doth *Charles* Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and his brother *François* Duke of *Guiſe*, conſult how to extirpate this Race of *Navarre*; to which purpoſe they pitch upon one *Dimanche* to act as Agent for their Intereſt in thoſe parts of *Aquitaine*, where he had as his Aſſiſtants *Monluc* an experienc'd Souldier, *d'Eſcars*, Viſcount *d'Ortes*, with the Captain of *Ha* Caſtle adjoyning to *Bourdeaux*, and ſeveral others, great Favourers and Dependents of *Guiſe*. But the proſecution of theſe deſigns was ſomewhat cool'd by the death of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was ſhot by *Poltrot* at the Siege of *Orleance*. 1563

Memoires d'Eſtat, vol. 2. *enſuite de ceux de M. de* Villeroy, *pag.* 35, 36, *&c.*

Upon this, though a Peace was ſtruck up between the King and the zealous *Hugenots*, where the later were gainers by the Agreement; yet the Cardinal *Lorrain* carrieth on his former Contrivements againſt the Houſe of *Navarre*, making his Nephew the young Duke of *Guiſe* Head of the Plot. And to give a better colour to all, they pretend Religion their Foundation; ſo all Hereticks ought to be rooted out, amongſt which the young Prince of *Navarre* and his Mother, to which Friends could not be wanting, ſeeing the King of *Spain* would aſſiſt them.

To this purpoſe Captain *Dimanche* is diſpatch'd into *Spain* to the Duke of *Alva*, to obtain the aſſiſtance of the aforeſaid Forces at *Barcelona*, which on a ſudden might fall upon *Bearne*, take *Pau* with the Queen, her Son *Henry*, and Daughter *Catherine*; and to prevent any of their Eſcapes, the Friends of *Guiſe* would way-lay them on the *French* ſide; to which end they had ſeveral truſty Commanders and Forces conveniently placed thereabouts. And the Princes thus taken ſhould be conveyed into *Spain*, put into the *Inquiſition* as Hereticks, and then they would be ſure enough. Thus the *Guiſards* would have their deſire, and as a perſuaſive argument to the *Caſtilian*, they told him that things brought to this paſs, the diſpute for the Kingdom of *Navarre* would ceaſe, the Pretenders to it being thus in his poſſeſſion. 1564

Accordingly *Dimanche* gets into *Spain*, waits upon the Duke of *Alva*, who having heard and approv'd the deſign, orders him to go to the King, who was then at *Monçon* or *Monſon*, a Town in *Aragon* where they uſed to keep their Parlements (or *las Cortes*) for *Aragon*, *Valencia*, and *Catalonia*.

For this place *Dimanche* paſſing by *Madrid*, he fell dangerouſly ſick of an high Feaver, and being but badly accommodated in a poor Inn, a *Frenchman* call'd *Anne Veſpier* (one of the Queen of *Spains* ſervants) took pity on him, removed him to his own houſe, where he was better attended on, and by the aſſiſtance of the Queens Phyſicians recovered. For which kindneſs and other great favours *Dimanche* and *Veſpier* enter into a ſtrict Familiarity and Friendſhip. In ſhort, *Dimanche* thinking to make uſe of him in his abſence for ſome Intelligence, diſcovers his buſineſs and the Plot to him.

Veſpier

Vespier being born at *Nerac* in *Gascogne*, so a Vassal and Subject to the King of *Navarre*, was guided by so much Loyalty as to resolve to prevent the ruine of his Soveraign; for which purpose he had this advantage: The present Queen of *Spain* was *Elizabeth* daughter to *Henry* II. King of *France*, and so sister to *Charles* IX. then reigning King of *France*, and thus near related to the House of *Navarre*. *Vespier*, a servant to this Queen *Elizabeth*, thinks upon the most convenient way to inform her of all; for which he addresseth himself to the Grand Almoner and Tutor, by whose means all is fully discover'd to her, who resolveth to write of it to her Brother and Sister the King and Queen of *France*. Notice is also given to *Sieur de St. Suplice* the *French* Embassadour then in the *Spanish* Court at *Monçon*, with a desire to inform the Queen of *Navarre* at *Pau*, that she might better consult and provide for her own safety.

Dimanche gets to *Monçon*, opens all to King *Philip*; in the mean time *de St. Suplice* (one well acquainted with State matters, and after imployed by the *French* Court) dispatcheth his Secretary *Rouleau* into *France*, with the Letters and Intelligence: whereby the Queen of *Navarre* had means to secure her self, and the Plot was spoiled by this discovery. Yet *Dimanche* having done with *Spain* hasts to *Paris*, where he is privately lodg'd in the Duke of *Guise* his house, and for some time after at a Monastery belonging to the Friars call'd *Bons hommes*, adjoyning to the Wood of *Nostre Dame de Boulogne* near *St. Cloud*, not far from *Paris*.

And though the *Spanish* Money and Interest at this time had such a sway in the *French* Council and Court, that Captain *Dimanche* (though it was desired) was not suffered to be seised on in his return from *Spain*, (whereby they might have discover'd further into the Plot by himself and his Papers) yet was *Philip* and *Guise* both gull'd, and the House of *Navarre* preserved to sit in the Throne. And though the Queen of *Navarre* complained of this Conspiracy, and desired justice of the House of *Lorrain*, yet *Catherine de Medicis* (one not apt to be commended in History) the Queen-mother, turn'd it off by telling her, that it was best to forgive those injuries they could not punish. And indeed the Interest of the *Guises* was then so powerful, that it was dangerous to call them to an account.

1563. Spondan. An. 48. 49, 50, 51. Davila p. 191.

Whilest these things were closely carrying on, Pope *Pius* IV. was also sollicited to use his Authority against the Queen of *Navarre*, which would give a greater color and encouragement for others to attaque her accordingly, because she was of the Reformed Religion. He falleth to work, publisheth a *Citation* or *Monitory* against her, concluding that if she did not turn a *Romanist* within six moneths, he would deprive her of her Dominions, and give them to any that would conquer them.

At this the *French* King is not a little troubled, looking upon it as a thing of dangerous consequence, as the common cases of all other Kings; nor did he like that any third party should have any pretence to seize upon those Territories which lay so near to and convenient for *Spain*, whom possibly he might suspect, though it is said that *Philip* complemented Queen *Jane* with an assurance, that he would protect her and her Dominions against any that should assault them.

Besides this, another thing happened which did not a little perplex the King, the Council of *Trent* (as they call it) being now ended, Cardinal *de Lorrain* desired the Pope to use his Interest with the *French* King, that it should be receiv'd and approv'd of in his Dominions, that he would

root out the *Huguenots*; that he would break the late Peace made with them; that he would puniſh the Acceſſors to the death of *Guiſe*, *&c.*; And that theſe Petitions might carry the greater awe, an Embaſſadour is ſent as from the Pope, the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, to demand them from *Charles*, who is not a little puzled how to behave himſelf in this caſe. 1564

For to refuſe the Council of *Trent* would render him ſuſpect to the Pope; to receive it would be againſt the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church: to make war againſt the *Huguenots* would not advantage him, as he had found by experience, and he did not much care for Forein aſſiſtance; to extirpate them quite was not probable to be done, and if he ſhould he muſt deſtroy many of his neareſt Relations; however ſo weaken and impoveriſh the Kingdom, that at laſt it might become a prey to a third party. As for the death of the Duke of *Guiſe*, *Poltrot* (who ſhot him) was executed for it; and though he had accuſed Admiral *Caligny*, *Beza*, and ſome others, as Inſtigators of him to it, yet they had publickly diſown'd it both by Oath and Declarations: beſides, *Poltrot* did vary in his Accuſations, and ſo his Credit not poſſitively to be ſtood to. However the King by his cunning doubtful Anſwers and Delays wheedled all theſe things off, to the no ſmall trouble of the *Guiſians*, who hoped for a war and troubles, that being the only way to raiſe themſelves, and carry on their deſigns.

Yet was not the Houſe of *Navarre* free from danger, for *Pius* V. adviſed the Queen-mother to ſeiſe upon their Dominions, ſeeing Queen *Jane* was an Heretick; or if ſhe approv'd not of this, that he might by his Papal Authority appoint one of the Family of *Valois* to be King of thoſe Territories: that for his part if neither of theſe liked her, he was reſolved to give to the King of *Spain* that part of the Kingdom which *Jane* poſſeſſed. I ſuppoſe he did not mean all thoſe Territories in *France*, which for her Son ſhe governed as Queen of *Navarre*, but only that little ſpot of ground which lieth North of the *Pyrenean* Mountains in *Gaſcogne*, which the *French* do call the lower *Navarre*, having St. *Jean-Pied-de-Port*, St. *Pelage*, and a few other little Towns in it. 1568 Spond. § 26.

But which of them the Pope meant is no great matter, for both of them if gain'd muſt be won by the Sword, which it ſeems at this time *Philip* had no mind to, whereupon this went no further then a vapour, and ſo I leave it.

But nothing can more clearly demonſtrate the intent and deſign of the *Guiſards*, then the Maſſacre of *Paris*, (a ſlaughter ſo much the worſe becauſe of its long contrivance before the action, *viz.* almoſt * two years, for ſo long was it concluded on before) where the † Duke of *Guiſe* was very urgent and earneſt that the young King of *Navarre* and his young Couſin the Prince of *Condé* (the next Heir to the Crown after *Navarre*) ſhould be both ſlain with the reſt; but others (though cruel enough) oppos'd this, as not willing to imbrue their hands in the *Bloud Royal*, which would ſeem ſo abominable all the world over. 1572 * Davila p. 346, 350, 355, 356, 357. † Id. p. 370.

But whether at this time the *Guiſards* had any deſign to ſecure themſelves of the *French* Crown I ſhall not ſay any thing, though that they had afterwards is apparent and confeſt by all Hiſtorians. And thus much by the way, though one might enlarge himſelf on this bloudy ſtory, by obſerving how the King endeavouring a vindication of himſelf, did make the thing worſe by his many Contradictions, as appears by his * Letters and Declarations.

* *Vid.* Erneſt. Varamund. de Furoribus Gallicis.

1572 Sometimes declaring how ſorry he was for the death of his *Couſin* the Admiral, how the *Maſſacre* was acted without his knowledge, how it was contriv'd and done only by thoſe of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, upon ſome quarrel between them and the Admiral; that it was not in his power to hinder it, he having enough to do to ſecure and guard himſelf, his Queen, his Brethren, the King of *Navarre*, &c. in his Palace the *Louvre*; that he is for peace, and deſires all to keep the Edict of Pacification, &c.

Othertimes he declareth that the Maſſacre was done by his expreſs will and commandment; that it was acted for the ſecurity of himſelf and Friends; that the Admiral and *Huguenots* had plotted and determined to deſtroy him, his Queen, his Brethren, the King of *Navarre*, &c. Now orders all of the Reformed Religion to be turn'd out of their Imployments, Places, and Eſtates; and then that they ſhall be * maſſacred after the ſame manner all *France* over, &c.

* Davila, p. 735.

12 June. And as a forerunner to all theſe ſlaughters happened the ſudden death of *Jane* the ſtout Queen of *Navarre*, who being come to *Paris* (upon earneſt Invitations) about her ſons Marriage, was (as is commonly believed) poiſoned by order of the King and Queen-mothers private cabal. Certain it is, though all the reſt of her body was diſſected and open'd to view, yet the King would * not by any means let her Head be touched, he knowing (as † *Davilla* ſaith) that the poiſon (of the Perfum'd Gloves prepar'd for her) had only wrought upon her Brain.

* Thuan. l. 49.

† p 364.

18 Auguſt But for all this the Marriage went on, and was ſolemniz'd between the young King of *Navarre* (for now *Henry* after the death of his Mother took upon him the Title of *King*, being before only call'd *Prince*) and *Margaret* Daughter to *Henry* II. of *France*, and Siſter to *Charles* IX. a Lady of excellent parts, as appears by her writing, though it may be truly ſaid of her *Memoires*, that ſhe wrote them more to juſtifie her ſelf, and wipe off ſome ſtains, then to inform poſterity of what was true, for all is not currant that ſhe atteſts. However it be, having been married many years without either Children or Affection to her Husband, ſhe was at laſt divorced from him 1599, as being married againſt her will, and to one that was then an Heretick, and too near a kin to her, beſides the Spiritual Relation, her Father *Henry* II. having been Godfather to her Husband; and all theſe *Nullities* confirm'd, and to the Divorſe ratified by *Clement* VIII. though Pope *Gregory* XIII. had formerly diſpens'd with them, and approved of the Marriage.

But for all theſe pretences the truth of it was, that this King naturally gave himſelf up to the pleaſure of variety, to which he wanted not many flattering promoters, inſomuch that ſome of his Dames of pleaſure wanted but a little to ſit in the Throne; and *Margaret* having been thus for 27 years fruitleſs, the people deſired ſucceſſion by ſome other means, which afterwards happened from *Maria de Medicis* daughter to *Francisco* Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, married upon the Divorce to this *Henry*. *Margaret* (who yet kept the Title of *Queen*) died 1615, who doth * confeſs, that the Contrivers of this Maſſacre did deſign it not only againſt the *Huguenots*, but alſo againſt the Princes of the Bloud Royal, and that they were not a little angry when they underſtood that the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé* were preſerved from the ſlaughter.

* *Memoires* p. 31.

And what vertue or goodneſs could then be expected in the *French* Court, of which a late excellent Author doth give this Character? That *then it, never was there any more vicious or more corrupted; where then Atheiſm, Sorcery, Impiety, Ingratitude, Perfidiouſneſs, Poiſonings,*

Hard. de Peresixe Hiſt. Hen. le Grand.

Mur-

Murderings, and ſuch like horrible wickedneſſes, did ſway in the higheſt degree. 1572

To which we might adde the deſigns of *Catherine de Medicis*, the Queen-mother, one that hath left a very bad and black Character behind her, ſome making her the Authoreſs of the many miſeries of that Kingdom, and amongſt many others I find one thus very biting againſt her.

Tres Erebi *Furias ne poſthac credite vates,*
Addita nam quarta eſt nunc Catherina *tribus:*
Quod ſi tres Furias à ſe dimitteret Orcus,
Hæc Catherina *foret pro tribus una ſatis.*

The. Lanſ. Conſult. *Germ.* p. 272

That th' *Furies* are but three now ſpeak no more,
Since *Catherine* doth make the number four:
And yet ſhould Hell caſhier thoſe three, this *Kate*
Alone would ſerve to plague grim *Pluto*'s State.

And we might alſo ſuppoſe, that the ill-will theſe Brothers of *Valois* bare one to another might be ſome advantage to theſe troubles; and one tells us, that they endeavour'd to raviſh the *French* Crown one from another, on which he remarks (as it were by a judgment) that they all died unhappily. And poſſibly theſe Garboils and miſeries might be ſomwhat promoted by the natural humour of that Nation, which is ſaid to be very * *Fickle* and Quarrelſom; the Sieur *Montaigne* himſelf confeſſing and aſſerting, That † *if three Frenchmen were put together in the wilde deſarts of* Libya (where ſelf-preſervation might oblige them to aſſiſt and befriend one another) *before a months end they would be provoking, ſcratching, and falling out one with another.* As for the Brother Kings, * ſome think that the famous *French* Poet *Pierre de Ronſard*, (though a zealous *Romaniſt*) did deſign their Characters and vices, under counterfeit names, in the end of his *La Trançiade*, but whether ſo or not, let others judge.

Hiſt. *Hen.* le Grand.

*Phil. Briſt. Geogr. vol. 1. p. 78.

† Mettez 3 *Francois* au deſerts de *Libye*, ils ne ſeront p s un mois enſemble, ſans ſe harceler & eſgratigner. *Les Eſſais de Montaigne* l. 2. c. 27. p. 666.

However, though theſe accidents might make the way more eaſie for the following miſchiefs, yet we ſhall find that horrid *League* more highly carried on by thoſe of the houſe of *Lorrain*: of which pretended *holy Covenant* we proceed now to ſpeak more particularly, paſſing by in the mean time thoſe worſe then Civil Wars, between the King and *Huguenots*, where all things went to wrack, and the Kingdome was almoſt ruined, of which thus an † eye-witneſs doth teſtifie, 1577. *We found ſuch a Wilderneſs in all the Country between* Bayonne *and* Bourdeaux, *that whole Forreſts and Woods were turn'd up and conſumed, the Towns utterly deſolated, the people diſperſed, the Churches quite ſubverted, and the Children, (a lamentable thing to be recorded) remaining unchriſtned by the ſpace of ten years.*

*Euſeb. Philadelp. Coſmopolit. Dialog 1. p. 75 76, 77, 79.

† *Ibs. Dane. t.* Hiſt. of *France* in Epiſt. Dedic.

And wherever the fault lay, I ſhall not Apologize here for the *Huguenot*, who was too zealous in his way, and too much byaſs'd by fury and indiſcretion, as it commonly hapneth to thoſe holy people, who cry up Religion with the ſword in their hands, as if it were lawful for ſubjects to rebel upon the account of any Religion, or ſuch pretence in the world. But nothing here is intended againſt the *Huguenot*, ſince 'tis ſaid in their Vindication, that theſe troubles were neither upon the account of Religion, nor between the King and them, but rather a begun Quarrel 'twixt the Princes of the Blood and the *Guiſes* with their

Dr. *Per. du Moulin's* Vindication of the ſincerity of the *Proteſtants* Religion, c. 2. p. 29, 30, &c.

1572 Minions; the firſt taking it ill, that the latter ſhould ſway all, by excluding them from the management of publick affairs, to whom, as Princes of the Blood-Royal, by the Cuſtom of *France*, it did belong, eſpecially in the Minority or indiſpoſition of their Kings, and ſo one time were willing to gain that which they thought their right, and another time thought it beſt to defend themſelves; but of theſe things I ſhall not judge, being at this time nothing to any purpoſe.

Chap. II.

The Articles of the Holy League, *and the* Guiſards *Under-plotting againſt the King.*

1572 1573 *Sigiſmundus* II. ſurnamed *Auguſtus*, King of *Poland*, and much commended for his Prudence, Valour and Learning, dying, the people chooſe for their King *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, Brother to *Charles* IX. King of *France*, who accordingly goeth into *Poland*, and is there * crown'd.

* *Feb.*

1574 † 30 *May.* * *June.* But here he ſtay'd not long, for the ſame year his Brother † *Charles* dying, the Crown of *France* belong'd to him as next; and ſo upon notice of his death he * ſteals out of *Poland*, to the no ſmall trouble of the Natives, and poſts to his Hereditary Throne, which he thought more worth then the other *Elective*; yet in *France* he always kept the Title of King of *Poland*, though that people, (ſeeing *Henry* would not return to them

1575 again) had choſen for their Sovereign *Stephanus Battorius* an *Hungarian*, and Prince of *Tranſilvania*.

Henry III. being thus Crown'd or Conſecrated the *French* King at *Rheimes*, was the next day married to *Louyſe de Vaudemont*, Neece to the Duke of *Lorrain*; and, as a ſhew, that nothing ſhould be wanting to the proſperity of that Nation, a firm peace was ſtruck up and concluded, whereby a free Exerciſe of Religion is granted to the *Hu-*

14 *May*, 1576 *guenots*; Liberty to erect Schools or Colledges, of calling Synods, to enjoy Offices and Dignities, &c. But none of theſe Conditions were obſerved, to the no ſmall diſcontent of the *Huguenot*.

Edict de May. Nor were the *Romaniſts* pleas'd, that any ſuch Articles ſhould be granted, though they were wink'd at, to break them according to their humours. And whoever was the Inſtigator of the ſaid Agreement, ſome laid their deſigns by it. For now was it ſpred abroad, how prejudicial the ſaid Peace was to the *Roman* Religion, how dangerous to the *French* Nation, that the King ſhewed himſelf none of the wiſeſt in concluding it; nay, it was whiſper'd, as if the King might have a twang of *Calviniſm*, by this ſhewing a favour to the Hereticks; though 'tis ſuppoſed that the *Guiſians* were the main Promoters of this Peace, thereby to have an occaſion to raiſe theſe Diſcourſes, the better to get the King diſliked, ſo neglected by his people. Though they need not have taken ſo much pains to obtain that, which the King himſelf by his negligence, facile humour, wanton tricks, hypocriſie, and his odd carriage in his Momeries and ſuch like diſguiſes, was naturally apt to procure, and accordingly was ſlighted and deſpiſed, as appears in part by the many *Lampons* and ſuch like Raileries againſt him, and the Honourary Titles the Wags were then pleas'd to beſtow on him.

* *Vid. Journal du Roy Hen. III. Aouſt. 1576. & Fevrier. 1577.*

The

The Houſe of *Guiſe* (in ſpight of the Intereſt, Priority, and Favour, which the Law and Cuſtom of *France* grants to the Princes of the Bloud Royal) had uſed of late times to rule all, and diſpoſe of the King and Kingdom as they pleas'd; and having now the Queen of their Family, queſtion'd not but to rule and ſway all as formerly, nay and to drive a little higher. And becauſe Peace was an enemy to their deſigns, 'tis plotted how to break that and the Kings Reputation together, as aforeſaid. 1576

By the late *Edict* of Agreement the Prince of *Condé* was made Governour of *Picardy*, and in it the ſtrong Town of *Peronne* aſſigned to him. At this many Reports are thrown out diſadvantageous to the King, and at laſt the People are ſecretly cheated to an oppoſition, ſo they reſolve *Condé* ſhall not enter into *Peronne*, nor have any thing to do over them: for ſecurity of which and their Religion a *Manifeſto* of their humours and deſigns is drawn up by their Leaders, and they are all ſecretly oblig'd to ſubmit and ſubſcribe to it: the Paper it ſelf being long, and much of it of no great matter, I ſhall refer you to other * Writers.

* d'Aubigne *Hiſtoire Univerſelle, tom. 2. l. 2. c. 3.* Andr. Favyn *Hiſt. de Navarre, l. 15. p. 927, 928, &c.*

But the ſumme of it was:

After many fine ſpecious Cantings and Goodmorrows of their Loyalty, Religion, and Obedience, to *Enter into an Holy Union or Covenant.*

*To honour, follow, and obey him that ſhall be choſen the** Chieftain *of their* League, *and to aſſiſt him in all things againſt any* (be who it will) *that ſhall attempt any thing againſt him.*

To defend and keep the people from oppreſſion better then hath been done heretofore.

To ſpend their very lives for defence of the Towns and Caſtles which ſhall aſſociate with them and their Chief.

To keep ſecret the Counſels of their Covenanters, *and to diſcover any thing that may be prejudicial to their* League.

To be faithful, loving, and aſſiſtant one to another; and that all the private Quarrels amongſt them ſhall be ended by the Council (which ſhall be choſen) *of their* Confederation, *to whoſe determination they will ſubmit themſelves.*

And the better to ſtrengthen their League *it ſhall be remonſtrated at their next meeting, the neceſſity of appointing ſome amongſt them in ſeveral places, to inform the Gentlemen of their parts or neighbourheods, what is neceſſary to be propos'd, to receive their Anſwers, and to determine what is fitting to be ſet on foot.*

To give ſecret notice to their adjoyning Cities of their deſigns, and to get them to joyn with them in the ſame League *and* Covenant.

*That ſome ſhould be diſpatch'd to the * neighbouring Nations with Credential Letters, to perſuade them to joyn, and run the ſame fortune with their* League.

That in the Cantons, Diviſions, or Wapentakes of the ſaid Province of Picardy *there ſhall be one appointed to inform the Aſſociats or Covenanters about him, of whom there ſhall be a Roll or Liſt made, and that every one ſhall procure as many Proſelytes as he can.*

That every man ſhall have his Arms in readineſs.

That a Rendezvouz ſhall be pitch'd upon when time ſhall require; and that the Places, Towns, and Caſtles of the King, and of thoſe belonging to their Aſſociats, ſhall be endeavour'd to be in confiding hands.

* They do not name their Chief, but all conclude it was the Duke of *Guiſe.*

* No queſtion but *Spain* in the firſt place.

That

1576 *That they muſt have ſome truſty friend at Court to give them Intelligence.*

That they muſt promiſe and ſwear all fidelity and ſervice as far as their lives and eſtates go to their Chief and Head.

And ſo zealous were they for this Aſſociation, that they proteſt in their *Manifeſto* to ſpend their bloud as freely for it, as Chriſt did his for the Redemption of Mankind.

This their *Manifeſto* they ſpread abroad with a great deal of care and cunning, perſuading and getting multitudes to ſubſcribe it; and amongſt other places they were very buſie at *Paris*: but it is ſaid thus, *Chriſtopher de Thou*, the chief Preſident and Father to the Famous *Jacobus Auguſtus Thuanus*, gave ſome ſtop to it in that City, by ſhewing his diſlike of it. Thuan. l. 63

They had alſo a great mind to inveigle *Ludovico Gonzago* (the Duke of *Nevers*) into ſomething like it and its Subſcription, but he very cunningly refuſed it, as if not willing to enter into any League or Aſſociation without his Kings knowledge and deſire; but though he would not ſubſcribe, yet either Opinion or Intereſt engaged him more then was fitting to the *Leaguers* for ſome time. Gomberville, *les Memoires de* Nevers, *vol.* 1. *p.* 437, 458.

Yet the *Guiſians* perceiving their number to increaſe, drew their deſigns into a cloſer compaſs, and after the following Form framed their *HOLY LEAGUE AND COVENANT*, which was to be ſigned and ſworn by all their Confederates.

THE LEAGUE.

I. Au nom de la ſaincte Trinité, Pere, Fils, & Sainct Eſperit, noſtre ſeul vray Dieu, au quel ſoit Glorie & Honneur.

In the Name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, our onely true God, to whom be Glory and Honour.

L'Aſſociation des Princes, Seigneurs, & Gentils-hommes Catholiques, * *doit eſtre & ſerra* fait pour reſtablir la Ley de Dieu en ſon entier; remettre & retenir le ſainct Service d'icelui ſelon la forme & maniere de la Sainct Egliſe Catholique, Apoſtolique, & *Romaine*; abjurans & renonçans touts erreurs au contraire.

The Confederacy and Covenant of the Princes, Lords, and Gentlemen of the Catholick Religion, ought to be and is made for the complete eſtabliſhment of the Law of God, and to reſtore and ſettle his holy Worſhip, according to the form and manner of the Catholick, Apoſtolick, and Roman *Church, abjuring and renouncing all errors contrary unto it.*

* Andr. Favyn *reads onely* —ſt faicte—

II. Secondement, pour conſerver le Roy *Henry* III. de ce nom, * *& ſes ſucceſſeurs Roys tres-Chreſtiens*, en l'eſtat, ſplendeur, autorité, devoir, ſervice, & obeiſſance, qui lui ſont deubs par ſes ſubjects, ainſi qu'il eſt

Secondly, for the Preſervation of King Henry III. *of that name, and his Succeſſors the moſt Chriſtian Kings, in the State, Honour, Authority, Duty, Service and Obedience, due unto them by their ſubjects, ac-*

* D' Aubigne *and the* Hiſt. des derniers troubles de France *have it thus,*

—— Henry III. de ce nom, par la grace de Dieu & ſes Predeceſſeurs Roys tres Chreſtiens, *which may be as right as the other; and ſo their pretended Loyalty to the* Valoiſes *ſpoiled by a jugle.*

con-

contenu par les Articles qui lui ſeront preſentez aux Eſtats, les quels il jure & promet garder & ſon Sacré & Couronnement, avec Proteſtation de ne rien faire au prejudice de ce qui y ſerra ordonné par leſdits Eſtats.

*cording as it is contain'd in thoſe Articles, which * ſhall be preſented to him in the Aſſembly of* Eſtats, *the which he ſwears and promiſes to obſerve at his Conſecration and Coronation, with proteſtation not to do any thing againſt that which ſhall be there ordain'd by the ſaid* Eſtats. 1576

* A conditional obedience: and here they make the King truckle to the Parlement.

Tiercement, pour reſtituer aux Provinces de ce Royaume & Eſtats d'icelluy, les Droicts, Preeminences, Franchiſes, & Libertes anciennez, telles qu' elles eſtoient du temps du Roy *Clouis* premier Roy Chreſtien, & encores meilleurs & plus profitables, ſi elles ſe peuvent inventer ſous la Protection ſuſdicte.

Thirdly, to reſtore unto the Provinces of this Kingdom, and the States of it, thoſe ancient Rights, Preeminences, Privileges, and Liberties, which were in the time of * Clouis *the firſt moſt Chriſtian King, or yet better and more profitable (if any ſuch can be found) under the ſaid protection.* III.

* A pretty trick to run above 1000 years back for a Government, and ſo they might pretend any thing.

Au cas qu' il y ayt Empeſchement, Oppoſition, ou Rebellion à ce que deſſus, part qui & de quelle part qu' ils puiſſent eſtre, ſerront leſdicts Aſſociez tenus & obligez d'employer tous leurs biens & moyens, meſmes leurs propres Perſonnes juſques à la mort, pour punir, chaſtier, & courir ſus à ceux, qui l'auront voulu contredire, & empeſcher, & tenir la main que toutes les choſes ſuſdictes ſoyent miſes en execution reéllement & de faict.

*In caſe there be any Impediment, Oppoſition, or Rebellion againſt the aforeſaid, let it be by * whom or whence it will, the Covenanters here ſhall be oblig'd to venture not onely their fortunes and goods, but their very lives too, to puniſh, chaſtiſe, and proſecute thoſe, who ſhall offer to diſturb or hinder this* League; *and ſhall never ceaſe till the aforeſaid things be really done and perfected.* IV.

*Here they will not except the King himſelf.

Au cas que quelques-uns deſdicts Aſſociez, leurs Subjects, Amis, & Confederez, fuſſent moleſtes, oppreſſez, & recherches pour le cas deſſuſdicts, par qui que ce ſoit, ſerent tenus les dicts Aſſociez employer leurs Corps, Biens, & Moyens, pour avoir vengiance de ceux, qui auront faict leſdicts oppreſes & moleſtes, ſoit par la voye de juſtice, ou des armes, ſans nulle acception de perſonnes.

In caſe any of the Covenanters, *their Vaſſals, Friends, or Confederates, be moleſted, oppreſſed, or queſtioned for this cauſe, be it by * whom it will, they ſhall be bound to imploy their Perſons, Goods, and Eſtates to take revenge on thoſe who have ſo oppreſs'd or moleſted them, either by the way of juſtice or force, without any exception of perſons whatſoever.* V.

*Nor will they here except the King from their fury if he oppoſe them, that is, ſide not with them to his own ruine.

S' il advient qu' acun des Aſſociez apres avoir faict ſerment en la dicte Aſſociation, ſe vouloit retirer ou departir d' icelle ſous quelque pretexte que ce ſoit (que Dieu ne vueille) tels refractaris de leur

If it ſhall happen that any man, having united himſelf by oath to this Confederacy, ſhall deſire to withdraw himſelf or depart from it, upon any pretence whatſoever, (which God forbid) that then ſuch wilful breakers of con- VI.

1576 consentement, seront offencez en leur corps & biens, en toutes sortes qu' on se pourra adviser, comme Enemis de Dieu, Rebelles, & Perturbateurs du repos public, sans que lesdicts Asſociez en puissent estre inquietez ny recherches, soit en publec ny en particulier.

* A good prevention against justice, and a way to get the wicked to joyn with them.

VII. Jureront lesdicts Asſociez toute prompte obeisance & service au Chef que serra deputé, suivre & donner conseil, comfort, & ayde, tant a l' entretenement & conservation de ladicte Asſociation, que ruine aux contredisants à icelle, sans acception ny exception de personnes. Et seront les defaillants & dilayants punis par l'Authorité du Chef, & selon son Ordenance, à laquelle lesdicts Asſociez se soubmettront.

* The D. of *Guise*. But it was his policy not to be named at first.
* Nor ere will they except the King, whom they design'd to ruine.
* And why not submit to the Kings Authority?

VIII. Tous Catholiques des Corps des villes & villages seront advertis & sommez secretement par les Governeurs particuliers d'entrer en ladicte Asſociation, fournir deuement d'armes & d'hommes pour l'execution d'icelle, selon la puissance & faculté de chacun.

IX. Est defendu ausdicts Asſociez d'entrer en debats ny quarrels l'un contre lautre sans la permission du Chef, à l'arbitrage du quel les contrevenants seront punis, tant pour la reparation d'honneur, que touts autres sortes.

X. Que ceaux qui ne voudront entrer en ladicte Asſociation, seront reputez pour enemis d'icelle, & poursuivables par toutes sortes d' offences & molestes.

This Article is not in *Davil.*'s Hist. l. 6.

XI. Si pour fortification ou plus grande sureté des Asſociez se faict quelque Convention avec les Provinces de ce Royaume, elle se fera en la forme susdicte & aux mesmes conditions, soitq; ladicte Asſociation soit poursuivie envers les dictes villes, on par elles demandees, si autrement n'en est advisé par le Chef.

their former promises, shall be punished in bodies and goods by all means possible, as Enemies to God, Rebels and Disturbers of the publick peace: neither shall any of the Covenanters *be* * *liable to trouble, or to be question'd either in publick or private for such their revenge.*

The said Covenanters *shall likewise swear to yield all ready obedience and service unto that* * Head *or* Chief *which shall be appointed, to follow and give counsel, help, and assistance, as well to the intire conservation and maintenance of the said* League, *as the* † *ruine of all that shall oppose it, without any partiality or exception of persons: and the failers and neglecters of it shall be punish'd by the Authority of the* Chief *or* Head, *and according to his Orders, to which all the said* Covenanters *shall* * *submit.*

All the Catholiques of any Towns, Corporations, or Villages, shall be secretly advertised and warned by the particular Governours to enter into this Covenant, *and without fail to provide arms and men for the carrying of it on, every man according to his condition and ability.*

It is also prohibited to the Covenanters *to enter into debates or quarrels one against another, without leave of their* Head *or* Chief, *by whose arbitrement all offences of that nature shall be desided, as well for reparation of credit as other things.*

That those who will not enter into this Covenant *shall be held as enemies to it, and to be prosecuted with all manner of punishments and mischief.*

This Article is neither in Davila *nor* Thuanus l. 63. *but in* Favyn, d'Aubigné, *and* Hist. de derniers troubles de France l. 1. fol. 8.

THE

1576

THE OATH.

Je jure Dieu le Createur (touchant ces Sainctes Evangiles) & ſur peine d' Anatematization & ma damnation eternelle, que j' ay entré en ceſte Saincte Aſſociation Catholique, ſelon la forme du traicté qui m' y a eſté leu preſentement, juſtement, loyaument, & ſincerement, ſoit pour y commander ou y obeir & ſervir : Et prometz ſur ma vie & mon honneur, * *demeurer en la dicte Aſſociation* juſques à la derniere goutte de mon ſang, ſans y contravenir, ou m'en retirer pour quelque Mandement, Pretexte, Excuſe, ny Occaſion que ce ſoit, † *& de tenir ſecret ce qui s'y traictera.*

I ſwear by God the Creator (laying my hand upon the Holy Goſpel) and under pain of a Curſe and my eternal damnation, that I enter into this Holy Catholick Covenant, *according to the form now read unto me, truly, faithfully, and ſincerely, whether it be to command or to obey and ſerve : And I promiſe upon my life and honour to continue in this* League *or* Covenant *unto the laſt drop of my bloud, without tranſgreſſing it or departing from it for any Command, Pretence, Excuſe, or Occaſion whatſoever, and to keep ſecret whatſoever ſhall be agitated by it.*

* So reads *Favyn* it, but *d'Aubigne & Hiſt. des derniers troubles de France* thus, —*de m'y conſervir*— however the ſenſe is all one.

† This laſt clauſe is in *Favyn.*

Thus (as a (*a*) *Romaniſt* confeſſeth) theſe men *making a ſhew to obey and maintain the King, they took from him all his Obedience and Authority, to confer it upon the* Head *of their Confederacy.* And (*b*) *Favyn* and others confeſs the ſame. Nay, ſo zealous were they for this Covenant, that they did (*Catiline* like) (*c*) ſubſcribe it with their very bloud, as ſome Pagan Nations anciently uſed to (*d*) drink their bloud at the ſolemnity of their Treaties.

(*a*) Davila *Hiſt. l.* 6. *p.* 451.
(*b*) Pag. 927.
(*c*) ——*a laquelle ils eſtoyent ſi furieuſement tranſportez, qu' ils ſignoient ce ſerment de leur propre ſang.* Andree Favyn *Hiſt. de* Navarre, *p.* 932.
(*d*) Tertul. apol. c. 9.

Theſe deſigns were privately and cunningly ſent abroad, and with ſo much induſtry that *Paris* it ſelf, with *Poictou*, *Tourain*, and other Provinces and places, preſently entred themſelves into the League.

Having gone thus far, they thought it convenient to have their Plots countenanced at *Rome*, to which purpoſe they ſent *Nicolas David* (an Advocate of the Parlement of *Paris*) thitherward with Inſtructions : but *David* being ſeiz'd on in his way in *Dauphiné* by the *Huguenots*, much of the Plot was diſcovered, and *David* himſelf * ſlain. Yet *Nicolas* Cardinal *de Pellevé* (a Creature of the *Guiſes*) agitated the buſineſs at *Rome* with Pope *Gregory* XIII. in the mean time *Philip* II. of *Spain* was preſently perſuaded to joyn his Intereſt with the *French* Covenanters.

* Favyn *p.* 927.

The *French* King had ſome *Item* of theſe doings, yet not knowing fully what the aim at was, he ſeem'd to take not much notice, being willing enough to reſt ſecure between theſe and the *Huguenots*, both which were powerful and mortal enemies.

And now the *Aſſembly* of the *States* meet at *Blois*, compoſed moſt of the * *Guiſians* or *Covenanters.* The King is willing for a firm Peace, but the other party deſire no ſuch thing ; and ſeeing that the King by his Negative voice would fruſtrate all their Councils, they invent a trick

* Favyn *p.* 896. Davila *p.* 460, 461. 6 Decemb. 1576.

1575 trick to avoid that by desiring of the King, that he would elect a number of Judges, *not suspected by the States*, who together with XII. of the Deputies might hear such Motions, as from time to time should be proposed by every *Order*, and conclude and resolve upon them: and whatsoever should be joyntly determined by the Judges and Deputies should have the form and vigour of a Law, without being subject to be altered or revoked.

But the King smelling the design offer'd them fair enough, but resolved to keep the power in his own hand.

The *Leaguers* foil'd here go another way to work, and desire him to extirpate the *Huguenots*. The King is puzled at this request; for should he not comply with it they would declare him to be a Favourer of Hereticks, whereby he would lose his Interest with the *Romanists*; besides considering that the *Covenanters* were too strong for him at present, he thought it his wisest course to comply with them, thereby to get that Authority to himself which they endeavour'd to settle upon another; and so he was politickly forc'd to take the *Covenant*, and declare himself the Head of it.

Having done this beyond their expectation he resolves to be as cunning as themselves, and so he desires (since they seem willing for war) to furnish him with Moneys to carry it on. At this they demur; for though they loved mischief, yet were unwilling to lay their Moneys at the Kings disposal: by which trick *Henry* seem'd left to his own discretion.

The *Covenanters* thus non-plus'd try other means. First, they move that the *Council of Trent* might fully be receiv'd into the Kingdom: but this is rejected by a Majority of *Nobility* and *Commons*, and a great part of the Interested *Clergy*, as thwarting the Privileges of the *Gallican Church*; for though they love the Religion, yet they care not for the Popes Authority over them. This not fadging they consult how to restrain the Kings power, for which purpose they propound that his *Council* might be reduc'd to the number of XXIV, and that the King should not chuse them but the Kingdom: but this was also rejected, many of the *Covenanters* themselves thinking it not safe too much to exasperate the King. And thus the design but half done the Assembly break

1577 up.

And the King doubting the greatness of the *Guisians* might too much inlarge their Interest, a little to clip their wings, by publick * Order confirms the Preeminence and Priority to the Princes of the Bloud.

*Spond. an. 1576. §11.

The *Covenanters* perceiving that the King had seen too far into their designs, conclude it safe for some time to forbear all open endeavours, but were very sedulous in their private Consultations, by which means they whispered the people into discontent against the King and his Government, scattering abroad *Libels*, bewitching many * Nobles and others to their Faction. And several other Plots and Contrivances they had, to carry on which they took hold of any opportunity; insomuch that many *Fraternities* being now brought into use for Devotion, as Processions, Prayers, &c. the *Guisians* under this † pretence would meet the more boldly and openly to disperse their poison, by their seditious discourses amongst the people.

* Jo. de Bussieres, tom. 4 p. 205

† Davila, l. 6. p. 447.

The King also did not want his ways of Devotion, assisting often in their Processions, undergoing Penances, wear Hair shirts, had his Beads openly hanging at his girdle, would observe Canonical hours; and by such

ſuch like ſhews of piety ſome of the people were perſuaded, that for all the ill ſpeeches given out againſt him he was a good *Romaniſt* in his heart, and ſo were the more willing to have the better opinion of him. 1577

But others who pretended to ſee a little further were of a quite contrary judgment, looking upon it to be but Hypocriſie. Amongſt the reſt Dr. *Maurice Poncet* (a *Benedictine* at *Paris*) preach'd very bitterly againſt his new-invented *Brotherhoods* and their Proceſſions, calling of them *Hypocrites* and *Atheiſts*. And indeed it cannot be deny'd, that this King hath ſometimes carried on his * Love-tricks under theſe ſhews of Religion, being too much addicted to eaſe and pleaſures, as appear'd by his other *Carnival* actions, for which he was † twitted in the Pulpit by Dr. *Guillaume Roſe* (afterwards Biſhop of *Senlis*) and others.

Journal du Hen. III. *Mart.* 1583. Spond. *anno* 1583. §. 11.

**Vid. d'*Aubigne *tom.* 2. *l.* 4. *c.* 1. *Confeſſion Catholique de* Sancy, *c.* 8.

† *Journal du* Hen. III. Fevrier 1583.

Yet neceſſity did force him ſometimes to look about him, and nothing did he dread more then the *Guiſes* and their *League*, whoſe power muſt now be all his ſtudy to diminiſh. To which purpoſe he promotes as many into Places of Truſt as he could conveniently, and whom he could confide in, and knew to be no Favourites of the Houſe of *Lorrain*.

The *Guiſards* not ignorant of this deſign, and knowing full well that the King had really no good affection for them, endeavour what they can to have the Peace broken with the *Huguenot*, to which purpoſe a thouſand affronts are committed againſt the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, and their Adherents. But paſsing by theſe things, the number of *Male contents* was increas'd; for though the King advanc'd ſome of his truſty Friends, yet many times Preferment went more by favour then deſert, and others were diſcontented to ſee themſelves ſlighted: theſe *Male contents* the *Guiſards* attaque, and more eaſily won to joyn with them, and enter into their *League*.

Perefixe Hiſt. Hen. *le Grand.*

And that the Houſe of *Lorrain* might appear in its greateſt luſtre, the Antiquitiy and Glories of that Family are thought fit to be ſhewn to all. To which purpoſe *François de Roſieres* (Archdeacon of *Toul*) putteth pen to paper, and writes a large Book of their Pedegrees and Relations, making them as ancient and as near related to the *French* Crown as he could invent: and this was printed at *Paris* 1580. by the Kings Licence. But ſometime after the Book being more nearly look'd into, ſeveral things were taken notice of, which gave ſome great offence.

For beſides the unſeaſonable timing of it, conſidering the deſigns of the *Guiſes*, and his declaring * *Hues Capet* to be an Uſurper, which ſounded the harſher ſeeing ſome will have the *Valoiſes* iſſued from *Hues* his Line; but beſides he had ſeveral odd Reflections on the † King himſelf, of Idleneſs, Luxury, and bad Government. In ſhort, *Roſieres* is caſt in priſon, the Duke of *Lorrain* cometh to *Paris* to pacifie the King; at laſt *Roſieres* publickly confeſsing his faults, craving pardon on his knees, by the interceſsion of the Queen-mother, is releaſed, and the book torn before his face.

**Fran. Roſ. Stemma tum* Lothar. fol. 451. † Id. fo. 369 1583

Yet was it carefully ſpread abroad that the *Guiſes* were deſcended from *Charles* the Great, related to *Hugh Capet*, and had Title good enough to the Crown. But againſt this by the Kings Command *Pontus de Tyard* (afterwards Biſhop of *Chalon, Cabilonum*) writ, but for fear of the Faction conceal'd his name, and *Matthæus Zampinus* a Lawyer alſo took the task. And the ſame year alſo (I mean 1583) came out a little *French* * Tract of about two ſheets of paper, in oppoſition to the pretence of the *Lorrainers*; but for all this the people will believe as they pleaſe.

** Diſcourſe ſur le droict pretendu par ceux de* Guiſe *ſur la Couronne de* France.

1583

Chap. III.

Francis *Duke of* Anjou *(the onely Brother to the King) dying, the* Guiſards *rejoyce, not doubting but to make themſelves next Heirs to the Crown by wheedling in Cardinal* Bourbon : *with the ſeveral Declarations and Propoſals between them and the King.*

THE *Leaguers*, who for ſome time (that the King might not be too ſuſpicious of them) had proceeded but leiſurely, had now an encouragement offer'd them to be more brisk in their deſigns.

1584 For *Francis* Duke of *Anjou*, of a fickle and hair-brain'd humour, the only Brother to the King, died, not without ſuſpicion and (*a*) ſigns of poiſon, which ſome (*b*) think was adminiſtred by the *Covenanting* Faction; yet at his Funeral the Duke of *Guiſe* could (*c*) ſhew as troubled and melancholy a Viſage as any.

(*a*) Phil. Briet. *Ann. l.* Spond. §1.

(*b*) Andr. Favyn *p.* 926,935.

His death reviveth the hopes of the *Guiſians*, for perceiving the King (having been about nine years married) without any probability of having Children, for all the aſſiſtance of * hallowed Shirts and Smocks, and ſo the Line of *Valois* to end with him; and though the next related to the Crown was the Houſe of *Bourbon*, yet here they had rais'd a doubt, whether the *Uncle* or the *Nephew* was to ſucceed, whether Cardinal *Bourbon* or the King of *Navarre* were next Heirs; and the *Guiſards* made it their buſineſs to raiſe up the Cardinals right, by his Intereſt thinking to ſecure their own deſigns, for it was his main plot to get *Navarre* excluded.

(*c*) *Journal du* Hen. III. *Mart.* 25.

* *Journal* 23 *Jan.* 1579.

Spond. *anno* 1583. §11.

And this might the better be perform'd ſeeing he (as alſo his Couſin the Prince of *Condé*, the next Heir after *Navarre*) was a *Proteſtant*, and ſo it would be an eaſie matter to get him declar'd incapable of the Crown as an Heretick. And as for *Charles* Cardinal of *Bourbon*, being craſie, infirm, and none of the wiſeſt, and one that was rul'd in all things by *Guiſe*, was the more fit to make a Property of; and if he ſhould come to the Throne, *Guiſe* did not doubt but to manage his Affairs ſo well, that being already very popular with the *Romaniſts*, he might ſecure the Succeſſion to himſelf, having got many to vaunt much of his Pedegree and Relations. However things went, it was good at the beginning to act under the feeble Cardinal, as the firſt Prince of the Bloud, as they call'd him. And that the Cardinal look'd upon himſelf as ſo, is confirm'd by this ſtory which they tell us: That a little after the foreſaid death of the Duke of *Anjou*, King *Henry* III. asked the Cardinal, that ſuppoſing himſelf ſhould die whether he would take upon him the Government, and precede the King of *Navarre*? To which the Cardinal reply'd, That upon his death the Crown did belong to him, and that he was reſolv'd not to loſe his right. At which 'tis ſaid the King laught and jeer'd him.

Journal Sept. 1584.

Yet *Guiſe* carry'd on his buſineſs ſo well, that he gain'd a multitude of Followers, ſome being Male-contents, others that loved trouble and miſchief, as their Lawyers; ſome led by Intereſt, as their Prieſts and Jeſuits; and others perſuaded by an holy Zele, thinking Religion was now at the laſt gaſp, and no way to recover her, but by entring into this *Holy League and Covenant*.

Yet

Yet the deſigns of the *Guiſards* were not carried ſo cloſely, but the King had ſome hints of them, which did not a little trouble him. However to prevent all danger he had ſome thoughts of joyning with *Navarre*, yet with a deſire that he ſhould turn *Romaniſt*, for which purpoſe he ſends the Duke of *Eſpernon* to him, to perſuade his Converſion; but in this *Navarre* deſired to be excus'd, however offers him the Aſsiſtance and Forces of the *Proteſtants*, to be when he pleas'd at his ſervice, either to ſecure him from, or to quell, the *Covenanters*. 1584

The *Leaguers* inform'd of theſe Conſultations, take opportunity thence to beſpatter the King, calling him Heretick, giving out that he deſign'd the ruine of the *Roman* Religion, that for that end he was joyning himſelf to the *Hugenots*; and in proof of this they made no ſmall noiſe of his receiving the *Order* of *Garter* from the *Engliſh* Queen *Elizabeth*, (by the Earl of * *Derby*) whom they calumniated as the worſt of all Hereticks. And the better to poſſeſs the peoples heads with miſchief and Sedition, they kept in pay divers Prieſts, who daily taught their Flock,

* The Journal by a miſtake ſaith *Warwick.*

That Princes ought to be depos'd who do not ſufficiently perform their duty. Perefixe Hiſt. Hen. le Grand.

That no Power but what is well order'd is of God.

That that which paſſeth its due bounds is not Authority but Uſurpation.

That it is abſurd to ſay any ſhould be King who knoweth not how to govern.

And we need not queſtion but from theſe Heads they framed what Interpretations pleas'd them beſt, and of all they themſelves muſt be Judges. And ſo I meet with a Batchelour in Divinity of the *Sorbonne*, who at that time publickly maintain'd in Diſputation, publiſh'd, and dedicated to the Abbot of *Cluny*, this Poſition, That

It was lawful for any man, private or otherwiſe, to depoſe or kill any King or Prince, which were wicked, evil men, or Hereticks. Ant. Colynet p. 23.

But the miſchief fell upon the Diſputants head, for the King offended at this ſtrange kind of pretended Divinity, intended to call him to an account, but was prevented by another accident, for the *Sorbonniſt* was found ſhot to death in the Court of the College, but by whom I know not, yet the ſtory ſuppoſeth by ſome of his friends the *Leaguers*, thereby to prevent his Trial, and ſome further diſcovery it may be of thoſe who ſet him on work.

In theſe Diviſions and divers Intereſts we may ſuppoſe *France* to be but in a bad condition, every Faction pretending and ſtriving to be greateſt; and amongſt the many *Lampons* that then flew abroad, this following was held not amiſs, wherein (as in a Play) each party ſpeaketh his own deſires and aims.

LE ROY.

Je deſire la paix, & la guerre je jure.

LE DUC DE GUISE.

Mais ſi la paix ſe faict mon Eſpoir n' eſt plus rien.

LE

1584

LE DUC DE MAYENNE.
Par la guerre nous vient le credit & le bien.

LE CARDINAL DE GUISE.
Le temps s'offre pour nous avec la couverture.

LE ROY DE NAVARRE.
C' il qui compte ſans moy penſant que je l'endure,
Comptera par deux fois je m' en aſſure bien.

LE CARDINAL DE BOURBON.
Chacun peut bien compter ce qu' il penſe eſtre ſien.

LA ROYNE MERE.
La diſpute ne vaut, pendant que mon fils dure.

LE DUC DE LORRAIN.
Pourſuivons neantmoins la LIGUE *& ſes projects.*

LE DUC DE SAVOYE.
Le Roy donques perdera la FRANCE *& ſes Subjects.*

LE ROY D' ESPAGNE.
Si la FRANCE *ſe pert je l' aura toſt trouve.*

LA FRANCE.
Tout beau ! il ne faut pas tant de chiens pour un os,
Et ceux la ont bien mal ma puiſſance eſprouvée,
Qui pour l'Ambition me troublent le repos.

THE KING.
Peace I deſire, all war I 'd have repell'd.

DUKE OF *GUISE.*
But by a peace my hopes and plots are quell'd.

DUKE OF *MAYENNE.*
We 'll make our ſelves by war, gain glory thence.

CARDINAL OF *GUISE.*
And we 've occaſion cloak'd with fair pretence.

KING OF *NAVARRE.*
Who plots without me, thinking I 'll remain
So unconcern'd, ſhall ſurely count again.

CARDINAL OF *BOURBON.*
But each may reckon what he thinks his own.

QUEEN-

1584

QUEEN-MOTHER *CATHARINE.*
For what? whileſt my Son lives and wears the Crown.

DUKE OF *LORRAIN.*
Yet let's the LEAGUE and her deſigns purſue.

DUKE OF *SAVOY.*
Then th' KING will loſe *FRANCE* and his Subjects too.

KING OF *SPAIN.*
If *FRANCE* doth loſe her ſelf I ſhall her gain.

FRANCE.
Puh! for ane Bone ſo many Dogs are vain.
And to their coſt my might and force they 've try'd,
Who durſt diſturb my Quiet by their Pride.

The *Covenanters* having with what diligence and ſecrecy they poſſibly could contriv'd their deſigns, the Duke of *Guiſe* pretended to retire to his Government in *Champaigne*, but in truth to conſult the better about their Affairs, and to get the Duke of *Lorrain* to ſubſcribe their *League*. To all which purpoſes he held a Treaty or Conventicle at *Joinville*, a place of his on the borders of *Champaigne*, where met him *Juan Baptiſta Taſſi*, a Knight of *St. Jago*, and *Dom Juan Morreo* of *Rhodes*, the King of *Spains* Commiſsioners; the Duke of *Mayenne* Brother to *Guiſe*, *François Roncerole* Sieur de *Meneville*, Agent in the *League* for Cardinal *Bourbon*, with ſome other Favourites of the Faction. 31 Decem. 1584.

At this *Cabal* amongſt other things was agreed on, 2 Jan. 1585

That ſuppoſing King Henry III. *ſhould die without a Son lawfully begotten, that then the old Cardinal of* Bourbon *ſhould be declared King, all* Huguenots *or Hereticks excluded from the Succeſſion.*

That in the mean time all care, induſtry, and force ſhould be uſed to root out the Huguenots.

That Cardinal Bourbon *coming to the Crown, a firm Peace ſhould be made betwixt* France *and* Spain.

That he ſhould reſtore unto Spain *all that had been taken from it by the* Huguenots, *namely* Cambray.

That he ſhould aſſiſt the Spaniard *in the recovery of the* Netherlands.

That the Council of Trent *ſhould be received in* France, *and that it and no other Religion ſhould be permitted.*

That the Spaniards *ſhould have free Traffick into the* Indies, *and not not be moleſted by the* * French *Pyrats.*

That the King of Spain *ſhould monethly contribute fifty thouſand Crowns for the maintenance of the* League, *and afford men alſo if need be.*

That he ſhould receive into his protection Cardinal Bourbon, *with the* Guiſians, *and all other* Covenanters.

* This complain'd on 1571. Davila, p. 353.

That

1585 ☞ *That no Treaty or Agreement whatsoever should be made with the present* French *King without mutual consent of both parties*, viz. *the* Spaniard *and* Leaguers.

That the Articles of this Confederacy *should for some reasons be kept secret, till a more fitting opportunity.*

Besides these the *Spaniard* secretly promis'd to the Duke of *Guise* the Assignment of *two hundred thousand Crowns per annum*, for his own particular.

In the mean time the *Covenanters* had Cardinal *Pellevée* solliciting their cause at *Rome* with Pope *Gregory* XIII. to whom they also sent their Agitator *Claude Mathieu* an active Jesuite: and as there they intended to consult their Interest, so were they not negligent at home, and amongst the rest were very careful to secure *Ludovico Gonzago* Duke of *Nevers* in his approbation of their Cause.

For though at first (being a zealous *Romanist*) he had been overperswaded to adhere to the *League*, really thinking that nothing else was intended thereby, then the propagation and maintenance of the *Roman* Religion; and possibly his Wife *Catharine*, daughter to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and so Neece to *Guise*, might somewhat work upon him, to put a greater credit in that Family then was necessary; yet upon better considerations or Interest he began to cool, and at last resolved to do nothing but what was (as he said) legal and honest, being determined upon any terms whatever not to violate his Conscience or Loyalty; the better to secure which he draweth up and desires to be satisfied in these following *Quære's*.

Gomberville les *Memoirs de M. d.* Nevers, *vol.* 1. *p* 649

Whether it be lawful for the Subjects of a Christian Prince to take up arms on their own heads or accord (without the Popes leave signified to them in writing) to root out the Hereticks of their countrey, seeing the Prince himself neglects to punish them according to his duty, though desir'd and petition'd so to do by the three Estates?

Supposing this, and that the King should so far dislike the Resolution of his said Subjects as to withstand and oppose their Declarations and Sentiments, and therein to call to his assistance the said very Hereticks:

Whether in this case the said Subjects shall be quit and free from the Oath of Fidelity and Allegeance *they ow'd him?*

Whether 'tis lawful for them to fight against the said Prince, even to conquer him in battel or otherwise, with intent to obtain their Design, viz. to root out the aforesaid Hereticks?

And to this purpose, whether it be lawful for them to seize on, imploy, and use the Towns and Treasuries of the said Prince, though against his express will and pleasure?

Of these *Nevers* for his better satisfaction would not onely have the opinion of some private persons, in whose judgment and learning he much confided, but also of the Pope himself.

For the private persons he sendeth the *Quæres* to his Confessor Monsieur *Berthonnier*, conjuring him in the Name of the Living God to give him his advice and resolution, and therein to consult with Monsieur *Faber*.

ber. Accordingly they return to him that he ought forthwith to take up arms, and that in ſo doing it will be ſo far from harming his Conſcience, that it will on the contrary be a Meritorious deed, an immortal Honour to him and his Family, and very grateful and agreeable to God himſelf. 1585

As for the Pope, Cardinal *de Pellevée*, *Jaques la Rue* aliàs *Martelli*, and the aforeſaid *Claude Mathieu* aſſure him, that the Pope doth ſo much approve of the *Quares*, that he doth not only declare it to be juſt and lawful to fight againſt Hereticks, but alſo againſt any that ſhall favour or adhere to them, though it were the * King himſelf; yet he would not have them to attempt any thing againſt his life, though he would allow them to ſeize uhon his perſon, and ſo diſpoſe and command him. Yet that his *Holineſs* would not publickly declare this by *Bull* or *Brief*, it at this time being not convenient (as he thought) ſo to do, conſidering the humours of the *Proteſtants* in *Germany*, *Switzerland*, the *Low-countries*, and in *France* it ſelf; and ſo hopes that *Nevers* and the other *Leaguing* Princes will be content with his Verbal declaration, which he will ſtand to and never revoke. And for the better ſecurity of this *Martelli* brought from *Rome* ſome pretty *Beads* ſanctified by the Pope himſelf for the Cardinal *de Bourbon*, that he might beſtow them upon the *Covenanting* Princes, and the other Chieftains and Commanders of that deſign. But theſe things not fully ſatisfying *Nevers*, he poſts to *Rome*, though contrary to the Popes deſire, and growing daily more jealous of the *Leaguers* intentions, is very ſollicitous for a perfect Agreement and Accommodation, writing ſeveral times to Cardinal *de Bourbon*, not to preſs too much upon the Kings patience: and at laſt being fully convinced that the *Guiſes* had more a private Intereſt then a publick good in their thoughts, quite forſook them and their Cauſe, and joyn'd with the King.

* —— *De quelque qualite ou eſtat qu'ils ſuſſent, meſme* Royale.

The King in the mean time ſomewhat inform'd of the troubleſome and warlike deſigns of the *Covenanters*, was perſuaded to conſult his own ſecurity, and therefore by a publick Decree forbids all raiſing or gathering together of Souldiers, unleſs by his expreſs Command and Authority, commanding all his good Subjects at the ringing of the *Toque-ſaint* (the Alarm bell) to fall upon the ſaid Souldiers as declar'd enemies. 28 March.

But the *Leaguers* proceed cunningly and vigorouſly, & having ſtrengthned themſelves (as they thought) pretty well, were reſolved to make an open Rupture according to their former determinations. To which purpoſe they overperſuade Cardinal *de Bourbon* to quit the Court under colour of keeping *Lent* at his Archbiſhoprick of *Rouen*, ſo he went to *Gaillon* a Palace belonging to that See in higher *Normandy*, where a great company of the *Covenanters* of *Picardy* waited upon him, and for his more pretended ſecurity conducted him to *Peronne*, where the *League* was firſt framed as aforeſaid; and here he was met by the Dukes of *Guiſe*, *Mayenne*, *Aumale*, *Elboeuf*, and other *Covenanting* Nobles, where a large Declaration is drawn up in his Name whom they call the *Firſt Prince of the Bloud*, and ſubſcribed by him: the ſubſtance of it is as followeth.

In the Name of God Almighty, King of Kings, be it known unto all, &c.

That a deſign to ſubvert Religion hath been the cauſe of the late troubles.

1585

That it is fear'd (the King dying childleſs) the Church and Kingdom may be ruin'd, over which they are reſolved never to let an Heretick ſway; the people being bound neither to admit or obey any Prince but of the Roman Religion.

That to hinder all miſchiefs ſome remedy is to be applied.

That the great preparations of the Huguenots are ſufficiently underſtood.

That it is alſo not unknown, but * ſome people have ſo poſſeſt themſelves of the Kings affection, that they have as it were ſeiz'd upon his Authority, and excluded thoſe who ought to be more near him.

* Chiefly aiming at the Duke of Eſpernon.

That theſe Favourites or Minions have got the chief Governments and Places of Truſt, whereby they may command all by Land or Sea.

That they have imbezell'd the Kings Revenues, thereby making themſelves more powerful and obey'd, to the great oppreſſion of the people, which daily increaſeth.

That though the Amendment of Abuſes was hoped for at the meeting of the Eſtats at Bloys, yet Private Intereſts ſpoil'd all.

That theſe Abuſes are now grown ſo great, that the Kingdom is almoſt ruin'd by them, the Clergy ſurcharged and deſpiſed, the Nobles diſas'd, abus'd, and ruin'd, and all the people in a manner beggar'd and impoveriſh'd by ſtrange Taxations, &c.

Therefore We CHARLES de BOURBON, firſt Prince of the Bloud, aſſiſted with the Princes, Cardinals, Peers, Biſhops, &c. being the beſt and ſoundeſt part of the Kingdom, DECLARE that we have ſworn and faithfully promis'd, to continue in Arms till the Church and Roman Religion be eſtabliſh'd in her former Dignity, the Nobles enjoy their Privileges, the people eas'd, the new Taxes aboliſhed, the Parlements left to their wonted freedom and liberty, &c.

Theſe and ſuch others are the cauſes of our Arming, which by theſe neceſſities is made juſtifiable, (though otherwiſe we ſhould diſclame ſuch courſes;) and ſo believing we cannot have a more honourable Funeral, then to die in ſo holy and juſt a cauſe. Yet proteſting that we do not intend any thing againſt the King, but on the contrary in defence of his Perſon, Life, and Eſtate, being willing to lay down our Arms when he ſhall remedy theſe evils, in doing of which he ſhall be more honoured and obeyed by us.

That ſeeing the Laws and their good Intentions are clear enough, therefore they will not force the King to declare a Succeſſour, though in ſo doing the Nation might hereafter be eas'd of Troubles and Factions about it.

That as they have all a grand Veneration for the Queen-mother, ſo they hope ſhe will have a good opinion of them.

Humbly deſire all people to aſſiſt them in this their good deſign, and to have a favourable conſtruction of their actions.

Proteſting never to lay down Arms till we have accompliſh'd all theſe our deſires; and ſo deſire all good Romaniſts to aſſiſt them in their Prayers and Devotions.

At Peronne,
31 March 1585.

CHARLES,
Cardinal de Bourbon.

But

1585

But this *Declaration* was drawn up and confirm'd by the *Cardinal* ſome time before, and alſo Copies of it ſent abroad by the *Leaguers*, the better to confirm their Party: for I meet with a Letter ſent by the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Mayenne* to the *Parlement* of *Province*, (meaning *Aix* the chief City of that County, where that *Parlement* ſits) in which they tell them, *Memoires de* Nevers, *vol.* 1.

That they have ſent the copy of the ſaid Cardinal de Bourbons *Declaration to them, by which they might perceive how unwilling they were to take up arms, yet that in the quarrel they were reſolved to venture life, goods, & friends too; exhorting and adjuring that Parlement to aſſiſt them, telling them, that as they ſhall aid thoſe who joyn with them, ſo they will endeavour the ruine of thoſe who oppoſe their League.*

Your moſt Affectionate Servants,

Joinville,
19 *March* 1585.

HENRY de LORRAIN.

CHARLES de LORRAIN.

As for the *Declaration* it ſelf, it was rejoyned to by the King in another well and cunningly worded, endeavouring to anſwer all their Objections, deſiring them to lay down their arms, and admoniſhing all his Subjects not to believe their idle pretences, but to confide in and joyn themſelves to him.

But it was not words that were to befriend the *Covenanters*: ſo they draw their Forces together, rendezvouz at *Chalons* in *Champaigne*, whither the Cardinal *Bourbon* is conducted to them by the Duke of *Guiſe*, with as great demonſtrations of Honour and Joy as could be, the better to inſnare and bewitch the old man, whoſe Name and Intereſt they were to make ſo much uſe of. And now *Guiſe* tampers again with *Nevers*, aſſuring him that all things go better and better, deſireth his ſpeedy aſſiſtance, and is much troubled that *Rochette* (one of his cunning Agitators) is taken and carried priſoner to *Paris*, fearing thereby ſome of their Plots may be diſcover'd.

Yet they look upon themſelves ſtrong enough to defie any oppoſition, having muſter'd about 12000 men, expecting daily Recruits of *German* and *Spaniſh* Forces hir'd to joyn with them; and thus fortifi'd they ſeize upon ſeveral ſtrong places. As for the King, he is at a ſtand what to do, not having ſtrength enough to oppoſe his Enemies, nor certain where to ſecure himſelf, fearing if he left *Paris* it would riſe againſt him, and if he ſtay'd there he might be ſeiz'd on, ſo zealouſly bent was that City for the *Covenant*. However he gets a ſtrong Guard about him, and ſends the *Queen-mother* to treat with the Confederates. And what a grand conceit they had of their enterpriſe may in part be ſeen by their Cardinals Letter to the Dutcheſs of *Nevers*, wherein he tells her, Gomberville, *vol.* 1. *p.* 648.

How pleas'd he is with the good will which ſhe and her Duke bears to their deſigns, which is onely for the honour of God, though others traduce them as Ambitious. That they ſhall ſhortly have the braveſt Army that hath been in

1585 France *these five hundred years. That though the* Queen-mother *now talk to them of peace, yet their demands are so many for Religion, that she will not grant them, &c.*

Your most humble Uncle to serve you,

Chalons,
23 *May* 1585.

CHARLES,
Cardinal *de Bourbon*.

But in short, the Treaty is carried on very cunningly on both sides, and at last both Parties growing jealous of their own Force, and *Guise* doubting the Cardinals constancy by reason of his easie nature, a Peace was clapt up advantageous enough to the *Covenanters*, for by Agreement the *Huguenots* were to be prosecuted, several Cities and strong places given to the *Guisards*, strong Horse-guards appointed and paid by the King to wait upon their Chieftains; *Guise* himself is to have one hundred thousand Crowns, his Forces paid, and all things forgiven, &c. And for better satisfaction upon this *Re-union* of his Subjects (as they call'd it) the King in Parlement must publish an Edict (which *Perefixe* calls a *Bloody* one.) The summe of it was thus:

7 *July.*

18 *July.* Edict de Juillet.

HENRY *by the grace of God King of* France *and* Poland, *&c.*

How God and Man knoweth his care and endeavours to have all his Subjects of one Religion, i. e. *the* Roman, *the want of which hath been the occasions of so many troubles.*

Wherefore with the advice of his Mother and Council he doth ordain and command this unalterable Decree and Edict.

That in his Dominions there shall be but one, viz. *the* Roman *Religion, under pain of confiscation of Body and Goods, all former Edicts to the contrary notwithstanding.*

That all Huguenot *Ministers or Preachers do avoid and depart the Kingdom within one moneth.*

That all his other Subjects, who will not change their Religion, shall depart within six moneths, yet shall have liberty to sell and dispose of their goods.

That all Huguenots *or Hereticks shall be incapable of any Office or Dignity.*

* Courts of Justice in several places by former Edicts, 1576, 1577. wherein half were to be *Romanists* and half *Huguenots*. These were restored again by the Edict of *Nantes*, 1589. with many other favours to the *Huguenots*, many of which have been since null'd and taken away.

That all * Chambre mi-parties *and* tri-parties *shall be taken away.*

That all those Towns and Places formerly given to the Huguenots *for their security shall by them be deliver'd up.*

That what hath hitherto or formerly been done shall be pardon'd on both sides.

And that for the better preservation of this Edict all Princes, Officers, Governours, Justices, Mayors, &c. shall swear to keep it, and their said Oaths to be registred.

HENRY.

By the King in his Council. *Broulart.*

Read and publish'd in Parlement, the King present. *De-Hevez.*

The

1585

The King of *Navarre* ſeeing himſelf thus aim'd at, not only challengeth *Guiſe* to ſingle Combat, (which the Duke anſwer'd only by Libels) but alſo vindicated himſelf by an Apologetical Declaration, drawn up by *Philippe Morney* Sieur *du Pleſſis*, whoſe Pen and Learning that King uſed to make much uſe of, as appears by his *Memoirs*, and whoſe Life was afterwards writ by one of his *Amauuenſes*, and in whoſe commendations you may read a large *Ode* in Monſieur * *D'Eſpinelle's* Collections.

* *Le Parnaſſe des Poetes* Francoiſes, *tom.* 2. *fol* 69, 70, *&c.*

King *Henry* III. perceiving that the *Leaguers* made great noiſe againſt him for not proſecuting the war againſt the *Huguenots*, or rather againſt the King of *Navarre*, told them his willingneſs to ſuch a war, and therefore deſir'd them to put him in a way to have Moneys for the raiſing and paying the Armies: but this they car'd not for, being unwilling that he ſhould be either ſtrong or rich, yet to ſtop their clamours, he gave order for the levelling of three Armies to fight *Navarre* and his Aſſociates. Thus were their three ſeveral Intereſts in *France* at the ſame time.

I. The King *and his Royaliſts.*

II. The King of Navarre *with his* Huguenots, *in their own defence, as a* * Romaniſt *confeſſeth.*

III. The Guiſians *or* Covenanters, *deſigning the ruine of the two former, and to advance themſelves.*

* Andr. Favyn *Hiſt. de* Navarre, *p.* 936, Davila *p.* 579.

And now Pope *Gregory* XIII. dying, there ſucceeded in the Chair *Sixtus* V. who upon ſollicitation of the *Guiſards* thunders out a *Bull* againſt the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*, which being too long for this place I ſhall refer you to the reading of it in other * Authors. But becauſe it is in none of the Editions of *Cherubinus* his *Bullarium*, (poſſibly ſince that time thinking it not convenient to exaſperate that Kingdom) as they have either fraudulently or politickly left out ſome other *Bulls*, take the ſumme of it as followeth.

* Pet. Matth. *Summa Conſtitut.* Rom. *Pont. p.* 901, 902, 903. Fran. Hotoman. *Fulmen Brutum.* Goldaſt. *Monarchæ* Rom. *tom.* 2, 3. *p.* 124, 125, 126.

First it telleth us what a fine thing a Pope is; that by his right and power can throw down and depoſe the greateſt of Kings.

Then what favours and kindneſſes this Henry *hath received from the Pope, for* Gregory XIII. *aboliſhed and pardoned his former ſins and Hereſies, and gave him a Diſpenſation to marry his Queen* Margaret, *and the like done to the Prince of* Condé.

Yet for all this they have adhered to Calviniſm, *oppoſed the* Roman *Religion, and endeavoured to carry on that which they call* A Reformation, *for which they have by Arms and Council withſtood the* Romaniſts.

Wherefore according to our duty we draw the ſword of vengeance *againſt theſe two* Sons of wrath, Henry *ſometimes King of* Navarre, *and* Henry *Prince of* Condé.

And therefore declare them and all their poſterity deprived of all their Dominions, Principalities, Titles, Places, Juriſdictions, Offices, Goods, Rights, &c.

And that both they and their poſterity are and ſhall hereafter be uncapable to ſucceed in or poſſeſs any of the premiſſes.

And

1585 *And we alſo abſolve all Nobles, Feudatories, Vaſſals, Subjects, and all other people from their Oaths of Allegeance, Fidelity, and Duties they owe or promis'd to them.*

And do hereby command and forbid all and every one, that they in no wiſe obey the aforeſaid Henries, *or any of their Laws or Commandments; and thoſe that do otherwiſe we excommunicate with the ſame ſentence.*

And we exhort and admoniſh Henry III. *King of* France *to imploy all his Authority, Power, and Courage to ſee this ſentence executed.*

And command all Archbiſhops and Biſhops in France, Navarre, *and* Bearne, *in virtue of Holy Obedience, that they cauſe this our* Bull *to be publiſh'd and effected.*

And if any preſume to oppoſe or infringe this ſentence, he ſhall incur the Indignation of Almighty God, and his bleſſed Apoſtles Peter *and* Paul.

At Rome, 9 Septemb. 1585.
A. de Alexiis.
Subſcribed by XXV. Cardinals.

The *Guiſards* now thought their Game half done, not doubting but that this *Bull* would take ſo much effect, as for ever to exclude theſe two *Bourbons* and their Poſterity from the *French* Throne, which then would be the more eaſie for them to aſcend. But the *Paris* Parlement (moſt of which ſaw no further into the *League* then the ſpecious outſide) look'd upon it as a thing of dangerous conſequence, that the next heirs to the Crown, ſhould thus ſo ſlightly be Excluded, without advice either of the King or them, to the violation (as they thought) of the Priviledges of the *Gallican* Church. And therefore in a full body waited upon the King, deſiring to have the *Bull* torn in pieces, and the Procurers of it to be enquired after, and ſeverely puniſh'd, and affirming to the King that it ought publickly to be burnt. But the King (though he diſliked the manner of the *Bull*) yet at this time, thinking it beſt, neither to offend Pope, Parlement or *Guiſards*, ſaid he would conſider of it; and thus the buſineſs was paſt over, though the *Covenanters* ſpred their Copies abroad with Triumph.

But the King of *Navarre* would not brook his Reputation thus to be blaſted, and therefore gallantly (as *Pereſixe* ſaith) oppoſed himſelf againſt the Papal *Bull*, his Anſwer being ſhort, brisk, in an unuſual ſtile, and not yet (as I know of) clad in *Engliſh*, take as followeth.

HENRY par le Grace de Dieu Roy de *Navarre*, Prince Souverain de *Bearn*, Premier *Pair* and *Prince* de *France*, s' oppoſe à la Declaration & Excommunication de *Sixte* cinquieſme ſoy diſant *Pape* de *Rome*; la maintient faux & en appella come d' abus en la *Cour* des *Pairs* de *France*, deſquels il á ceſt honneur d' eſtre le Premier.

HENRY by the Grace of God King of Navarre, *Sovereign Prince of* Bearn, *firſt* Peer *and Prince of* France, *doth Proteſt againſt the Declaration and Excommunication of* Sixtus V. *calling himſelf Pope of* Rome, *doth affirm it to be falſe, and doth Appeal from it as an Impoſture to the Court of* Peerage *in* France, *of which he hath the honour to be the Chief or Firſt.*

Et

Et en ce que touche le crime d' Hereſie, & de laquelle il eſt fauſſement accuſé par le Declaration ; dict & ſouſtient que Monſieur *Sixte* ſoy diſant Pape (ſauve ſa Sanctete) en a fauſſement menti, & que luy meſme eſt Heretique, ce qu' il fera prouver en plein Concile, libre & legitiment aſſemblé. Auquel s' il ne conſent, & ne s' y ſoubmit, comme il eſt obligé par ſes droicts Canons meſmes, il le tient & declare pour un ANTICHRIST & HERETIQUE : & en ceſte qualité veut avoir guerre perpetuelle & irreconciliable contre luy. Proteſte cependent de nullité, & le recouvir contre luy & ſes Succeſſeurs pour reparation d' honneur de l' injure qui luy eſt faicte, & a toute la Maiſon de *France*, comme le faict & la neceſsité preſente le requient.

And as for that which concerneth the crime of Hereſie, *and of which he is falſly accus'd by the ſaid Declaration ; he doth affirm and maintain that Maſter* Sixtus *calling himſelf Pope (with reverence to his* Holineſs) *hath lied in his throat, and that he himſelf is the* Heretick, *as he will prove in a General and Free Council legally aſſembled. To which if he will not conſent and ſubmit himſelf, as he is oblig'd by the very Canons themſelves, he will then hold and declare him for an ANTICHRIST and HERETICK, and ſo will have a perpetual and irreconcilable war againſt him. Nevertheleſs proteſting his ſentences of no force, which Nullity he will recover againſt him and his Succeſſours, for a reparation of the injury which is done to him, and all the Bloud Royal of* France, *as the preſent neceſſity requireth.* 1585

Que ſi par le paſſé, les Princes & Roys ſes Predeceſſeurs ont bien ſçeu chaſtier la temerité de tels *Gallans*, comme eſt ce pretendu Pape *Sixte*, lors qu' ils ſe ſent oubliez de leur devoir & paſſé les bornes de leur Vocation, confondant le *Temporal* avec le *Spirituel*. Le dit Roy de *Navarre*, qui n' eſt en rien enferieur a eux, eſpere que Dieu luy fera la grace de venger l' injure faicte a ſon Roy, a la Maiſon, & a ſon ſang, & a toutes les Cours de *Parlement* de *France*, & ſur luy & ſur ſes Succeſſeurs.

And if formerly the Princes and Kings his Predeceſſours, knew well enough how to chaſtiſe the hair-braindneſs or foolhardineſs of ſuch dapper Gallants (as this pretended Pope Sixtus *is) when they forgot their duty, and paſs'd the bounds of their callings, by hand-over-head blending or jumbling the Temporal power with the Spiritual. The ſaid King of* Navarre, *who is no way inferiour to them, hopeth that God will aſſiſt him to revenge upon the ſaid* Sixtus *and his Succeſſors the injury done to his King, the Royal Family and Bloud, and all the Courts of Parlement of* France.

Implorant à ceſt effect l' aide & ſecours de tous les Princes, Roys, Villes, & Communantez vrayement Chriſtiennes, auquel ce faict touche. Auſſi prie tous Allies & Confederez de ceſte Couronne de *France*, de s'oppoſer avec luy contre le Tyrannie & Uſurpation du Pape, & des *Ligues Conjurateurs* en *France*, ennemis de Dieu, de l'Eſtat, & de leur Roy, & du repos General de toute la Chriſtianité.

And to this purpoſe he imploreth the help and aſſiſtance of all the truly Chriſtian Princes, Kings, Cities, Corporations, or Aſſociations which are herein concern'd. And he alſo deſires all the Allies and Confederates of this Crown of France, *to joyn themſelves with him to withſtand the Tyranny and Uſurpation of the Pope and the* Covenanting Conſpiratours *in* France, *enemies to God, their Country, and King, and the Common peace of all Chriſtendom.*

Autant

1585

Autant en proteſte *Henry de Bourbon* Prince de *Condé*.

The ſame is alſo proteſted and teſtified by Henry de Bourbon *Prince of* Condé.

And this Proteſtation was fixed upon the corners of the Streets of *Rome* the 6th. of *November* 1585. And there were ſeveral Scholars who undertook the defence of the King of *Navarre*, amongſt which were the two famous Civilians *Francis Hotman* and *Pierre de Belloy*, the laſt of which ſuffer'd a tedeous impriſonment.

As for the Pope, being of a fiery diſpoſition, we may ſuppoſe him not a little nettled at this Paper; but as by degrees his paſſion cool'd, ſo did he affect *Navarre*, and admire his courage and noble reſolution.

And *Guiſe* queſtion'd not but that all would go well enough with him; for though once (ſelf-Intereſt being all his deſign) he and his brother the Duke of *Mayenne* had made ſome Overtures to the King of *Navarre* to joyn themſelves with him, with an intent to ruine the *French* Kings Favourites or his Party, that ſo the *Leaguers* might command that Kings perſon and Councils; yet he alſo plotted the overthrow of *Navarre* and his Aſſociates, the better to ſecure all Authority to himſelf: to which purpoſe the *French* King was ſo work'd upon, as to * *decree* all *Huguenots* to turn *Romaniſts*, or depart the Kingdom within 15 days, and their goods to be ſeiz'd on and ſold, but the women had 6 moneths granted them.

* 7 Octob. 1585.

Yet the *French* King juſtly diſtruſting the *Guiſards* greatneſs and deſigns, had (the better to keep the Scales even, and to ſecure himſelf between both parties) favour enough both for *Navarre* and a Peace with the *Huguenots*, and always looking upon *Henry* to be next Heir to the Crown, wiſh'd he would change his Religion, the better to render him more capable to enjoy it. And accordingly began to enter into ſome Treaties with him, which ſo madded the *Covenanters*, that they and the Pulpits ranted very malapertly againſt the King, as one inclining to the Hereticks, and an enemy to the *Roman* Religion; which falſities and ſlanders were no ſmall trouble to *Henry* of *France*, by them daily loſing the goodwill and affection of his *Romaniſh* Subjects: nor was *Henry* of *Navarre* any whit leſs offended at the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, who had obtain'd from the Pope, the Confiſcation of all the ſaid Kings Hereditary Territories, upon his deprivation by the former *Bull* or Sentence.

Chap.

1585

CHAP. IV.

A Council of Sixteen *appointed at* Paris *to act all for the* League. *Where they daily contrive to ſeize upon and murder the King, but are diſcovered to him by* Poulain. *The* Guiſards *deſire the King to ſhackle himſelf.* Guiſe *comes to* Paris. *The* Barricadoes. *The King ſteals out of* Paris. *A ſeeming Peace made by the* Edict of Union. *The Duke of* Guiſe, *and his Brother* Lewis *Cardinal of* Guiſe, *kill'd at* Bloys.

WHileſt the Country now tended to War and Sedition, we cannot ſuppoſe *Paris* to lie unconcern'd; and (as ſome ſay) her River * *Seina* is not ſo heavy as other waters, ſo the ſtory of this wicked *League* might argue her Inhabitants to be more light, fickler, and apt to Rebellion then any other people, and daſh out thoſe Commendations of Loyalty which the Learned * *André du Cheſne* hath appropriated to this City.

* Pap. Maſſon *de flum.* Gall.

* *Les Antiquitez des Villes de* France, *l.* 1. *c.* 3.

Who deſigns a Rebellion muſt be ſure to ſecure the chief City to his ſervice, which once done half his work is finiſh'd. And this was neither unknown nor neglected by *Guiſe*, who for a long time had made it his care and buſineſs to work over the *Pariſians* to his Intereſt, by his Creatures and Miniſters fobbing into their heads ſtrange ſtories of the bad and gaſping condition of the *Roman* Religion, by reaſon of the Kings Inclination to Hereſie, and endeavours to have *Navarre* ſucceed him. 1584

To prevent all, a Council of XVI. active *Leaguers* are appointed at *Paris* to carry on the *Solemn Covenant*, to whom the Duke of *Guiſe* ſendeth *Le Sieur de Mayneville*, there to reſide and adviſe the beſt means to ſtir up the people to joyn with them, which they thought could not be better done, then by perſuading the people of the danger of Religion, and how many thouſand *Huguenots* lay skulking in the City well armed, with a reſolution to cut the throats of the *Romaniſts*.

This cloſe Committee of *Covenanters* firſt met ſecretly in the College *de Fortet*, (ſo call'd from its Founder *Pierre Fortet*) upon which occaſion it was afterwards commonly ſtyl'd * *The Cradle of the League.* Afterwards they aſſembled in the Covent of the *Dominicans* or *Jacobins*, and at laſt for fear of being ſuſpected or diſcovered, they met not at any certain place, but ſometimes at one private houſe and ſometimes in another.

* *Le Berceau de la Ligue.*

At this time was *Provoſt* of the * *Iſle of France* one *Hardy*, who being old (and ſo not very active) did uſually act by his Deputy or *Lieutenant* (as they call it) which was now one *Nicolas Poulain*, born at S. *Denis*, him the *Leaguers* have a deſire to draw into their Caball, becauſe they could make ſpecial uſe of his Authority: nor did they doubt much of his compliance, being greatly in debt, and ſo the hope of gain and reward would prove ſtrong motives.

* L'Iſle de France *is properly call'd that Tract of ground containing* Paris, S Denis, Montmorancy, Dammartin, Poiſſy, S. Germain en Laye, Luzarche, &c. *but the* Provoſtſhip *or Government is of a larger extent.*

1585 Accordingly *Jean le Clerc Sieur de Buſſy* and *Georges Michelet*, two active men of the cloſe Committee, and zealous *Guiſards*, aſſault the aforeſaid *Poulain* with many perſuaſive Arguments to joyn himſelf to their deſigns, to which at laſt he conſents, takes an Oath of Secrecy, and they all ſwear to one another another Oath, That if any one of them were ſeiz'd on or impriſon'd for this their cauſe, that then every one of the reſt ſhould venture life and eſtate for his delivery. But *Poulain* continued not long firm to them, for whether he was troubled at their wicked deſigns, or to ingratiate himſelf with His Majeſty, thereby to better his Fortunes, he diſcovereth all privately to the King, though kept on his uſual meetings with the *Leaguers*; and when with them, ſeem'd as zealous as the reſt; what he knew of them he afterwards drew up into a little * Narrative, out of which we ſhall take what we think moſt material.

*Le Procez du Nicolas Poulain,

you may read it in Claude Malingre Sieur de S. Lazare, Annales Generales de Paris, p. 329, 330, 331, &c. *And it is alſo very lately reprinted in the* Recuil de diverſes Pieces ſervant a l' Hiſtory de *Henry* III. Roy de France, &c. *Octavo*, 1666.

The better to increaſe their Number and ſtrengthen their Cauſe, they had choſen out ſeveral cunning Fellows, one out of each Trade, Company, or Profeſſion, even amongſt the ſeveral Courts of Judicature, Law, or Juſtice, who were to inweigle themſelves amongſt their reſpective Trades and Faculties, noiſe up the Honour of *Guiſe*, the Danger of Religion, the Growth of Hereſie, the Faults of the King, the Tyranny of his Favourites, and ſo the Neceſſity of the *League* to defend themſelves, Country, and Religion. And for their better ſecurity they conſult how to provide themſelves with Arms. The King ſuſpecting ſome miſchief, had by expreſs Order forbidden all Gun-ſmiths, Cutlers, and ſuch like Artificers, to ſell any ſort of Arms, but to thoſe who were well known and allow'd to buy them. Upon this account they pitch upon *Poulain* as the only man in this caſe to ſerve them, who by virtue of his Place and Office might buy up ſtore of Arms without ſuſpicion, and beſides might pretend ſeveral reaſons if any jealouſie grew of him. And accordingly he had ſo beſtirr'd himſelf, that in a ſhort time he had bought up a multitude of Arms, and according to directions had in the night diſpoſed of them in *l' Hoſtel de Guiſe*, and ſeveral other places of the City.

And now they think it beſt to bring over to their Aſſociation the Grandees and Zealots of other Cities and places: to which purpoſe they diſpatch *Ameline* to ſound the Inclinations of the *Romaniſts* in the *Beauſſe*, as *Touraine*, *Anjou*, and other Provinces; who according to his Inſtructions poſted up and down, to the gaining of many Proſelytes.

1586 But thus encouraged by their Number, they are willing to dally no more, but to proceed to action. And ſo a *Caball* being held one day in the *Jeſuites* College near S. *Pauls*, the ſurpriſal of *Boulogne* (a Port-town in *Picardy*) was propoſed, which might be advantageous to the *Spaniards*, either for their Fleet in their attempt upon *England*, (now contriving) or to land Forces to aſſiſt the *League*, which the Duke of *Parma* might eaſily do from *Flanders*. And this was concluded on, and the Plot laid down how to bring it to paſs. But *Poulain* diſcovers all to the King, by which means the Town was ſaved.

The people ſeeing nothing done againſt the King, murmur that the Heads of the *League* are not more forward for action; ſome voting for ſur-

ſurprizing the King and *Killing* him, whileſt others thought it would do as well only to put him into a Monaſtery, which is the ſame to Deprive him. Another time the King returning from *Boys de Vincennes*, with no other Company but two Horſemen and four Laquais, they had ſome Plots to ſeize on him then in *St. Antoine*'s Street, (being far from the *Louvre* and ſo his Guards) in an hurry to kill his Coachman and thoſe with him, and then others to cry out, *O Sir, theſe are the* Huguenots *who would ſeize on you.* Which words they ſuppoſed would ſo affright him, that he would quit his Coach, and then they would take him and carry him whither they pleas'd, as to *St. Antoine*'s Church, in whoſe Tower they would ſecure him till they were more ſtrengthened by raiſing up of the people their Aſſociates. But this upon better advice was held too dangerous for them, and ſo neglected: yet *Poulain* informeth the King of it, who reſolved for the future to go better guarded; and would willingly have puniſh'd theſe Conſpirators, but he perceived his Credit too much loſt in *Paris*, and ſo his Force far inferiour to the *Leaguers* there; which made him the more willing to have a Peace with *Navarre*, thereby to be ſtrengthened by his aſſiſtance; but this neither durſt he do for fear of the clamours and threats of the *Leaguers*, unleſs *Navarre* would change his Religion. 1586

In the mean time ſome of the *Covenanters* began to grumble, that the Duke of *Guiſe* did not in perſon come out of the Country to head them according to his promiſe. However his brother the Duke of *Mayenne* being returned to *Paris* from his Wars in *Guienne*, ſome of the chief of the private *Junto* waited upon him at ten a clock at night, told him their deſigns, and deſired his aſſiſtance, which he promis'd them.

And now after ſome Conſultations thus they conclude of their grand deſign, that they would ſeize upon the (*a*) Captain of the Ordinary Watch, (one of great Authority) whom by fair promiſes and fear of death they would force to open the (*b*) *Baſtile*, let them in, and then they would cut his throat. That the gate of the *Arcenal* ſhould be open'd unto them by two Founders of Cannon who were of their Conſpiracy. That the (*c*) *Grand Chaſtelet* and the (*d*) *Petit Chaſtelet* ſhould be open'd to them under pretence of bringing in certain Priſoners: and by ſome ſuch other means would they ſeize upon the other places of the City; kill the Chief Preſident, the Chancelour, the Attorny General, with others of Note who were not of the Party: and with Barrels, Dirt, Chains, and ſuch like ſo *barricado* up the Streets, that no Forces could come in to annoy them. As for the Kings Palace the *Louvre*, they would with eaſe beſet and gain it; which done to cut in pieces the Kings Favourites and Counſellours, put the King himſelf in a Monaſtery till a future Government was reſolved on: and in this enterpriſe they ſhould cry out to encourage the *Romaniſts*, ——*Let the Maſs flouriſh* —— and then to ſend to all other good Towns in the Kingdom, to take their part and ſecond them: and the better to root out all the *Huguenots*, the Duke of *Mayenne* and the *Spaniſh* Forces ſhould deſtroy the King of *Navarre* and his Aſſociates in *Guienne*.

(*a*) Chevalier du Guet.

(*b*) *In nature of the* Tower of London.

(*c*) *A Court Judicature like* Guildhall. *Here alſo ſome are impriſoned.*

(*d*) *The Name of a Priſon.*

Vive la Meſſe.

Poulain informeth the King of all, who preſently provides for his own ſafety, ſecures the places of greateſt Truſt, and draweth ſome Souldiers

1586 near the City, which did not a little perplex the *Covenanters* to ſee their ſecrets diſcover'd; and *Mayenne* alſo was in ſome amazement; but to put a better gloſs on the buſineſs he feign'd himſelf ſick, and went not to the *Louvre* for ſome weeks; at laſt reſolving to quit the City, he goeth to take his leave of the King, who willingly gave him liberty to depart, but with this Complement, —*How now Couſin, will you forſake the Covenanters?*— the Duke only replying, that he knew not what HisMajeſty meant, and ſo departed.

* Comment Cozin quittez vous le party de la ligue?

The King is glad at *Mayenne*'s departure, by which means the *Pariſians* wanted an Head amongſt them; yet the Duke left behind him ſeveral expert Captains and Officers to aſſiſt the *Covenanters* if need be; who were now grown ſo zealous and confident, as to intend the ſeizing of the Kings Perſon at *St. Germains* Fair, being to dine at the *Abby*, but *Poulain* diſcovering this he went not, and ſo that fail'd. The Duke of *Guiſe* inform'd of theſe enterpriſes was very angry with them, as being too haſty and bold to act ſo high without his knowledge or allowance; nor was he pleas'd, that they had diſcovered themſelves and plots to his brother *Mayenne*, and ſo ſends *le Sieur de Mayneville* to chide them. They confeſs their grief for thus offending the Duke, excuſe themſelves, deſire his pardon, and give *Mayneville* a Gold Chain to ſtand ſo much their Friend as to pacifie the Duke.

Mem. de *Nevers* vol. 1. p. 753. 755.

Whileſt theſe things were acting in *Paris* their Inſtruments were not idle in other places, eſpecially at *Rome*, where *Pilles Abbé d'Orbais*, Agent for Cardinal *de Guiſe*, and ſome others were great ſticklers for the *League*, countenanced there by Cardinal *Pellevéo*. The actions of which Cardinal (being a Subject of *France*) did ſo vex King *Henry* III. that we are * told, that he order'd his Revenues to be ſeiz'd on and diſtributed to the poor.

* Journal De: 1586.

1587 The King being gone from *Paris* with an Army to oppoſe the *Germans* then marching into *France* to aſſiſt the *Huguenots*, the *Covenanters* had ſome thoughts of ſeizing on the City in his abſence, according to *Guiſe* his Inſtructions, who phanſied that he might ſecure the Kings Perſon in the Country. To this purpoſe they ſent *Lauchart* to *Guiſe* for further information; who upon maturer advice would not allow of the plot, ſeeing the King then to have ſuch a Force about the City, and a good Army under his command. However they aſſure the Duke of their ſtrength and willingneſs to attempt any thing that he ſhall command.

And the better to incite the Rabble to Rebellion, the Pulpit (the worſt Inſtrument in Seditious deſign) is made uſe of; ſeveral turbulent Prieſts or Miniſters being ſet on work to beſpatter the King and his actions: one of the chief of theſe Firebrands was *Jean Boucher*, Preacher of *St. Benoiſt*, a zealous wall-ey'd Fellow, of whoſe wicked Doctrines we have told you formerly out of his book *De juſta abdicatione* Henrici III. The King ſent for him, and publickly told him of his lies and ſlanders; as how he had told the people in the Pulpit, that the King cauſed one *Burlart* of *Orleans* to be put into a Sack and thrown into the River, although the ſaid *Burlart* was yet alive, and daily kept company with the ſaid *Boucher*; by which the King told him he had committed two grand faults, firſt ſo baſely to bely his lawful Sovereign, and then after telling ſuch a lie in the Pulpit to go forthwith to the Altar and Sacrament, without acknowledging his foreſaid falſities, although all confeſs that every one ought to confeſs his faults before he receive the Euchariſt: yet the King told him that at this time he would forgive

give all, though he might revenge himſelf as Pope *Sixtus* V. did, who ſent ſeveral *Franciſcans* to the Gallies for traducing him in their Sermons. 1587

Another call'd *Prevoſt*, being Preacher of *St. Severin*, amongſt his many other Seditious prattlements had from the Pulpit told his Pariſhioners, that ——*The King was a Tyrant, and an Enemy to the Church and People*—— Upon which the King (as became him) ſent for him; which ſo netled the *Covenanters*, that they forthwith ſpread abroad, that the King was reſolved to puniſh and impriſon all the good and godly Preachers. A thing very offenſive to all manner of Zealots, of what pretended Opinion ſoever; Rebellious Experience making it a certain rule, that none clamour up Preaching more, then thoſe who pretend to know Religion better then their Teachers; the more ignorant the people be, the more apt they are to think they comprehend the deepeſt myſteries, and though they are bid to *obey for Conſcience-ſake*, yet (for all their crying up of the Bible) they make a contrary fundamental-Rule, *viz. Rebell for Conſcience-ſake*: yet let theſe Toleration, comprehenſive, or in ſum Rebellious Villains (for their actions hitherto in Hiſtory hath not ſeparated them) be worſe then can be imagined, they ſhall never want ſome raſcally upſtart Nobles, who raiſed themſelves by fighting the King and cheating the Church, to be their Treaſonable and Sacrilegious Patrons, eſpecially where their Twatling *Dames* have more zeal then honeſty, and from ſuch *Vagabonds* in Religion, good Lord, deliver all Kings, Kingdoms and Churches! but when Kings are ſubjects, people will be Kings, but a brave and daring Prince durſt never yet be oppoſed, to the ruine of the Undertakers, but ſuch can never be, whoſe *Favorites* are more for pleaſure then true honeſty and a National intereſt, as it hapned now in *France*.

Prevoſt inform'd that he was ſent for, was ſecur'd in an houſe of one of his Neighbors call'd *Hatte* a *Notarie*; and for his farther protection *Jean le Clerc* Sieur (or Landlord) *de Buſſy*, one of the chief of the *Covenanting Sixteen*, with ſeveral other Armed men put themſelves into the foreſaid houſe, oppos'd and fought againſt thoſe whom the King ſent to enquire for the ſame Delinquents, and made ſuch an Hubbub and Riot, that the Kings Meſſengers, though headed by *Seguier* the *Lieutenant-Civil*, or one of the *Judges*, were forced to withdraw themſelves aud ſhift for their own ſecurity.

Theſe and ſuch like ſeditious actions ſo incouraged the *Leaguers*, that the Town ſounded nothing now but the miſdeeds of the King, and the Glories of *Guiſe*, that if it had not been for him the Ark would have fallen into the hands of the *Philiſtins*, and Hereſie would have triumphed over the true Religion. Nay, the *Sorboniſts* were ſo bold as to make (as we are told) a ſecret *Decree*, *That Princes might be depos'd from their Government, if they did not what became them, as the charge taken away from a negligent Guardian.* Journal.

And towards the latter end of this year, 'tis ſaid, that the King was inform'd that the Duke of *Guiſe*, had poſted diſguiſed to *Rome*, where he ſtayed only three days with Cardinal *Pellevé*, and that the Pope ſent him a rich ſword. Another tells us, that one *Viliers* was ſent to *Rome*, to deſire the Popes aſſiſtance, and that a Letter was found about him, ſaid to be writ by the Dutcheſs of *Lorraine*, Mother to the Duke, containing thus much. Id.

I am very glad to underſtand the ſtate of your Affairs, and I adviſe you to go forward, for never a fairer Occaſion was offered you, to put the Scepter Ant. Colynet. p. 1735, 1740.

1587 *Scepter in your hand, and the Crown upon your head.*

The two laſt years we could not expect much matter from the *Leaguers* (though we ſee their deſigns bad enough) ſeeing moſt of the Souldiery in *France* were imployed againſt *Navarre* and his *Huguenots*, many of the *Covenanting* Nobles being engag'd in thoſe wars, which diverted them from their attempts upon the King: but we ſhall ſee the next year make amends for all.

1588 Davila *p.* 667,669. D'Aubigne *tom.* 3. *l.* 1. *c.* 21. Spondanus.

The Duke of *Guiſe* (the better to make all things ſure) hath a meeting of the Chieftains of the Houſe of *Lorrain* at *Nancy*, (a ſtrong Town in that Dukedom) where it is talk'd high of depoſing the King, of putting him into a Monaſtery, of deſtroying the Houſe of *Bourbon*, to diſpoſe of all things themſelves, and ſuch like extravagancies. But at laſt it was concluded, that the Duke of *Lorrain* ſhould keep the Forces of the *League* in action, and that *Guiſe* and others ſhould unite with Cardinal *Bourbon* to preſent a Petition to the King, much for their own advantage, which if granted their buſineſs might eaſily be done without clamour or any great oppoſition; if denied, they had force ſufficient to obtain it. Accordingly the Paper is preſented to the King, in which (after many fair words) they demand,

That the King ſhould really and briskly joyn himſelf with them, and root out the Huguenots.

That he would put ſuch perſons as they ſhould name from his Court, Council, and their Offices or Imployments.

That he would make the Council of Trent *be received in his Dominions.*

That he would grant ſome ſtrong places unto the Covenanting Princes, *where they might keep Garriſons and make Fortifications at the charge of the Crown.*

That he would maintain an Army near Lorrain *under the Command of one of the* Leaguing Princes.

That he would cauſe all the Eſtates of the Huguenots *to be ſold, to ſatisfie the expences of the late wars, and to aſſiſt the* Covenanters *in their future deſigns.*

That he would ſettle the Inquiſition *in the chief Cities of his Kingdom, and ſuch like.*

The King received the Propoſitions with a ſeemingly contented countenance, but defer'd his Anſwer; nor did the Duke of *Guiſe* care much whether he ſatisfied their demands or no, the deſign being only to render His Majeſty odious to the People, as an Enemy to them and Religion, and a Friend to the Hereticks. And the fair and diſſembling carriage of *Guiſe*, for the Eaſe of the People, Good of Religion, and Scorn of the Kings pimping, flattering, upſtart Favourites, (who rais'd themſelves by cheating the King and the oppreſſion of the Poor) had in procuring favour and eſteem far the advantage of the Kings carriage and actions, whoſe only care was Luxury and Idleneſs, Dancing, Fooling with little Dogs, pratling with Birds, and ſuch like childiſh gayeties.

All which were ſufficiently known to the *Guiſards*, upon which they daily ſpread abroad (as is uſual upon ſuch neglects and occaſions) their Pamphlets, Libels, and Lampons; whileſt the Zele and Honour of *Guiſe*

is

is celebrated in every ſtreet and corner, ſtyling him —— *the new David, the ſecond Moſes, the Deliverer of the Catholick people, the Prop and Pillar of the Holy Church, the new Gideon, the Safety of the Kingdom*, and ſuch like. 1588

In the mean time the ſecret Council of the *Covenanters* in *Paris* was not idle, and having (as formerly ſaid) for the better carrying on their Plots (the City being divided into * XVI *Wards* or Quarters) appointed a truſty *Covenanter* to ſuperviſe every *Ward*, and the *Leaguers* in that Diviſion, from which number the chief and Council of the *Guiſards* in *Paris* was commonly call'd *The Sixteen*, (*Les Seize.*) But *Guiſe* now perceiving the buſineſs daily to ripen for action, thought this Diviſion not cloſe enough, therefore ſends back *La Chapelle* (one of their buſieſt Counſellours) to tell them his deſire, who forthwith pulls out of his pocket a *Map* of *Paris*, purpoſely divided into V Quarters, every one of which had now by the Duke a Colonel appointed over it, (their names were *Count de Briſſac*, the *Sieurs de Bois-Dauphin, de Chamois, d'Eſchavoles*, and Colonel *St. Paul*) and under every Colonel were ſeveral Captains, and ſo to every one was given a Note what to do, where any might have Arms that wanted. Beſides, he had ordered the Duke of *Aumale* and other his Aſſociates, to be in readineſs with their Forces at appointment.

* *Les Seize Quarters*, every one of which is uſually governd by a *Quartinier* or Alderman.

And to the no ſmall joy and encouragement of the *Guiſards* now died *Henry de Bourbon* Prince of *Condé*: poiſon'd he was, as is confeſs'd by all; and with him might that Branch have ended, but that his Princeſs (impriſon'd upon ſuſpicion as guilty of her Husbands death) a little after was brought to bed of a young Prince, and was call'd *Henry*. The King of *Navarres* Life had formerly ſeveral times been attempted, of which *D'Aubigne* will afford you a couple of odd ſtories. And in this Year * *Monſieur de Calliere* will tell you of another deſign againſt his perſon: and we need not queſtion but that his death, be it any way, would have been very acceptable to *Guiſe* and his Party, who about this time did † ſpread abroad that he was really dead, whether to encourage their Aſſociats, to diſmay the *Huguenots*, or that they knew of ſome Attempts againſt his Life, and hoped they would accordingly take effect, let others judge.

* *Tom.* 2 *l.* 5 *ch.* 5

* *Hiſt d M. du* Matignon, *p.* 219, 220, 221.

* Ant. Colyner, *p.* 214

In the mean time the *Pariſians* carry on their Plots, and all things being now in a pretty readineſs, they reſolve to take opportunity of the time of *Lent*, it being the Kings cuſtom then to go in Proceſſion in the habit of a *Penitent* amongſt the *Whipping-Friars*, without any other Guards or Retinue, and thus they thought they might without much difficulty ſeize on him, clap him up in a Cloyſter; then the Duke of *Guiſe* to ſummon the *States-General*, tell them of the Kings unfitneſs to rule, and ſo the *League* might ſway all as he pleaſed. But *Poulain* diſcovering this to the King, he feigned himſelf ſick, went not abroad that day, and ſo eſcap'd the ſnare: yet the *Covenanters* proceed, make a *ſecret Muſter* of their Forces which they find to be about XXX. thouſand ſtout men, and perceiving their deſigns diſcover'd, (but by whom they could not tell) thought it not fit to waſte time, or give the King opportunity to ſeize upon any of them, or prevent their Contrivances, wherefore they ſend to *Guiſe* to come without fail, who promiſeth, and in the mean time ſendeth many Officers, to lurk ſecretly in the City againſt his coming.

The King inform'd of this, adviſeth for his own ſafety; but the Factions at Court did ſomewhat weaken the Determinations, yet he gets ſome

1588 ſome Companies to ſtrengthen himſelf in the *Louvre*, procureth what Friends he can ſecretly to joyn with him; yet after all he perceived himſelf not able to cope with his Enemies, though they were ſomewhat cool'd at his Preparations.

5 *May.* About this time His Majeſty being at *Bois de Vincennes*, accompanied not with abovn ſix or ſevee, the *Sixteen* deſign'd to intrap him in his return, then to Alarm the City by giving out that the *Huguenots* had ſurpriz'd him, and intended his death; thinking by this trick to raiſe up their Confederates: but *Poulain* diſcovering this, the King ſent for his Guards, and ſo this alſo fail'd. In this deſigned Treachery *Catharine* Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier*, and Siſter to *Guiſe*, was an active Inſtrument.

The King being alſo inform'd by the ſame *Poulain*, that the Duke of *Guiſe* was now reſolved to come to *Paris*, and the *Covenanters* ready to receive him, ſendeth ſeveral Meſſengers to him with expreſs command not to approach; to which he giveth cunning and doubtful anſwers, with an intent to diſobey, and accordingly with all poſſible haſte, attended with but a very few of his Gentlemen and Servants, (not keeping the High road, but through by and private paſſages, that he might not meet any other of the Kings Prohibitions, and ſo ſeem publickly to diſobey His Majeſty) enters the City, the people running mad with joy out of their houſes and ſhops to follow him, inſomuch that he had preſently above thirty thouſand Followers, crying out *Long let* Gniſe *live, the Pillar of the Church*. All ſhewed their greateſt affection to him, ſome thanking him, others bowing to him, ſome kiſſing the hem of his garment, others that could not get ſo near by their hands and geſtures ſhewed their zele and joy; ſome ador'd him as a *Saint*, touch'd him with their *Beads*, kiſsing (as they thought) the then ſaid hallowed ſtuff, or touching their Eyes and Foreheads with them; the Women ſtrowing leaves and flowers from their windows, Madam *Vitri* crying out, *O good Prince, ſeeing you are come we are ſafe*: others adding, *Shall we not die for joy when we have ſeen you King?* To ſuch an height of madneſs and wickedneſs will a giddy Zele for Religion tranſport the indiſcreet Rabble.

9 May. Davila *p.* 680. D'Aubigne *tom.* 3. *l.* 1. *ch.* 23.

Guiſe on the other ſide with a popular Face and and ſmiling Countenance ſhewed himſelf affable and courteous to all by Words, Salutations, or kind Looks; and thus paſsing along with his Hat in his hand, omitted nothing that might gain their Affections and Applauſe, and in this complemental Triumph he rode directly to *St. Euſtache*, allighted at the *Filles Repenties*, where the Queen-mother then lay, with whom having ſome diſcourſe, ſhe in the mean time informeth the King of his coming by her Gentleman-Uſher *Luigi Davila*, (a *Cyprian* by birth, and elder brother to *Henrico Caterino Davila*, that excellent Author of the Hiſtory of the Civil Wars of *France*) which ſo perplex'd His Majeſty, that he was fain to reſt himſelf upon his Arm, hanging his Head down almoſt to the Table.

Guiſe having had ſome diſcourſe with the Queen-mother (who was not a little frighted at his coming) waits upon her on foot to the *Louvre*, ſhe being carried in her Chair or *Sedan*: being come before the King, he endeavours to excuſe and vindicate himſelf, and ſo returneth to his own houſe in *St. Antoine's* Street. And here not only Pope * *Sixtus* V. but ſeveral others condemned the King, that he had not *Guiſe* forthwith kill'd whileſt he was in his power in the *Louvre*, and ſome of his Counſellours adviſed him then to do it, whileſt others thought there was no

* *pon.* 1588. § 3.

policy

policy or ſafety in that, ſeeing the People ſo furiouſly reſolved for him. Yet probably the King being then in an high paſſion, might have order'd his diſpatch, but that *Guiſe* by whiſperings and other demeanours perceiv'd their Reſolutions not ſettled, ſo very cunningly taking hold of their uncertainties, pretending a wearineſs by reaſon of his travels, took his leave and went to his Houſe, attended with the former multitude of his Admirers. 1588

And now the Plot begins to work. *Guiſe* that night gets above four hundred Gentlemen and Commanders to his Houſe, ſends for the Council of *Sixteen*, and the * *Eſchevins*, (then of his Faction) with whom he conſults, ordereth Guards to be kept in every *Ward*, all the *Covenanters* to be ready upon notice, and had his own houſe well ſtored with Arms. And the ſame care was alſo taken by the Court to fortifie the *Louvre*. The next day *Guiſe* attended with above four hundred Gentlemen, privately armed with Piſtols under their cloaks, (for upon his former jealouſie he would not venture himſelf ſo unprovided as he was before) went to the *Louvre*, waited upon the Queen his Couſin, then the King, and ſo return'd, and held a deep conſultation with *Pierre Depinac*, Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, his chief Confident and Counſellour. After dinner he went to the Queen-mothers houſe, whither the King came; and after ſeveral diſcourſes concerning the faults of the Government and the People, each endeavouring to vindicate himſelf and Favourites, they departed. * *Like our City Sheriffs.* Paris hath 4 Eſchevins. 10 *May.*

The next day the King order'd all ſtrangers to depart the City, thinking by that means to leſſen and divide the Forces of the *Guiſards*, but this could not be perform'd nor obey'd: and *Guiſe*, to render His Majeſty more odious, gave out that the King intended to put to death LX. of the chief *Romaniſts*, (a counterfeit Liſt of whom he framed and ſent abroad by his Creatures, in which were named the *Eſchevins*, the chief of the *Sixteen* and *Covenanters*) and then all their Curates and Preachers; and to make this more terrible, it was confidently reported, how that the * *Hoſtel de ville* was full of Gibbets to hang the ſaid people on. All which ſo incens'd the Rabble, that they were thinking to riſe up that very night, their Commanders being ſettled in every Quarter. 11 *May.* **The Town houſe.*

And that which moſt confirm'd theſe Opinions to the People, was the approach of the Kings Forces; for His Majeſty perceiving the high Attempts of the *Leaguers*, determined to put it to the puſh, to ſecure himſelf and daunt or quell his Enemies; to which purpoſe he had ſent for the ſeveral Regiments of the *Swiſſes* and *French* who quarter'd near *Paris*, who accordingly were led into the City on Thurſday morning by Mareſchal *Byron*, and agreeable to the Kings Orders, had taken up their Stations or Poſtes in ſeveral places of the City, eſpecially near the Court, which ſome think was not done to the beſt advantage, ſeeing they kept too great a diſtance from *L'Hoſtel de Guiſe* in *S. Antoine's* ſtreet, whereby with the greater eaſe all his Aſſociates and Rabble might come to him, and unite without any oppoſition. 12 *May.*

However at the noiſe of theſe Royal Forces the people ſhut up their Shops, fly to their Arms, and according to their former Inſtructions, what with Tubs, Barrels, and ſuch like materials, ſtop, * *barricado*, and chain up the Streets, Lanes, and Paſſages, and that with ſuch cunning and quickneſs, that the Kings Forces being as aforeſaid divided, could not come to or aſſiſt one another: whereupon after a little reſiſtance and a few ſlain, they yielded themſelves. And thus this vaſt City became ſubject to *Guiſe*, who rode through the ſtreets exhorting the people to ſtand * *Therefore the* French *do yet call this day and action* —Les Barricades de Paris, *or* Journee des Barricades.

1588 ſtand upon their Guard, ſince God had been ſo merciful to them as to ſecure their Lives, Families, Liberties, and the Honour of the Holy Church, deſiring them to depend upon him, and all would be well.

On the other hand the King and Court found themſelves in a ſad condition, and ſeeing no help, after many Conſultations the Queen-mother is ſent to treat with the Duke, and being with a great deal of difficulty (by reaſon of the ſtoppages and *barricadoes)* brought to him, upon diſcourſe ſhe findeth him haughty and exorbitant in his demands, more like a Conquerour then a Subject, not departing a jot from ſuch as theſe.

That he ſhould be Lieutenant General *in all Provinces and places in the Kingdom.*

That the States *ſhould be call'd at* Paris, *who with the King ſhould confirm to him that Power.*

That the King of Navarre, *with the other Princes of* Bourbon *his Adherents, ſhould be declared to have forfeited their Right and Title to the Crown.*

That a Form of Government ſhould be made, which the King ſhould not have power to alter.

That ſuch of the Kings Favourites ſhould be baniſh'd the Court, and turn'd out of all Offices and Places.

That War ſhould be made againſt the Huguenots, *and the abſolute Command of it committed unto him.*

That the King ſhould have no extraordinary Guards about his Perſon, and ſo diſmiſs his Guard 45 *Gentlemen.*

That the Dukes of Aumale, Elboeuf, *and* Nemours *ſhould have the Government of* Picardy, Normandy, *and* Lyons, *and that the* Leaguers *ſhould have ſix other Towns as they ſhould name.*

That the Duke of Mayenne *ſhould be Admiral, and his Creature* De la Chaſtre *be* Mareſchal *inſtead of* Byron.

That Briſſac (*an active* Leaguer) *ſhould be Governour of* Paris.

And at laſt concluded,

That he was reſolved either to loſe his life, or ſecure Religion and the Eſtate of his Family.

13 May. The Queen-mother returneth, and the King finding no means by ſtaying there to eſcape his ſnares of the Enemies, (who were now forming a Siege againſt him) reſolved to withdraw himſelf, ſo ſtealing through the * *Twilleries* (the Gardens by the *Louvre)* he took horſe with a dozen Gentlemen, poſted to *Trapes*, and the next day to *Chartres*, where he was receiv'd with great demonſtrations of joy. 'Tis ſaid that the people were ſo bewitch'd with this *Solemn League and Covenant*, that ſeeing him thus fly for his ſafety, they * ſhot at him croſs the River, calling him all the Contumelious names that malice could invent. And that the King was ſo troubled at theſe Villanies and Indignities, that having got a little from *Paris*, he turn'd him about uttering ſome threats and menaces againſt that ingrateful City.

* *So call'd from the making of Tiles there formerly.*

* Jo. de Buſsieres *vol.* 4. *l.* 21. *p.* 259.

The Courtiers haſted after the King with what ſpeed they could make, moſt trudging afoot, for in this burly-burly happy was he that could procure an horſe though never ſo bad, many Perſons of Quality being

being content to make uſe of their own legs to preſerve themſelves: and amongſt thoſe who fled to the King was *Nicolas Pouldin*, not daring to ſtay in *Paris*, ſuſpecting himſelf diſcover'd: and well was it for him that he ſo eſcaped, for the *Leaguers* were ſo mad againſt him for his Loyalty, that they impriſon'd his Wife, threatned his Children, rifled his houſe; and as for himſelf, he got to *Chartres* and the King without ever a Peny of mony; nor do I hear of any reward (excepting Promiſes) that he received for his faithful ſervice in ſo often ſaving the Kings life, it being the cuſtom for ſuch good-natur'd or negligent Princes, not to underſtand worth and vertue, and ſo to be Miſers in rewarding of ſuch, but Prodigals in heaping Riches and Honours upon their phantaſtical and flattering Minions or Favourites; and it may be *Poulain* was too grave and ſerious for ſuch a wanton and frolickſom Court as *Henry* III's. was. 1588

And here the Skill or Policy of *Guiſe* hath been much call'd in queſtion, for not ſpeedily following his blow, having all the advantages that poſſibly could be expected; his great neglect being his letting the King eſcape, the ſeizing of whoſe Perſon might have compleated his Triumphs, and (by his Enemies ſo wanting an Head) might have brought *France* to ſubmit to his pleaſure; all which might with eaſe have been accompliſh'd, had he but forthwith begirt the *Louvre*, by which he might have taken the King: but this neglect he remembred too late, and afterwards repented of ſo grand an overſight.

Though here he had fail'd, yet he reſolveth to ſecure himſelf; to which purpoſe having gain'd all the ſtrong places in *Paris*, put out and impriſon'd the * *Prevoſt des Marchands*, and others whom he ſuſpected to favour the King, and ſettled his own Creatures in their Places; he ſurpriſeth all the Neighbouring places, and preſently *Orleans*, *Bourges*, *Amiens*, *Abbeville*, *Montrovil*, *Rouen*, *Rheims*, *Chaalons*, and above twenty other conſiderable places ſubmitted to him, the mad people everywhere crying out, —— *Long live* Guiſe! *long live the Protector of the Faith!* —— And his Siſter the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Montpenſier* was ſo zealous againſt the King and Peace, that ſhe would brag how the King ſhould be * *ſhorn for a Monk*, and ſhew the *Sciſars* which ſhould do the feat.

* *Like the Lord Maior of* London.

* Jo. de Buſſ. *vol.* 4. *p.* 261.

And for a good encouragement the *Spaniard* ſendeth 600000 Crowns, ſuppoſing that the *League* would make rare work for him. And thus *Guiſe* commanding all, the King can find no ſafety for himſelf but by Peace, though upon never ſo bad Conditions; and that which was no ſmall argument of his Compliance, was the approach of the *Spaniſh Armado* (by them call'd the *Invincible*) and the vaſt Preparations of the Duke of *Parma* in *Flanders*, which though in the main deſign'd againſt *England*, yet he underſtood not what (if Conquerours, as moſt ſuppos'd they would) they might act againſt him and *France*, knowing full well the Catholik King to have all along aſſiſted the *Covenanters*.

D'A bigne *tom.* 3 *l.* 1. *ch.* 23.

In ſhort: The King thus forc'd to ſhackle himſelf, leſt the Miſchief and Rebellion ſhould run too far, he ſubmits to *Guiſe*, granting him and his Faction all the Propoſals they deſir'd, and ſo by a *Decree* (call'd the *Edict of Union* or *July*) a Peace is hudled up between them. The *Edict* it ſelf being ſomewhat long, take here the Heads of it.

1588

HENRY *by the Grace of God King of* France *and* Poland, *&c. We ordain and decree theſe following Articles as an unalterable and fundamental Law in our Kingdom.*

We ſwear and renew the Oath made by us at our Coronation, to live and die in the Roman *Religion.*

We ordain and would have all our Subjects to ſwear as we do, and to joyn themſelves with us in the extirpation of Hereticks.

We ſwear that we ſhall never favour or advance them, and command all our Subjects to ſwear never to admit of an Heretical King, or one that favoureth Hereſie to reign over them.

We promiſe never to promote or imploy any but of the Roman *Religion, and expreſly forbid any to be receiv'd into any Place or Imployment, but who have proved themſelves of the ſaid Religion.*

We ſwear and promiſe to protect and uſe our Subjects, who joyn with us in theſe our undertakings, as becometh a good King.

We would have our ſaid united Subjects to ſwear to aſſiſt one another againſt the Hereticks.

And that our ſaid Subjects ſwear to live and die in their Allegeance to us.

And that they ſwear to depart from all Practices and Leagues contrary to the ſaid Union, our Perſon, and Authority.

We declare all to be Rebells who will not ſign this ſaid Union, *and all Towns who will not admit it ſhall be deprived of all their Privileges and Franchiſes.*

And to make the Peace more ſure and durable, all former Leagues, Plots, Actions, eſpecially thoſe of the 12th. and 13th. days of May *laſt at* Paris, *done by the* Guiſards *and their Party, are pardon'd and forgot as if they had never been done.*

HENRY.

At Rouen,
15 July, 1588.

Viſa.
By the King in his Council, * De Neufville.
Publiſh'd in the Parlement at Paris, Du Tillet.
Publiſh'd by ſound of Trumpet by the Crier, T. Lauvergnat.

* *Afterwards better known by the name of* Villeroy.

Thus we ſee how careful ſome were to have this Agreement ratified, publiſhed, and confirmed. But this was not all, for beſides this two Armies muſt be rais'd and paid againſt the *Huguenots*, one commanded by the King, the other by the Duke of *Mayenne*: the *Leaguing* Lords are to retain for ſix years the Cities and Fortreſſes granted them 1585: and that *Orleans*, *Dourlans*, *Bourges*, and *Montereau* ſhould be added to them: the Duke of *Guiſe* to command all the Forces in the Kingdom: that in *October* next the States General ſhould be held at *Blois*: and ſeveral ſuch like advantages were granted to the *Leaguers*. Upon which *Guiſe* waits upon the King, and none ſeem ſo kind as thoſe two, but it was but from the teeth outward; of which we are told one ſtory, how the King at dinner ask'd the Duke to whom they ſhould drink: *To whom you pleaſe*, quoth *Guiſe*: then ſaid the King, *Let us drink to our good friends the* Huguenots: *'Tis well ſaid, Sir*, replied the Duke: *Ted* (added the King) *and to all our good Barricadors at* Paris: to which *Guiſe* yielded a counterfeit ſmile, not well pleas'd that the King ſhould compare the *Barricadors* with the *Huguenots*.

Journal, Aouſt 12. 1588.

And

And now behold the greateſt wonder that ever yet happened in *France*! The whisking Monſieur converted to a grave Don, all the Court clad after the *Spaniſh* garb, a long Tuck with a croſs-bar'd Hilt, great Trunck-breeches, tufted Garters, ſtrait and cloſe Doublet, a great high-ſet Ruff, ſtaring Muſtachoes, with Beard and Hat after the *Caſtilian* mode; all they ſpeak is *Spaniſh*, and that *Rodomontadoes* too: inſomuch that one might think that now *Monſieur* was aſham'd or ſcorn'd to ſpeak his own language, or call himſelf a *Frenchman*, nay would take it in ſnuff not to be thought a *Spaniard*. Such an eſteem and love had the *Caſtilian* got amongſt the people, for his aſſiſting them in their wicked *League* and *Covenant* againſt their King and Soveraign. And by this alſo appeared not onely the Boldneſs, but Authority and Power of the *Guiſian* Faction, to whoſe *caprichioes* and Intereſt, the Royaliſts were thus forced to ſubmit and truckle. 1588

Toute la Cour fut veue habillée à l' Eſpagnole, *le long Eſtoc à la garde Croſſée à l'* Eſpagnole, *les groſſe chauſſes, les jartieres houpées, le pourpoint collé ſur le corps, la grande fraize bien godronnée, la Monſtache, la barbe & le chappeau à l'* Eſpagnole; *tout leur parles* Eſpagnol, Rodomontades Eſpagnoles: *bref, vous euſſiez dict, qu'en ce temps la le* François *avoit en horreur & miſpris de parler & ſe dire* François, *& qu'on luy faiſoit tort de ne l'appeller* Eſpagnol —— Andre Favin *Hiſt. de* Navarre, *p.* 942.

Guiſe thus having all ſway and glory, the better to advance his Reputation Pope *Sixtus* V. ſendeth him long Congratulatory Letters, giving him many thanks for his Zele and Actions, comparing him to the old *Maccabees*, bidding him go on as he had begun, and telling him that he would ſend a *Legat* into *France* to aſſiſt at the approaching States: which Letters were ſpread abroad by the *Leaguers* in great triumph, to the no ſmall diſcredit and regret of the King, who in theſe Papal Commendations and Bleſſings had no ſhare, nor taken notice of; and ſuch Pontifical Neglects uſed to be the Forerunner of Laying aſide or Cutting off.

Well, the Aſſembly of the *States General* meet at *Blois*, the major part being *Covenanters*, by which *Guiſe* was ſo ſtrengthened, that 'tis thought that he at leaſt aim'd at the ſame Authority that the ancient *Major-domes* had in *France*, whereby the King would be but a mere Cypher, whileſt the Duke might make himſelf King when he pleas'd. So to gratiate himſelf with the people, and remove all obſtacles, he propoſeth that Taxes and Impoſitions might be leſſened, which was thought irrational, ſeeing at the ſame time he will have the war vigorouſly carried on againſt the *Huguenots*; yet he gain'd his deſires. 16 Octob. 1588.

Then he moveth that the Council of *Trent* might be received, but this is denied by moſt as contrary to the Liberties of the *Gallican Church*.

But (which was the main of all) he propoſeth that the King of *Navarre* and his Relations (as Hereticks) ſhoul'd be declar'd uncapable of Succeſſion, which was preſently granted him by the *Three Eſtates*, but it was not ſo received by the King, who (though he was forc'd to conſent to it in dubious and general terms, yet) told them that he would think further of it, and would take care himſelf to have the Decree drawn up. But before this *Navarre* underſtanding their deſigns, had at an Aſſembly at *Rochel* fram'd a *Proteſtation*, pronouncing all their Votes and Actions againſt him and his Right null, as being no ſtubborn Heretick, willing to ſubmit to a General Council, and to be inſtructed that the States were not free nor full, and that they could not juſtly condemn him before they heard him.

Whileſt theſe Propoſals were vexing the King, news is brought that

Charles

1588 *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy* had ſeiz'd on the little Marqueſſate of *Saluzzo*, (towards the head of *Po* in *Italy*) who had alſo pretended a right to it, and ſo took advantage at the Kings Expulſion out of *Paris*, and theſe *French* Troubles; though at this time he pretended a neceſſity, *viz.* that otherwiſe the *Huguenots* from *Dauphine* would have taken it, and others ſuppoſe that he wanted not aſſurance from the *Leaguers*.

Favyn *p.* 933.

However it was, the Kings jealouſie and anger did daily increaſe; and 'tis ſaid that here *Guiſe* expreſly refus'd (though commanded) to ſwear Allegeance to the King, ſaying, *He would not, and if he offended they might puniſh him.* But this is not ſo bad as a further deſign plotted by him and his Complices, which they ſay was to take away the Kings life, of which 'tis ſaid the King had private Information. In ſhort, the King conſidering what Favours the Houſe of *Guiſe* had received from the *French* Crown, yet how many Rebellions he had rais'd againſt him, what Combinations he had made againſt him and the Crown with the very Enemy to both, *viz.* the *Spaniard*; that for all his outward pretenſions for Religion, yet he had made ſecret Overtures to joyn with *Navarre*; how he had beaten and driven him from his Royal City and Palace, killing his Guards who endeavour'd his defence; ſeiz'd on his Revenues and Treaſures: He call'd to mind his many Plots, how to get the true Heirs of the Crown made incapable of Inheritance, had taken all Authority and Command from him, aſpired to be greater yet, &c. And thus perſuaded that *Guiſe* his deſign was to * dethrone him, he reſolved to ſave himſelf, and eaſe the Kingdom of this troubleſom Subject.

Ant. Colynet *p.* 303, 304, 305, 306.

Spond. an. 18.

Hiſt. des derniers troubles de France, *l.* 4. *fo.* 142 143, 144, 152, 158.

* Hard. de Perefixe *Hiſt.* Hen. le Grand.

The Kings Counſellours confeſs neceſſity now or never required it: but to ſeize on him, try him for Treaſon, condemn and execute him was dangerous, if not impoſſible, by reaſon of his many Favourites, and the power of his Faction; and ſo the ſafeſt way was to kill him now at *Blois*, a place far enough from *Paris*, the head and neſt of the *Covenanters*: and accordingly he was * ſlain at the Court or Caſtle, being gone thither to ſit in Privy Council: there was alſo taken *Lewis de Lorrain*, the Cardinal of *Guiſe*, brother to the Duke, and a zealous and furious *Covenanter*, who by the Kings Order was ſlain the next day, though being a Clergy-man, many had refuſed to imbrue their hands in his bloud.

* 23 Dec. 1588.

24 Dec.

Their fleſh was preſently conſum'd in quick Lime, their bones burnt, and aſhes thrown into the River, or ſecretly interr'd, thereby removing all tragical and woful objects, and preventing any part of them to be found and look'd upon as holy Reliques of Martyrs, which was ſuppos'd many of the *Leaguers* would not ſtick to do and reverence. Such a love had theſe *Lorrainers* gain'd, of whom ſome ſaid, If they were ſo zealous for the *Roman* Religion, why did they not fight againſt the *Jews*, who are ſo numerous even in *Italy* it ſelf? If they were ſuch Favourites with the *Spaniard*, why did they not ſee the *Moors* expell'd thence? If they thought themſelves Kings of *Hieruſalem*, why did they not thruſt out the *Turks*? If they were Princes of the *Empire*, why did they not war againſt the *Lutherans*? If they loved the Honour of *France*, why did they oppoſe the regaining of *Saluzzo*? And muſt they needs come to diſturb *France*, wherein they were look'd upon as ſtrangers?

Le Contre-*Guiſe*.

CHAP.

1589

CHAP. V.

The Sorbonne *decree, That they are abſolved from their Allegeance, and ſo may fight and act againſt the King with all their might. Their Letter to the Pope. They order that the Kings Name ſhall not be uſed in any of their Miſſals or Collects whatſoever.* Lyon *joyns its Intereſt with* Paris. *The Duke of* Mayenne *made Head of the* Leaguers.

A Little after the death of the two *Guiſes* departed out of this world *Catherina de Medicis* (the Queen-mother) at *Blois*, a Lady of a politick deep reach and underſtanding, fit to manage and carry on any buſineſs; but withall being an *Italian* very deceitful and cruel, not regarding what means ſhe uſed, or what bloud ſhe ſhed, ſo ſhe did but obtain her deſigns. She was buried at *Blois*, though ſhe intended her body to be carried to *St. Denis*, and there laid by her Husband *Henry* II. for which purpoſe ſhe had built a neat round little Chapel in the Churchyard: but the *Pariſians* were too zealous and powerful, ſome of the *Guiſards* declaring they would throw her body (if they could get it) into the River. 5 Jan. 1589. *Journal.*

No ſooner were the *Guiſes* diſpatch'd, but King *Henry* III. haſteth to his Mother, telling her, ——*I am now King of* France, *having put to death the King of* Paris—— And ſome think his words might have proved true, had he been more active and follow'd his blow: but inſtead of mounting preſently to horſe, (whereby by his preſence he might have encourag'd his Friends, and daunted the *Covenanters*, now in a maze for want of an Head) he ſtaid trifling away the time at *Blois*, examining and troubling himſelf with the Acts of the *States* there, ſo that the *Leaguers* had time to recollect themſelves, throw off their amazement, regain their ſpirits, and to convert their former fear of themſelves, and pity of the late *Guiſes*, into the height of rage and fury againſt their King and his Adherents.

At *Paris* the people run into all manner of extravagancies, the Pulpit being then the worſt Inſtrument in the Kingdom, ſounding nothing but the commendation of the *Guiſes* and the honour of Rebellion: amongſt the reſt Father *Linceſtre* was very zealous, one time commanding all his Auditors to ſwear to revenge the death of the *Guiſes*, in token of which to hold up preſently their hands (as was done at the taking of the late *Engliſh* curſed *Covenant*) and had the impudence to call aloud to *Achilles de Harlay*, chief Preſident of the Parlement and a great Royaliſt, to hold his ſo high up that all the people might ſee it; which *Harlay* was forc'd to do for fear of his life. And another time he told his Auditors, that *He would not then preach to them the Goſpel, becauſe it was common and they knew it well enough; but he would declare to them the abominable life and actions of that perfidious tyrant Henry de Valois*, meaning the King; telling them how he us'd to invoke the Devils, undertaking alſo out of his ſleeve to ſhew them ſome of the Devils which *Henry* uſed to adore and pray to. Another time affirming, that for his part if he were at the Altar, and the Euchariſt in his hand, yet he would not ſcruple then and *Journal.*

there

1589 there to kill the King. Another in his Preachment concluding his large Commendations of *Guiſe*, addreſſeth as it were himſelf to the Dutcheſs of *Nemours* (Mother to the Duke) ſitting juſt over againſt him, bawleth out, *O holy and glorious Martyr of God, bleſſed is the womb that bore thee, and the breſts that gave thee ſuck!*

The people put forth a *Declaration*, wherein they ſwear,

30 Jan. 1589.

To live and die in the Roman *Religion.*

To defend according to their uttermoſt power Paris, *and all other Confederating places.*

To defend and protect all their fellow Leaguers againſt all other their Oppoſites, of what Quality or Dignity ſoever; and to withſtand all thoſe who were any way concern'd in the late killing and impriſoning at Bloys.

And they alſo propoſe two *Quares* to the Doctors of *Sorbonne*, which take as followeth with the Determination of that College.

Anno Domini Milleſimo quingenteſimo octuageſimo nono, die ſeptima menſis *Januarii*, ſanctiſſima Facultas Theologiæ *Pariſienſis* congregata fuit apud Collegium *Sorbonæ*, poſt publicam ſupplicationem omnium Ordinum dictæ Facultatis, & Miſſam de ſancto Spiritu ibidem celebratam, (poſtulantibus clariſſimis D. D. Præfecto, Ædilibus, Conſulibus, & Catholicis Civibus almæ urbis *Pariſienſis*, tam viva voce quam publico inſtrumento & tabellis per eorundem actuarium obſignatis, & publicæ urbis ſigillo munitis) deliberatura ſuper ſequentibus Articulis, qui deprompti ſunt ex libello ſupplici prædictorum Civium.

In the year MDLXXXIX, the 7th. day of January, *the moſt holy Faculty of Theology at* Paris *was conven'd at the College of* Sorbone, *publick prayers of all the Orders of the ſaid Faculty being ſaid, and the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt there celebrated, to conſult upon theſe following Articles, as they are extracted from the Petition of the Citizens, according to the deſire of the Illuſtrious Perſons the* Prevoſt de Marchands, *the* Eſchevins, *the* Conſuls, *and the Catholick people of the famous City of* Paris, *teſtified as well by their words as by Inſtrument and publiſh Act, ſigned by their Regiſter, and ſeal'd with the common Seal of the City.*

I. *An populus Regni* Galliæ *poſſit liberari & ſolvi a ſacramento Fidelitatis & Obedientiæ* Henrico III. *præſtito?*

Whether the People of *France* may not be diſcharged and ſet free from the Oath of Allegeance and Obedience made to *Henry* III.

II. *An tuta conſcientia poſsit idem populus armari, uniri, & pecunias collegere & contribuere ad defenſionem & conſervationem Religionis Catholicæ &* Romanæ *in hoc Regno, adverſus nefaria conſilia & conatus prædicti Regis, & quorumlibet aliorum illi adharen-*

Whether the ſaid people may with a ſafe conſcience arm and unite themſelves, collect and raiſe moneys for the defence and preſervation of the Catholick *Roman* Religion in this Realm, againſt the wicked counſels and practiſes of the ſaid King and

tium,

tium, & contra publicæ fidei violationem ab eo Bleſis *factam, in præjudicium prædictæ Religionis Catholicæ, & Edicti ſanctæ Unionis, & naturalis libertatis convocationis trium Ordinum hujus Regni.*

all other his Adherents, and againſt the breach of Publick Faith committed by him at *Bloys*, to the prejudice of the ſaid *Roman* Religion, and Edict of *Holy Union*, and the Natural Liberty of the Aſſembly of the three Eſtates of this Kingdom. 1589

Super quibus Articulis, audita omnium & ſingulorum Magiſtrorum (qui ad ſeptuaginta convenerunt) matura, accurata, & libera deliberatione, auditis multis & variis rationibus, quæ magna ex parte tum ex Scripturis ſacris tum Canonicis Sanctionibus, & decretis Pontificum in medium diſſertiſſimis verbis prodita ſunt : CONCLUSUM eſt à Domino Decano ejuſdem Facultatis, nemine refragante, & hoc per modum Conſilii ad liberandas Conſcientias prædicti populi.

Upon which Articles having been had a careful, adviſed, and free deliberation of all the Maſters of that Faculty, being then LXX in number, as alſo being heard many and ſundry Reaſons, moſt excellently produc'd and deliver'd, not onely from Holy Scriptures, but alſo from Canonical Sanctions and Papal Decrees : 'tis agreed and CONCLUDED on by Maſter Dean of the ſaid Faculty, not any gainſaying it, and that by way of counſel or advice to deliver the conſciences of the ſaid people.

PRIMUM, quod populus hujus regni ſolutus eſt & liberatus à Sacramento Fidelitatis & Obedientiæ prædicto *Henrico* rei præſtito.

FIRST, that the people of this Kingdom are diſcharged and freed from the Oath of Allegeance and Obedience made to Henry III. I.

DEINDE, quod idem populus licite & tuta conſcientia armari, uniri, & pecunias colligere & contribuere poteſt, ad defenſionem & conſervationem Religionis Catholicæ, Apoſtolicæ, & *Romanæ*, adverſus nefaria conſilia & conatus prædicti Regis, & quorumlibet illi adhærentium, ex quo fidem publicam violavit in præjudicium Religionis Catholicæ, & Edicti Sanctæ Unionis, & Naturalis Libertatis convocationis trium Ordinum hujus Regni.

SECONDLY, that the ſaid people may legally and with a ſafe conſcience arm and unite themſelves, collect and raiſe moneys for the defence of the Catholick, Apoſtolick, and Roman *Religion, againſt the wicked counſels and practiſes of the ſaid King, and all other his Adherents ; ſeeing he hath violated the publick Faith in prejudice of the Catholick Religion, the Edict of the holy Union, and the Natural Liberty of the Aſſembly of the three Eſtates of this Kingdom.* II.

Quam Concluſionem inſuper viſum eſt eidem *Pariſienſi* Facultati, tranſmittendam eſſe ad S.D.N. Papam, ut eadem Sanctæ Sedis Apoſtolicæ autoritate probare & confirmare, & Eccleſiæ *Gallicanæ* graviſſime laboranti opem & auxilium præſtare dignetur.

Moreover, the ſaid Faculty of Paris *do think fit to have their ſaid Decree or Concluſion to be ſent to our moſt Holy Lord the Pope, that he would vouchſafe to ratifie and confirm it by the Authority of the Holy Apoſtolical See, and afford help and aſſiſtance to the* French *Church, now in great ſtreſs and hazard.*

1589

And accordingly a Letter was drawn up and ſent to the Pope, which take as followeth, being now very difficult to be met with; and at *Paris* it ſelf all Papers concerning theſe inſolencies were taken from the Regiſters or off the Files, at the re-entrance of *Henry* IV. into that City, whereby many Villanies of this *League* were loſt.

S. D. N.

SIXTO *PAPÆ* V.

BEATISSIME PATER, quæ ſpes nobis ante aliquot dies ſumma erat, fore ut poſt tot procellos, quibus annos pene jam triginta jactati ſumus, conſtitutam in Galliæ *Eccleſia pacem aliquando videremus, atque de ea renuntium BEATITUDINI veſtræ lætum brevi offeremus, eam vero crudeli atque immani fortiſſimi ac pientiſſimi Ducis* Guiſii, *atque illuſtriſſimi Cardinalis ejus fratris cede acerbiſſimo luctu commutatam eſſe, tanto gravius pertulimus, quanto durius eſt in medio ardore belli ereptum eum nobis eſſe, cui ut hoc reliquum nobis Religionis ac vitæ eſt acceptum ferimus, ita eo amiſſo ne hæreticorum faucibus proſtituatur, merito formidamus.*

Quæ ſi tamen Divini Numinis conſtitutio fuit, ut & invictiſſimi Principis labores glorioſiſſima morte conſumaret, & latens dudum ſub Catholica profeſſione impietatis virus tam chari capitis pretio aperiret, ut omnipotentis Dei judicia in ea re taciti ſuſpicimus, ac veniam petimus, ita Sanctitatis veſtræ pedibus provoluti, opem veſtram per viſcera miſericordiæ Jeſu Chriſti *imploramus, ut dum rem qualiter paucis exponimus, tuum auxilium quod decet etiam impetramus.*

Non enim ut Interfectoris ars atque exiſtimatio fingere perfecto ſcelere neceſſe habet, tranſverſum optimum Ducem ambitio egit, qui quod in Regem toties nullo negotio potuit, hoc unum peccaſſe (fortaſſe merito) à multis dictus eſt, quod noluit. Quem ſi non uſque eo domus Dei ac publicæ ſalutis Zelus comediſſet, ut in certiſſima pericula toties inermis ſe dederit, ſi non conſcientia puritas & animi candor ejus à quo ad necem petebatur, dolis opportunum feciſſet, cum ille quæ de paratis ſibi inſidiis dicebatur, toties intrepidus contemneret, ſic nimirum affectus, ut optimi & probiſſimi quique ſolent, qui alios improbos eſſe difficillime ſuſpicantur, & vivum adhuc habebimus, & tanto ſuperſtite Eccleſia Dei vindice gauderemus.

*Niſi forte quod Hæreticis omnino pro libidine in aula gerentibus, jamque extincto Regis * fratre, atque ipſo non obſcure favente Rege,* Navarrum *ad Sceptrum vocantibus, ab Illuſtriſſimo Cardinali* Borbonio *primum, mox à beatiſſimæ memoriæ* Gregorio XIII. P. *Dux* Guiſius *excitatus, ut videret, nequid Religio Tragœdia ſpectat niſi ut* Navarro, (a) Spernonio, (b) Cazimiro, (c) *meritrici* Anglicanæ, *cæteris fœderatis hæreticis Inferiantur, & talibus hoſtibus lætetur? ut mœrentibus ac dejectis Catholicis exultent Hæretici, & in ſuis illis cogitatis furoribus (quod jam undique fit) liberius debacchentur?*

Adde veſtram (Pater Beatiſſime) & totius Sanctæ Sedis læſam dignitatem, cum & præſente Sanctitatis veſtræ (d) *Legato ſcelus tantum parricida deſignaret, & monenti audientium denegaret.*

* D. d' Anjou.

(a) *Duke of* Eſpernon *no real* Huguenot, *but the Kings Favourite.*

(b) *Prince* Cazimir, *General of the* German *Army* 1587, *that came to aſſiſt* Navarre.

(c) *A Covenanting Compliment to an* Engliſh *Queen.*

(d) *Cardinal* Giovan. Franc. Moroſini, *Biſhop of* Bergamo, *was at* Lloys.

ret. Denique Cardinalem confodiens, totum ſacrum iſtud ac purpuratum Collegium violaret. Cui enim tandem ſacro parcet qui caput petierit? qui ſedem veſtram, quam verbo ſi verere fingit, facto oppreſſerit? qui Patrem, à quo *cæleſti oleo tinctus eſt occiderit? aut quæ ſub illo Chriſtiano homini ſecuritas eſſe poteſt? aut quo tandem proceſſura eſt impietas, qua ſic jam in præcipiti ſtetit?* 1589

* Hen. III. *was conſecrated at* Rheims *by* Lewis *Cardinal of* Lorrain. *The ſtory of the* Sainct Ampoule *and Holy Oyl kept at* Rheims *may be ſeen in Legends and* French *Hiſtories.*

Quæ cum ſint ejuſmodi ut jam vitam potius profundere, *quàm* Tyrannidem *hanc noſtris atque Eccleſiæ univerſæ cervicibus impendentem, & poſtrema omnia minitantem* ferre parati ſint omnes boni: *eoque jam ventum ſit, ut* Francorum *priſca fides virtus ac pietas hic ſe totam debeat explicare, vel ipſi exemplo præeuntibus pueris atque infantibus, quos ingenti numero pluſquam decem millium, non ſine miraculo clamores ſua ſponte per vicos in cælum tollentes, & ultionem ſceleris in* Tyrannum *poſcentes; alios etiam* Tyranni imaginem *(ſic enim vocabant)* flagris cæſam ac fratrem igni admoventes *in hac urbe audivimus & obſtupuimus; id nimirum eſt in quo veſtram* (Beatiſſime Pater) *opem imploramus, ut cum tria nobis à veſtra Beatitudine præſtari in hoc negotio neceſſe ſit, ea nos ad beatiſſimos pedes proſtrati vehementer flagitemus.*

Primum, ut juramento quo nos *Henricum* III. quondam obſtrinximus & ſoluti declaremur. *I.*

Deinde, ut bellum quod cum publicæ Religionis ac libertatis oppreſſore neceſſario gerendum eſt, juſtum eſſe decernatur. *II.*

Poſtremo, ut nequid tam neceſſario operi, tum precum apud Omnipotentem Deum, tum facultatem humanarum, deſit, ad utrunque tum externi Principes, tum noſtri præcipue homines Apoſtolicæ veſtræ gratiæ, atque per *Jubileum Indulgentiæ* beneficio provocentur. *III.*

Nam priora illa duo eo confidentius *petimus, quod cum juris nihil in Chriſtianos ei eſſe debere, qui ſe Hæreticum aut fautorem Hæreſeos manifeſte præbuerit, qui publicam fidem tum divinam tum humanam tam inſigni parricidio fregerit, qui Regni & Sceptri judices tam fœde violarit, qui per Aſſaſinos Chriſtianum Principem occiderit, qui Sacerdotem, Pontificem, Cardinalem, & in Comitiis Eccleſiaſtici Ordinis præſidem trucidarit, qui Anathematis diras omnes ac fulmina incurrerit, qui parato ad perdendum omnia, & fœde conculcandum animo ſit, ipſa nos dudum ratio & vetus traditio docuerit, præſertim cum* Gallia *ipſa* Reges quondam *iſto (quo pejorem nunquam habuit) longe tolerabiliores* authoritate veſtra excluſerit, *imo etiam voce propria nos juramento hoc liberos, ſi quid præter promiſſa faceret, non ſemel pronuntiarit, tum vero in præcipiti negotio, cum reſponſum Beatitudinæ veſtræ expectandi tempus non eſſet, nec tamen quicquam dubia & fluctuante conſcientia facere certum eſſet, graviſſimo adhibito Theologorum* Sorbonæ Pariſienſis *judicio, qui iterum & tertio, rogatu noſtro, magno numero ad* Septuaginta *uſque ſuper hac re convenerunt, & rem accuratiſſime diſceptarunt, ſecure nos in utroque agere, & tuto à veſtra Beatitudine caput utrunque poſtulare ac ſperare debere ab iiſdem dedicimus: Quinetiam eos ad veſtram Beatitudinem ſuam ea de re ſententiam, quibuſque rationum momentis impellantur, ſcripturas accipimus.*

Veſtra vero (Pater Beatiſſime) ſapientiæ erit, ſi quid fraus, ſi quid ſolita, qua dudum affligimur, Impoſtorum ars contrarium iis Beatitudini veſtræ obtruſerit, huic fidem adhibere nolle: aut ſi quid (quod plus timemus) nobis conſternatis, & vix à tanto dolore animum colligentibus, præoccupando impetrarit, id ne Chriſtianiſſimo Regno, ne Eccleſiæ nocet providere: imo irritum (quod trementes & veniam petentes dicimus) urgente ac premente negotio ſta-

1589 *tuere, neve committere, ut in tanto Eccleſia periculo, in quo bis peccare jam non licet, illuſiſſe ſe dignitati veſtræ, quod non ſemel factum antea eſt, verſuta nequitia gloriari poſſit.*

Tum nos qui loquimur, quos reliqui Galliæ *Catholici intuentur omnes, ſi quid* Francorum *quondam genus, ſi quid* Gyſiorum *Principum virtus, & ſus toties pro Chriſti Eccleſia ſanguine, ſi quid* Pariſienſium *civium fides de republica Chriſtiana atque adeo Apoſtolica ſede promeruit, ſi quid nobiliſſimi Regni peſſum euntis, & jamjam hæreſi colla ſubdituri, univerſamque Eccleſiam eodem motu concuſſuri cauſa atque periculum, ſi quid bonorum omnium, & teſtamentum Patrum relantium fletus movere eum debet, qui in apice Eccleſiæ conſtitutus, ut confirmet fratres divinitus monitus eſt, veſtram (P.B.) paternam providentiam per eum qui eſt, qui erat, qui venturus eſt omnipotens, obteſtamur, ut in re tanta, tam periculoſa, tanti in reddenda ratione apud ſummum judicem momenti futura, quam res ipſa neceſſariam eſſe clamat, ſollicitudinem ac curam adhibere, & quæ antea diximus, quæque iterum* devotiſſime *petimus donare ac tribuere non gravetur. Denique non committat, ut* Sixto V. *Pont. fidem in Chriſtianiſſimo regno periiſſe, aut non ſatis per nos veſtramque dignitatem tanto malo proviſum fuiſſe poſteri dicere jure poſſint. Quod nos impetraturos ut ſperamus, ſicuti ſperare certe debemus, ita poſt ſanctiſſimorum pedum oſcula, Beatitudinem veſtram uti nobis Deus Opt. Max. ſic diu incolumem ſervet, ſummis precibus ab eo petimus atque obſecramus.*

Beatitudinis veſtræ

Pariſiis,
14 *Jan.* 1589.

Humillimi, Devotiſſ. & Obſequentiſſ. Filii, Cives Pariſienſes, *pro reliquo Catholicorum & Fidelium in* Gallia *cœtu.*

And now the *Covenanters* run into all manner of extravagancies againſt their Soveraign, whom they no more call or acknowledge for King, terming him only *Henry de Valois*, Heretick, Tyrant, and what not? throw down his Arms and Statues, which they break to pieces, and drag along the ſtreets: nay, ſo mad were they, that to have but his * Picture or to call him King, was thought crime enough to deſerve death: yet the Painters ſet themſelves on work to draw him, but in the moſt ridiculous and ſhameful habits and poſtures their zealous phanſies could invent.

* *Scelus putabatur morte plectendum, ſi quis* Henricum *Regem appellaret, aut tabulam ejus pictam domi haberet.* Jo. de Buſſ. *to.* 4. *p.* 287. *Journal.*

And their Prieſts were as wicked as the worſt of them, thundering from their Pulpits all manner of falſities and accuſations againſt him, accuſing him of Magick and Witchcraft, perſuading their Auditors to fight againſt that *Belial*, to give no quarter to him nor his friends; for the Kingdom was ſick, and nothing could cure it but a good draught of *French* bloud. Some made little Images of him in Wax, which they ſet on the Altars whileſt *Maſs* was ſaying, then mumbling ſome old Wives Charms, prick'd the Images to the heart, thinking by that way of Witchery to kill the King. Others carried lighted Tapers up and down, repeating ſeveral ſuperſtitious words, and putting out their Lights, thinking ſo to haſten his death.

Te juſta Hen. III. abdic. 4 *c.* 38

Others imployed their Wits to render him odious, making many wicked and malicious Anagrams of him, as

HENRI

1589

HENRI DE VALOIS:
Anagram,
Vilain Herodes: *or* Julian Herodes: *or*
De hors le Vilain: *or* Ha, ruine de Loys!

HENRYC DE VALOIS:
Anagram,
O Crudelis Hyena!

HENRICUS TERTIUS DE VALLESIO:
Anagram,
O Deus! vere ille * Antichriſtus:

* *This it may be was in oppoſition to that Anagram made formerly of this* HENRICUS TERTIUS, *Anagr.* In te vere Chriſtus.

and ſuch like. And for Libells and Satyrs they were innumerable, the Preſs and Pen labouring continually with infamous Defamations againſt their Soveraign.

And now they conſult how to carry on their deſigns; and firſt they run to the Parlement at *Paris*, ſeizing on all whom they thought to favour the King, clapping them up in the *Baſtille*; the *Rump*, or thoſe who comply'd with the people, being about CLX in number, choſe *Barnabé Briſſon* for their Preſident, one of great Learning as his Works teſtifie; but whether his Zele or Fickleneſs might engage him in this action I know not, or whether his fear of the peoples fury ſhould he refuſe it; and I meet with a *Proteſtation* ſaid to be his, and by him ſubſcrib'd, declaring his Innocency, how he was forc'd to do what he did: Be it as 'twill, the *Leaguers* were pleas'd to have a man of his Repute, Honeſty, and Learning, to ſeem to eſpouſe their Cauſe. *Journal*, 1589, 22 *Jan.*

To maintain this war and their deſigns, which they call'd THE HOLY UNION, the people contributed with abundance of freedom, inſomuch that Moneys which had been whoorded up for many years, now flew plentifully abroad, and the Women or Holy Siſters are never behind in wicked Zele: moſt of the Cities and Provinces revolt from the King, and ſo the war is carried on againſt one another under divers Titles.

The *Kings* Party is ſometimes call'd	The *Covenanting* Party is ſometimes call'd
Royaliſts	*Leaguers*
Minions or *Favourites*	*Covenanters*
Huguenots	*Catholicks*
Hereticks	*Confederates*
Navarriſts	*Rebels*
Politicks	*Holy Union*
Bearnoiſes [K. of *Navarre* born in that Territory.	*Lorrainers*
Les Maheutres, or Mad Hackſters, now corruptly *Hectors.*	*Guiſards* or *Guſians*
	Zealots
Bandees blanches or *Eſcarpes blanches*, i. e. White Forces or White Scarfs.	*The Godly Party*

White

1589 *White* was the Colours of the Kings Party, especially the King of *Navarre* always wore it, he and those for him wearing white Ribands or white Scarfs: the Colour worn by the *Leaguers* was commonly *Green*, though some in imitation of the *Spaniards* wore *Red*.

Besides the former long Letter to the Pope, they sent others also to several Cardinals, in which they renounced all Acknowledgments to the King, still calling him in their Letters only *The late King of France*; and the same Complements they afforded the King of *Navarre*: and the better to gain their designs, they sent to *Rome* to agitate their Affairs with the Pope these four active Blades:

Le Sieur de Dieu, Knight, and Commander of the Order of *Saint John of Jerusalem*.
Mr. Lazare Coquelei, Counsellour in the Parlement of *Paris*.
Jean de Piles, Abbot of *Orbais*, who had formerly been at *Rome* in behalf of the *League*, 1586, 1587.
Pierre Frison, Dean of *Rheims*.

To these they gave several private Instructions (30 in number;) the summe of them being to this purpose:

To wait upon the Pope, and tell him of their Affairs in France. *To inform him of the Massacre at* Bloys, *and aggravate them by the circumstances, as the Time, Place, Manner, and Breach of promise. To justifie all the actions of* Guise, *with the necessity of his former taking up Arms, with the willingness of the* Leaguers *to come in to the King, (though they were very powerful) when he promis'd to fight the Hereticks. How the designs of the contrary Party was to ruine the Clergy. To satisfie him of the Barricades in* Paris, *as that the King designed to murder the good Catholick people. How the Catholiques are very hardly us'd, whilest the Favourers of Hereticks are preferr'd; which plainly discovereth the heart of the late King*, (i. e. Henry) *whose abominable wickedness and hypocrisie they must also discover. How he hath now joyn'd himself with the Hereticks, is no good* Romanist, *hath no reverence for Religion, being at Church sometimes with his Hat on. To tell him the Reasons why they chose* Mayenne *for their Head or Chief. That for their parts they will neither spare their lives nor estates in this quarrel, and so to desire his assistance to afford them his spiritual and temporal Treasures, to pronounce some Decree against this* cruel Tyrant, *not to entertain or hear his Embassadours and Messages. To send forth a Jubilee through all Christendom, to implore Gods assistance. To grant a* Croisado, *that all good Catholicks might help them. To* excommunicate *all that oppose them. To send a Legat into their Army, that all may know that the Pope undertakes their quarrel. To desire that all Catholick Princes would enter into a League in defence of their Religion, &c.*

25 May, 1589. *SENAULT.*

Mem. de la Ligue, vol. 3. p. 557. Nay, the *Sorbonists* were so zealous, that some one or other having drawn up a short Paper, containing the reasons of taking up Arms against the King, and it concluding, XIII.

1589

XIII.

How one Bodille *being no more then a Gentleman, yet because* Childeric II. *had caused him publickly to be whipped, the said* Bodille *took thence occasion to kill that King, for which he is commended by Historians: and therefore may not the Injury done to a better then* Bodille, viz. *to a brave Prince* (Guise) *be also revenged?*

See backwards, l. 3. c. 4. & 8.

So zealous (I say were the Doctors of *Sorbonne*, that having red over this Tract they approved it, affirming nothing was in it contrary to the *Roman* Church,

17 *May*, 1589. *Julien de Moranne.*

Nor is this all, for the people being obliged to pray for their King by the *Canon* of the *Missale*, some of the City of *Beauvois* (in *la France*, about mid-way betwixt *Paris* and *Amiens*) upon this made a scruple whether they were not thereby obliged to pray for *Henry de Valois*, seeing they used to pray for ——*Our King Henry.*

Whereupon it was concluded by the *Sorbonne*, that in any prayer whatever the word *Henry* should not be express'd, that he should not be pray'd for, and that it should be dash'd out of all Prayers or Collects: and further, if any of their Faculty of *Paris* agree not to this, they shall also be held culpable and guilty of Excommunication, depriv'd of the Prayers and Privileges of the said Faculty. 5 Apr. 1589.

And it was also concluded, that instead of these words ——*For our King* —— some prayers shall be drawn up for the Catholick or Leaguing Princes, which accordingly was done.

In the mean time many places joyning with the *Leaguers*, amongst the rest those of *Lyons* drew up a long and tedeous Declaration, wherein they say,

That Lyons *hath formerly been one of the most Loyal Cities in* France. 2 March, 1589.

That Obedience may be wrong'd by being too much or too little.

That therefore for the future they will consider all the Kings commands, whether they are for the better or worse, and accordingly obey or oppose.

That Kings being appointed by God for two ends, to preserve Religion, and keep the people from oppression, that therefore they will and ought to oppose all commands contrary to these two ends.

That seeing he hath violated the Edict of Union, *kill'd and imprison'd the good* Romanists, *countenanced the* Heretick, *favoured* Espernon *and his creatures; therefore they have entered into the* Holy Union, *taken up Arms, resolving to take the King from his bad Council, which if they had not done they had been worse then* Jews.

That to say Kings ought not to be resisted upon any occasion is false Doctrine, seeing they are onely to be obey'd conditionally, viz. *in that which is not prejudicial to Religion, Gods Service, and the good of the State.*

Doubt

1589 *Doubt not but God will bleſs their good Undertakings:* And ſo after the telling of ſome ſtories conclude.

12 March. This done, they draw up a Form of an *Oath*, whereby they ſwear to theſe Articles:

To continue in the Roman *Religion.*
To defend their City of Lyons.
To preſerve the Forein Merchants in their Privileges.
To act in defence and behalf of thoſe of Paris.
To obey no Command whatever that is prejudicial to their Union.
To obſerve exactly the Edict of Union.
To obey the Duke of Nemours *their Governour.*
To ſtick cloſe one to another.
And deſire all good people to joyn with them.

And for their further encouragement thoſe of *Paris* ſend a Letter to theſe Hotſpurs of *Lyons*, wherein they mind them

Of the Killing and Impriſonments at Bloys.
That the Aſſaſſinates had no other deſign in it but to ruine Religion, bring in Hereſie, maintain their Tyrannies, and to bring all good people into ſlavery.
So being Frenchmen *and* Catholiques *we are bound to defend our Religion and Eſtate againſt any he who it will; and by all Obligations of Religion, Law, Nature, and Intereſt, we muſt not leave the Kingdom to the mercy of this* prodigal, perjur'd, cruel, *and* murdering *Prince.*
That the two Henries *are agreed, Hereſie allow'd of, the Catholicks perſecuted, and all things ſeem to go as in* England.
Therefore rowſe up and take courage againſt theſe oppreſſions, and ſend ſome of yours to conſult with us, and afford us your aſſiſtance.

Paris, 25 May. *SENAULT.*

Mem. de M. de Nevers, *vol. 2. p. 205.* ——hors d'icelle, il n'y a point de ſalut, ſoit au Ciel ou en la Terre

Nay, ſo confident were they in their courſes, that they ſent a Letter to the Citizens of *Nevers*, exhorting them to ſtick cloſe to this Cauſe, aſſuring them that without ſo doing ——*There was no hopes for their ſalvation either in Heaven or Earth.*

Whileſt theſe things were doing, the Swordmen and their Counſellours were not idle; for the Duke of *Mayenne* no ſooner hears of his brother *Guiſe's* death, but he conſults his own ſecurity, ſecureth many ſtrong places to his Intereſt, and at laſt gets to *Paris*, where he was received with all demonſtrations of joy and honour: and here he falleth to work how to carry on the war, and ſuch a vogue with the multitude had this *Holy League*, that ſtrong places and Cities daily ſubmitted themſelves to its Authority: nay, a Company of Bumkin Tatterdemallians in *Normandy*, to the number of Sixteen thouſand, having roſe on their own heads, and for their own Intereſt, reſolving to defend themſelves and

and goods against any whatsoever be he *Royalist* or *Leaguer*, that should come into their Country, were at last by the persuasion of some Priests and Jesuits wheel'd over to side with the *Covenanters*; but having no experience and but poorly armed, were quickly routed by the Duke of *Montpensier*. These Clubmen were afterwards call'd the *Gautiers*, from the little Town *la Chapelle Gautier* in higher *Normandy*, where they first began their Insurrections or Rendezvouz'd. 1589

The King in the mean time had writ friendly Letters to the Duke of *Mayenne*, giving him reasons for the death of his brother, persuading him to live quietly; but *Madam de Montpensier* (his zealous sister) and other thoughts would not let him hearken to the Kings desires: so at *Paris* he is made Head of the *Covenanters*, and declared *Lieutenant General* of the Crown of *France*: the *Sixteen* and others would have had him to take upon him the Title of * *King*, but this he refused, however he had all the Power. They broke the Kings Great Seal, making another in its stead, on one side of which was the Arms of *France*, with this Inscription: * Perefixe *Hist.* Hen. le Grand.

THE SEAL OF THE KINGDOM OF *FRANCE.*

On the other side was an empty Throne, about which was this:

CHARLES *DUKE OF* MAYENNE,
Lieutenant of the Estate and Crown of
FRANCE.

Mayenne thus entered as it were into the Throne, appointed a Council consisting of * XL of the chiefest *Covenanters*, and this was call'd *The General Council of the Union*, which with his assistance was to treat of and conclude all the most weighty business; however the Council of *Sixteen* was left chiefly to look to *Paris*, and now was added to the former Oaths this new one: * *Their Names may be seen in* Jan de Serres, l'Inventaire.

We do all swear to be obedient to the General Council of Catholicks newly appointed at Paris, *and also engage as much as in us lieth to see it submitted to by others, and whatsoever shall be there ordain'd to be accomplish'd.*

But a little after *Mayenne* added some other of his Creatures to this Council, the better to bring them to his lieur.

And now the *Leaguers* prosecute the war against the King every where, though he freely offers all pardon that will acknowledge him for their King, and sends to *Mayenne* again and again to have Peace made, but this the Duke absolutely denieth, nor will allow so much as a Truce, though *Moresini* the Cardinal Leget interposed for the gaining of it; so that the King is oblig'd to proclame *Mayenne* and all his Adherents Traitors, and to remove the Parlement and Courts of *Paris* to *Tours* by Proclamation, himself then residing there, and many of the Loyal Parlement-men had fled to him from *Paris*.

1589 Ant. Colynet, p. 392, 393.

Yet for all the low condition of the King, and the great power of the *Leaguers*, the City of *Senlis* teſtified their Loyalty; for though at firſt that place had adhered to the *Guiſards*, yet now upon honeſter thoughts they declare for the King, upon which it was cloſely beſieg'd and batter'd by the Duke of *Aumale* and the *Pariſians*; and being put to ſome ſtraits, and ſummon'd to yield, they promis'd to make anſwer next morning, which they did by hanging out a Pourtraicture over the Walls, by them newly painted, wherein was repreſented the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Aumale* hanging on Gibbets, and their ſiſter *Catharine* Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier* kneeling at their feet, tearing her hair, weeping and bewailing their ſad misfortune: at laſt the Siege was rais'd, and ſo theſe Royaliſts eſcaped the fury of the *Leaguers*.

But not to trouble my ſelf with their fights and skirmiſhes, the King ſeeing the *Covenanters* reſolved to ruine him, and ſeeing no means for his own preſervation but to throw his thoughts upon the King of *Navarre*, (though above all things he abhorr'd an *Huguenot*) who had under his command a good experienc'd Army, and from whom he need not doubt of aſſiſtanee, *Navarre* having by a *Manifeſto* proteſted againſt the *Covenanting* Rebellion, and proferred his ſervice to fight againſt them in behalf of the *French* King.

Vide d'Aubigne *tom.* 3. *l.* 2. *c.* 30, 31.

In ſhort: A Peace or Truce was concluded between theſe two Kings, at which the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour *Bernardino Mendoza* forſaketh the Court without taking leave, goeth to *Paris*, reſideth with the *Covenanters*, where he became an active Inſtrument to carry on the *Spaniſh* deſigns; and Cardinal *Moroſini* (the Popes Legat) quits the Kingdom for *Rome*: And now was it that the Kings Name was daſht out of all Prayers as aforeſaid. And though the King had uſed great means and Intereſt to get the good will of Pope *Sixtus* V. yet the Agitators of the *League* were ſo perſuaſive and prevalent at *Rome*, that the King is not only denied, but a *Monitory Bull* is thundered out againſt him, whereby he incurred the Cenſure if within 30 days he releaſed not Cardinal *Bourbon* and the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and gave him notice of it, and within 60 days to make his due ſubmiſſion to the Pope for the death of Cardinal *Guiſe*: and if theſe things were not done, he ſhould then be no King, nor his Subjects bound to obey him, but abſolutely free from their Oaths of Allegeanee.

The *Bull* it ſelf being not to be met with in any of the *Roman Bullaria*, and ſo very difficult to be had, take as followeth.

SIXTUS Epiſcopus,

Servus ſervorum Dei, ad futuram rei memoriam.

'Inſcrutabilis Divinæ Providentiæ altitudo, cujus nutu cœleſtia ſimul
'& terrena gubernantur, Apoſtolorum principi beato *Petro*, ejuſque ſuc-
'ceſſoribus *Romanis* Pontificibus, Claves regni Cœlorum ac totius Apo-
'ſtolicæ tradidit plenitudinem poteſtatis, ſimulque ſupra ſoliditatem ejus
'fidei ſuam ſanctam ædificavit eccleſiam, ſecundum verax Domini ver-
'bum, *Ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc petram ædificabo Eccle-*
'*ſiam meam, & portæ Inferni non prævalebunt adverſus eam, & tibi dabo*
'*claves regni cœlorum; & quodcunque ligaveris ſuper terram erit ligatum in*
'*cœlis, & quodcunque ſolveris ſuper terram erit ſolutum & in cœlis.*

Unde

'Unde nos ad ſacroſanctam ejuſdem Beati *Petri* Cathedram (meritis 1589
'licet imparibus) divina diſponente clementia vocati, & in throno juſti-
'tiæ conſtituti; & ſecundum *Hieremiæ* propheticam vocem, *Ecce con-*
'*ſtitui te ſuper gentes & ſuper regna, ut evellas & deſtruas, diſperdas & diſſi-*
'*pes, ædifices & plantes*; ſupremam in omnes Reges ac Principes uni-
'verſæ terræ, cunctoſque populos, gentes & nationes, non humana ſed
'divina Inſtitutione nobis traditam poteſtatem obtinentes, ipſum Domi-
'num imitari debemus, qui pius & miſericors ultionem ei, qui illum
'prævenit, paratam temperat, & quos impœnitentes videt non prius ſe-
'vera vindicta coercet, quam antea comminetur: In aſſidue autem pec-
'cantes & in peccatis perſeverantes, cum exceſſuum gravitas miſericor-
'diæ fines tranſierit, ut ſaltem timore pœnæ ad pœnitentiam redeant, cœ-
'leſtia juſtitiæ arma exercet. Ita & nos quoque pro commiſſo nobis à
'Deo univerſalis Eccleſiæ regimine, ſalubriter cogimur providere, ne
'per inſidias humani generis hoſtis, eorum ſalus qui curæ noſtræ crediti
'ſunt, in exitium ruat, aut in diſcrimen adducatur; ſed peccatores pa-
'terna noſtra monitione & redarguatione, aut corrigantur ab erroribus
'& ad pœnitentiam revertantur, aut ſi charitatis zelus per exhortationis
'& monitionis remedia nihil proficiat, ipſique incorrigibiles apparuerint,
'tandem ſpiritualis gladii mucrone non ad perniciem ſed ad ſalutem vi-
'brato, veluti putrida membra à ſincero Eccleſiæ corpore (quod ab
'omni macula purum cuſtodire debemus) abſcindantur & ſeperen-
'tur.

'Sane cum ſuperioribus menſibus ad aures noſtras, non ſine ingenti
'animi noſtri perturbatione & horrore, fama publica ita referente & in-
'crebreſcente, perveniſſet; & deinde per literas dilecti filii noſtri *Joan-*
'*nis Franciſci* (tituli Sanctorum *Nerei* & *Archilei*, Presbyteri Cardinalis
'*Mauroceni* nuncupati, noſtri & Sedis Apoſtolicæ in Regno *Francia* de
'latere Legati) certiores facti fuiſſemus, quemadmodum etiam notori-
'um univerſis exiſtit: Quod *Henricus* III. *Francorum* Rex, *Ludovicum*
'bonæ memoriæ Sanctæ *R. E.* Presbyterum Cardinalem *Guiſium*, Me-
'tropolytanæ Eccleſiæ *Rhemenſis* Archiepiſcopum, ſeu perpetuum ad-
'miniſtratorem, ac noſtrum & Sedis Apoſtolicæ *Legatum natum*, capi &
'in carcere conjici, ac die ſequenti in vigilia Nativitatis Domini no-
'ſtri *Jeſu Chriſti* necari: necnon dilectum filium noſtrum *Carolum* (Ti-
'tuli Sancti *Chryſogoni*, ejuſdem Sanctæ Eccleſiæ Presbyterum Cardina-
'lem *Borbonium*, *Avenionenſis* Civitatis & Comitatus *Venaiſini*, noſtrum
'etiam & Sedis Apoſtolicæ de latere Legatum:) ac venerabilem fra-
'trem noſtrum Archiepiſcopum *Lugdunenſem*, pro quo nos eodem tem-
'pore idem *Henricus* Rex, ut illum in Sanctæ *R. E.* Cardinalem aſſu-
'meremus inſtanter rogabat, ſimiliter capi, ac etiam in carcerem de-
'trudi, & in eo cuſtodiri mandaverit, prout etiam capti & carcerati im-
'præſentiarum exiſtunt, detinentur & cuſtodiuntur, in Excommunica-
'tionis ſententias & alias cenſuras Eccleſiaſticas & pœnas, in ſacris Ca-
'nonibus ac diverſis Conſtitutionibus (tam generalibus quam particula-
'ribus) Sanctorum Generalium Conciliorum & Summorum *Romanorum*
'Pontificum prædeceſſorum noſtrorum, ac in literis noſtris die *Cœnæ Do-*
'*mini* legi conſuetis, contentas & promulgatas, una cum conſciis, com-
'plicibus, fautoribus, defenſoribus & receptoribus, ac iis qui conſilium,
'auxilium, opem, operam, cuſtodiam & miniſterium præbuerunt, tule-
'runt & præſtiterunt, incurrendo.

'Nos qui dictum *Henricum* Regem paterna charitate & præcipuo a-
'more ſemper complexi & proſecuti fuimus, non potuimus ob hujuſmo-
'di delictorum & ſacrilegiorum atrocitatem non maximo affici dolore

1589 '& mœrore, prout alias in Conſiſtorio noſtro ſecreto coram venerabilibus fratribus noſtris *S.R.E.* Cardinalibus retulimus, ac dolentes conqueſti fuimus: dumque expectabamus quod idem *Henricus* Rex factipœnitens, & culpam ſuam agnoſcens ad cor rediret, & dictos *Carolum* Cardinalem & *Petrum* Archiepiſcopum carceratos relaxaret & liberos dimitteret, & abſolutionem à præmiſſis humiliter poſtularet, prout ſæpe ſæpius *Joannes de Vivonne* Marchioni de *Piſanni* Ordinario, & *Hieronymo Gondio* Extraordinario, ſuis apud nos Oratoribus, & etiam venerabili fratri *Claudio* Epiſcopo *Cœnomanenſi*, ab eo ad nos ſpecialiter deſtinato, paterno affectu ſignificavimus, & vehementer hortati ſumus, ipſe *Henricus* Rex, non ut vere pœnitens, nec peccatum ſincere confitens, nec ea cordis humilitate qua debebat, & quemadmodum fideles & pœnitentes Reges & Principes hactenus fecerunt, abſolutionem hujuſmodi à nobis poſtulare curavit, verum ſalutaria ac paterna noſtra conſilia non amplectens, uſque in hodiernum diem eoſdem *Carolum* Card. & *Petrum* Archiepiſc. diſtulit dimittere & liberare.

'NOS igitur, qui licet ad Declarationem contra eundem *Henricum* Regem ſuper prædictis antea procedere potuiſſemus, nihilominus pro paterna ac ſingulari noſtra erga eum pietate, & pro Regii honoris dignitate benigne cum eo agendo, ipſum pluſquam par erat (jam enim quintus agitur menſis) ut reſipiſceret expectavimus, non poſſumus nec debemus amplius differre, quin his malis pro ejuſdem *Henrici* Regis animæ ſalute & conſervatione, quæ nobis præ omnibus charior & antiquior ſemper fuit, Canonica & opportuna remedia adhibeamus. Sed cum ex debito Paſtoralis Officii eunctorum *Chriſti* fidelium, præſertim vero *S.R.E.* Cardinalium, etiam Prælatorum ſecuritati conſulere & providere teneamur, ne cum tanto Regni *Franciæ* & totius Chriſtiani orbis ſcandalo, & noſtræ Sedis Apoſtolicæ dignitatis diſcrimine, dicti *Carolus* Card. *Barbonius* & *Petrus* Archiep. *Lugdunenſis* diutius in carceribus detineantur, neve à nobis de hujuſmodi neglecta cura ac muneris noſtri adminiſtratione in diſtricto Dei judicio rationem reddere cogamur, de venerabilium fratrum noſtrorum ejuſdem *S.R.E.* Cardinalium conſilio & aſſenſu, ac matura deliberatione præhabita, prædictum *Henricum* Regem per viſcera miſericordiæ, & aſperſionem ſanguinis Dei & Domini noſtri *Jeſu Chriſti*, quo & per quem humani generis Redemptio facta eſt, ex toto corde hortamur, atque authoritate Apoſtolica tenore præſentium primo, ſecundo, & tertio monemus, requirimus, ac eidem virtute Sanctæ Obedientiæ præcipimus & mandamus, quatenus ab hujuſmodi carceratione & detentione dictorum *Caroli* Card. & *Petri* Archiep. carceratorum, ſive ſub cuſtodia, aut alias quomodolibet detentorum deſiſtendo, illo per ſe vel alium, ſeu alios intra terminum decem dierum immediate ſequentium à die publicationis præſentium, modo & forma infraſcriptis faciendæ, omni poſtpoſita mora, exceptione vel excuſatione aut prætextu, libere dimittere & liberare, ac in priſtinam & plenam libertatem cum omni ſecuritate, tuto commeatu ac receſſu, realiter & cum effectu reſtituere & reponere, teneatur & debeat, ſeu libere dimittat, liberet, atque in priſtinam & plenam libertatem cum omni ſecuritate, tuto commeatu ac receſſu reſtituat & reponat, ſeu dimitti, liberari, reſtitui & reponi (ut præmittitur) faciat & mandet; ac de eorundem *Caroli* Card. & *Petri* Archiep. libera dimiſſione & liberatione, & in priſtinam & plenam libertatem cum omni ſecuritate, tuto commeatu atque receſſu, reſtitutione & repoſitione, per ſuas literas Regia manu & ſigillo ſubſignatas, ſeu per publicum & authenticum Inſtrumentum, ad nos & Sedem Apoſtolicam tranſmittendas, intra triginta dies à die dicta dimiſſionis & liberationis, intra ipſos decem dies faciendæ, numerandos, doceat & certiores reddat.

Quod

'Quod si prædictus *Henricus* Rex paternis his nostris exhortationibus, 1589
'monitionibus & requisitionibus, ac mandato non paruerit, & intra præ-
'dictos decem dies eosdem *Carolum* Card. & *Petrum* Archiep. non libere
'dimiserit aut liberaverit, & in pristin. plenam libertatem cum omni se-
'curitate, tuto commeatu & recessu non restituerit vel reposuerit, seu li-
'bere dimitti, liberari, restitui & reponi non fecerit (ut præfertur;) & de
'libera dimissione, liberatione, restitutione & repositione prædictis nos (ut
'supra) intra dictos triginta dies non docuerit, aut certiores non reddide-
'ret, ipsum quidem *Henricum* Regem, ac omnes & quoscunque qui in no-
'toria violenta manuum injectione, captura, carceratione, detentione &
'nece prædictis conscii, complices & fautores fuerunt, quive consilium,
'auxilium & opem, operam, custodiam & ministerium præbuerunt, tule-
'runt & præstiterunt, cujuscunque conditionis, status, gradus, ordinis &
'dignitatis tam Ecclesiasticæ quam mundanæ existant, in *Excommunica-*
'*tionis majoris* sententiam & Anathematis vinculum, & alias Censuras
'Ecclesiasticas, in prædictis sacris Canonibus & Constitutionibus genera-
'libus & particularibus, atque in literis die *Cœnæ Domini* legi consuetis,
'contentas & promulgatas damnabiliter incurrisse & incidisse, ex parte
'Omnipotentis Dei & beatorum *Petri* & *Pauli* Apostolorum ejus autho-
'ritate & nostra, & nunc prout ex tunc dicimus, pronunciamus & decla-
'ramus, illumque & illos universis *Christi* fidelibus excommunicatos, &
'ab unitate corporis *Christi* seperatos, & ut tales ab ipsis omnimodo vi-
'tandos palam & publice denunciamus.

'Et nihilominus eundem *Henricum* Regem, ac universos & singulos
'prædictos conscios, complices, fautores, defensores & receptores, quive
'consilium, auxilium, favorem, opem, operam, custodiam & ministerium
'in præmissis præbuerunt, tulerunt & præstiterunt, tam super dictis pub-
'lica & notoria violenta manuum injectione in præfatos *Ludovic.* Card.
'*Guisium*, *Carolum* Card. *Borbonium*, & *Petrum* Archiep. *Lugdunens.* & illo-
'rum captura & detentione, quam nece ejusdem *Ludovici* Card. & aliis
'criminibus & excessibus desuper admissis, ac latius deductis, & dedu-
'cendis & exprimendis, eadem Apostolica authoritate, primo, secundo &
'tertio monemus, requirimus & citamus, quatenus ipse Rex per se, vel
'alium seu alios, suum vel suos, procuratorem seu procuratores, legiti-
'mum seu legitimos, sufficienti ad id mandato instructum seu instructos;
'reliqui vero personaliter per seipsos, intra terminum 60 dierum à die
'executionis & publicationis præsentium computandorum, (quorum 60
'dierum 20 pro prima, alios vero 20 pro secunda, reliquos autem 20 pro
'tertia & ultima canonica monitione, ac ultimo & peremptorio termino
'eisdem præfigimus et assignamus) coram nobis comparere teneantur et
'debeant, ad dicendum, opponendum et allegandum; quare non debeant
'declarari et denuntiari propter hujusmodi violentam manuum injectio-
'nem, comprehensionem, necem, et detentionem personarum Card. et
'Archiep. respective et alia præmissa, in alias sententias et pœnas spiri-
'tuales et temporales in prædictis sacris Canonibus et Constitutionibus
'contentas et inflictas, incurrisse et incidisse, et quare tam ejusdem *Henrici*
'Regis quam aliorum supradictorum feudatarii, subditi et vassalli pro-
'pterea à *juramento fidelitatis*, quo ei vel eis quomodolibet astringuntur,
'absolvi, vel illi jam absoluti declarari non debeant, et alias super præmis-
'sis ad se legitime excusandos et defendendos.

'Alioqui etiam ipso *Henrico* Rege, vel suo legitimo procuratore, seu
'legitimis procuratoribus non comparentibus, aut conscii, complicibus,
'fautoribus, et aliis præd. etiam in executione præsentium (si videbitur)
'nominandis personaliter non comparentibus, aut etiam compar. et nihil
'quod ipsos legitime excusare vel defend. valeat, aut relevare possit addu-

centibus;

1589 'centibus: Nos nihilominus etiam nulla alia monitione vel citatione 'præcedente, (niſi forſan per officium Audientiæ contradictorum, ſi no- 'bis viſum fuerit) procedemus, juſtitia mediante ad omnes & ſingulos 'actus in præmiſſis quomodolibet neceſſarios & opportunos, etiam uſque 'ad prædictarum ſententiarum & pœnarum in eiſdem ſacris Canonibus '& Conſtitutionibus contentarum & inflictarum, ſeu illarum incurſus de- 'claracionem & denunciationem, necnon ad Abſolutionem ſeu Abſolu- 'tionis declarationem fundatoriorum ſubditorum & vaſſallorum *à jura- 'mento Fidelitatis*, quo tam eidem *Henrico* Regi, quam aliis ſupradictis 'quomodo libet tenentur vel aſtringuntur, prout juris fuerit, & ordo 'dictaverit rationis.

'Cæterum ab *Excommunicationis majoris*, Anathematis vinculo, & 'aliis cenſuris prædictis, nec ipſe *Henricus* Rex nec ullus alius prædicto- 'rum, neque etiam in foro Conſcientiæ à quocunque ſeculari, vel cu- 'juſvis ordinis regulari Presbyteris, vel Prælato quavis dignitate & au- 'thoritate fungente, niſi à nobis vel *Romano* Pontifice pro tempore exi- 'ſtente, & præterquam in mortis articulo, nec tunc niſi de ſtando Ec- 'cleſiæ mandatis & ſatisfaciendo præſtita cautione abſolvi poſſint, etiam 'prætextu quarumvis facultarum & indultorum, etiam occaſione *Jubi- 'lei* plenarii vel *Cruciatæ* ſanctæ, ſeu Confeſſionalium, quibuſcunque 'perſonis Eccleſiaſticis ſecularibus & quorumvis ordinum, etiam Men- 'dicantium & Militiarum, Regularibus, etiam Epiſcopali, vel alia ma- 'jori dignitate præditis, ipſiſque Ordinibus, ac eorum Monaſteriis, Con- 'ventibus & Domibus ac Capitulis, Collegiis, Confraternitatibus, 'Congregationibus, Hoſpitalibus & locis piis, necnon Laicis, etiam ei- 'dem *Henrico* Regi & forſan aliis *Franciæ* Regibus ac cæteris perſonis 'ſupradictis, per nos & dictam Sedem & cujuſvis Conſilii decreta, ver- 'bo, literis aut quacunque ſcriptura in genere vel in ſpecie conceſſorum, 'innovatorum, etiam ſi in eis caſus in literis die *Cœnæ Domini* legi ſoliti 'expreſſi comprehenduntur, niſi de præſentibus noſtris literis ſpeci- 'fica & expreſſa, non autem per clauſulam, quorum tenores, aut 'alias quaſcunque clauſulas generales idem importantes, mentio 'fiat.

'Nonobſtantibus Privilegiis, Indulgentiis & literis Apoſtolicis gene- 'ralibus vel ſpecialibus, etiam ipſo *Henrico* Regi, ac ejus prædeceſſoribus 'ſeu aliis ſupradictis, vel eorum alicui ſeu aliquibus aliis, cujuſcunque 'ordinis, ſtatus vel conditionis, dignitatis & præeminentiæ fuerint, etiam 'ſi Pontificali, Regali, ſeu quavis Eccleſiaſtica & mundana præfulge- 'ant dignitate, vel eorum Regnis, Provinciis, Civitatibus, ſeu locis à 'prædicta Sede ex quavis cauſa, etiam per viam Conſtitutionis perpe- 'tuæ, contractus aut remunerationis, & ſub quavis alia forma & teno- 're, ac cum quibuſvis clauſulis, etiam derogatoriarum derogatoriis con- 'ceſſis & ſæpius approbatis & innovatis, etiam continentibus quod Ex- 'communicari, Anathematizari vel Interdici non poſſint per literas Apo- 'ſtolicas, non facientes plenam & expreſſam ac de verbo ad verbum de 'Indulto hujuſmodi, ac de ordinibus, locis, nominibus propriis, cogno- 'minibus & dignitatibus eorum mentionem, necnon conſuetudinibus & 'aliis quibuſlibet obſervantiis ſcriptis vel non ſcriptis, per quæ contra has 'noſtras literas, ſententias & cenſuras, quominus eis ligentur & affici- 'untur, ſi juvare valeant vel tueri.

'Quibus omnibus eorum omnium tenores, ac ſi ad verbum nihil peni- 'tus omiſſo inſererentur præſentibus, pro expreſsis habentes, ad effectum 'præſentium duntaxat ſpecialiter & expreſſe derogamus, cæteriſque con- 'trariis quibuſcunque.

Ut

'Ut autem præsentes nostræ literæ ad ipsius *Henrici* Regis & aliorum 1589
'supradictorum notitiam facilius perveniant, seu pervenire possint, ad
'quos personaliter monendos & citandos tutus his turbulentis tempori-
'bus non patet accessus, prout nobis notorie constat, & præsentium te-
'nore declaramus, easdem nostras literas, tam in alma urbe nostra, & in
'Basilicæ Principis Apostolorum & Cancellariæ Apostolicæ valvis, ac
'in acie Campi *Floræ*, per aliquem ex Cursoribus nostris, quam etiam in
'partibus regni *Franciæ*, in valvis duarum vel trium ex infrascriptis sex
'Cathedralibus Ecclesiis, viz. *Pictavensi*, *Aurelianensi*, *Carnotensi*, *Mel-*
'*densi*, *Agennensi*, & *Cænomanensi*, more solito legi & publicari, & inibi
'affigi, & per aliquod temporis spatium affixas dimitti, eisque postmodum
'inde detractis, earum exempla in eisdem locis pariter affixa relinqui
'mandamus.

'Decernentes ut earundem literarum publicatio sic facta, tam contra
'eundem *Henricum* Regem quam alios in præmissis conscios, complices,
'fautores, defensores & receptores, ad eos qui consilium, auxilium, opem,
'operam, custodiam & ministerium præbuerunt, tulerunt & præstite-
'runt, supradictos & eorum quemlibet perinde arctet & afficiat, ac si li-
'teræ ipsæ eis vel eorum singulis personaliter lectæ & intimatæ & insinu-
'atæ fuissent: cum non sit verisimile ea, quæ tam patenter & publice
'facta fuerint, ipsos posse quomodolibet ignorare.

'Quia vero difficile foret præsentes literas ad singula loca deferri ad
'quæ oporteret, VOLUMUS, ut earum transcriptis, etiam impressis,
'manu publici Notarii subscriptis, & sigillo personæ in dignitate Ec-
'clesiastica constitutæ obsignatis, eadem prorsus fides ubique gentium &
'locorum in judicio & extra illud adhibeatur, quæ eisdem originalibus
'adhibeatur, si essent exhibita vel ostensa.

'Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ Hortatio-
'nis, Monitionum, Requisitionum, Præcepti, Mandatorum, Pronuntia-
'tionis, Declarationum, Denunciationis, Citationis, Præfixionis, Assi-
'gnationis, Decretorum, Derogationis & Voluntatis infringere, vel ei
'ausu temerario contraire: Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit,
'Indignationem Omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum *Petri* & *Pauli* Apostо-
'lorum ejus, se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romæ *apud Sanctum Petrum, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ MDLXXXIX. tertio nonas Maii, Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.*

A. de Alexiis. M. Vestrius Barbianus.

And so wonderfully powerful was this *Bull* against *Henry* and his well-wishers, that they tell us by way of Miracle how one at *Venice* (but offering to speak in behalf of the King) sunk presently down, and no sooner was carried home but he died. *Dejecta ab. die. Hen. III. l. 4. c. 14. p. 418.*

CHAP.

1589

Chap. VI.

King Henry III. *murdered by Friar* Clement. *The* Pope's *Speech in Commendation of the Murder.*

THe King as aforesaid being not a little perplext at the late Papal *Monitory Bull*, *R. de Beaune* (the Archbishop of *Bourges*) endeavoured to comfort him, by suggesting that the Pope would alter his mind when he better understood the bad Designs of the *League*. To whom the King after a deep sigh replied, ——*He thought it very hard, that he who had ever fought and laboured for Religion should be rashly* Excommunicated, *because he would not suffer his own throat to be cut by his Rebell-Subjects; since those who had* * *sack'd* Rome, *and kept the Pope himself prisoner, had never been Excommunicated*—— But the King of *Navarre* (then present) gave him the best counsel and comfort by his Answer, ——*But they were Victorious, Sir: Let your Majesty endeavour to conquer, and be assur'd the Censures shall be revok'd: but if we be overcome, we shall all die condemn'd Hereticks.*

* Emperor Charles V. *by his General* Lewis de Bourbon, anno 1527.

Accordingly it was resolved to augment their Army as much as they could, to lay siege to *Paris* (the Head of the *Leaguers*) which obtain'd would make all the Kingdom submit, and the design of that siege would draw multitude of Souldiers and Adventurers in hopes of good plunder. In short: what by the joyning of the two Kings Armies, by the coming in of the *Swisses* (rais'd by Monsieur *de Sancy*) to the Forces of the Duke of *Longueville*, and other daily Additions and *Voluntiers*, the King presently found himself at the head of above forty thousand fighting men.

With this strength he presently besiegeth *Paris*, which was such a cooler to the *Leaguers*, what by the fickleness and cowardise of the people then (as usually happens to such great Cities) what by the scarcity of Victuals, the not sufficient number of Souldiers, nor Pay to encourage them, with their stubbornness and threats to quit the Service if not presently paid and victuall'd; with these Inconveniences (I say) the People and Souldiers were so disheartened, that they were even ready to revolt, but that the Priests and Friars affoarded them much encouragement, not only by their example in taking up Arms themselves, but also by their Seditious Preachments, which usually worketh very much upon the ignorant, and can countenance Knaves and Rebels to act for their Interest, (that is) to do any wickedness and villany whatever. And lest any badge of Royalty should remain to put them in mind of their Loyalty and Allegeance, the *Cordeliers* struck out the Head of the Figure of the King, which was painted kneeling before the High Altar of their Church; the *Jacobins* also defac'd the Kings Picture in their Cloysters.

Journal.

But nothing did more persuade the people from a Revolt, then the assurance which the Priests and other chief *Leaguers* gave them, that they should be freed from their Enemies within a few days, in hopes of which the Citizens were more active in opposition, though they understood not the means of such a delivery.

In

In the mean time the Council of *Sixteen* with ſome other Chieftains conſult their deliverance; the plot is not long finding out: for there then living in *Paris* one *Jaques Clement* (a Friar of the Order of *St. Dominick*, commonly call'd *Jacobins*) one very ignorant, and ſo more ſturdy, bold, and apt for any wickedneſs, of which he was more capable by his extravagant Zele, and not a little augmented by the daily Preachments he had heard againſt the King. Thus puff'd up they us'd to call him Captain *Clement*; and thus determin'd, he confeſſeth that *he is boldly inſpir'd to kill the King*. The Father to whom he confeſt it imparted it to *Edmond Bourgain* (Prior of the Covent of *Jacobins*, and one of the chief Counſellours of the *League*) who bid *Clement* conſider, *whether it might not be a temptation of the Devil, and ſo that he ſhould faſt and pray, begging of God to enlighten him what to do.* 1589

Davila *p.* 815, 816, 817, 857. And Favyn *Hiſt. de* Navarre, *p.* 949. *Hiſt. des derniers troubles de* France, *l.* 5. *fol.* 6. *Satyre Menip. p.* 125, 126, 127. Laurence Bouchel *Hiſt. de la juſtice criminelle de* France, *tit.* 11. *ch.* 12.

A little after Friar *Clement* returneth, telling them that *he now found himſelf ſtrengthened and confirm'd for the deed:* upon which they encourage and engage him to it, telling him that *he ſhall be well recompenced for the fact; if he die, he ſhall ſurely fly to Heaven as a Saint, and be enrolled amongſt the* Roman *Martyrs on Earth; but if he live, he and his ſhall be provided for, that he ſhall have a Biſhoprick if not a Cardinalſhip.* And that there might be ſome hopes of his life, 'tis ſaid that the Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier* and others aſſur'd him, that there were many *Leaguers* and their partakers in the Kings Guards, Camp, Court, Chamber, and his Council too, who would be ready to aſſiſt, defend, and reſcue him, if any danger ſhould happen, Ant. Colonet *p.* 403.

The Friar thus reſolved, three things are next conſulted of, *viz.* Acceſs to the King; The manner of Execution; And the Secreſie. As for the firſt, it was concluded to get ſome Letters from Count *de Brienne*, or the Chief Preſident *Achilles de Harlay* (then Priſoners for their Loyalty in the *Baſtile*) the ſight of which with the reverence of his Coat would get him admittance. As for the ſecond, nothing like a Stab with a Knife, which might conveniently be hid in his wide ſleeve, And laſtly, to prevent that none ſhould diſcover it before the blow be given, the Gates ſhould be ordered to be ſtrictly ſhut, with ſure Guards and Watch at all *Avenues*, that none but himſelf ſhould go out,

Well, the Monk hath a Knife given him by the aforeſaid (*a*) *Prior*, which is impoiſon'd, and (as (*b*) ſome write) he intreated the Popes Legat to bleſs it and him for his better ſpeed; and (*c*) others ſay, that he acquainted Father *Cammolet* and other Jeſuits with his deſign.

(*a*) Il recoit de ſon Prieur un Couſteau. *Favyn.* ib.

(*b*) *The mutability and wavering ſtate of* France, *printed in* folio Anno 1593. *pag.* 132. Ant. Colynet *p.* 405.

(*c*) Jan de Serres *Inventaire.*

In brief: the Letters cunningly procured, as if to do the King ſome good ſervice, and thus prepared he goeth to *St. Cloud* (a Village near *Paris*, where the King then quartered) where he is ſeiz'd on, examin'd, confeſſeth his buſineſs is to the King, to whom he hath Letters and other ſecrets to deliver, but ſuch as he will diſcover to none but the King himſelf. The The Monk thus believed is the next morning carried to the Kings Lodgings, where he preſents him with a Letter, which whileſt the King is reading *Clement* pulleth the Knife out of his Friars ſleeve, * ſtabb'd the * King in the belly, of which wound he died that night. And this mur-

1589 ther was well timed for the *Leaguers*, the King having determined to ſtorm the City the next day. And thus ended the Line and Family of *Valois* by the murther of this King *Henry* III. whoſe Commendations have been undertaken by ſome of the *French** Poets, whileſt others are as much againſt him.

* Vide *d'Eſtinelle* le Parnaſſe, tom. 1. fol. 315, 316, 329. Delit. Poet. *Gal.* vol. 3. p. 114.

As for the wicked Monk *James Clement*, he was [unadviſedly] inſtantly ſlain, his body thrown out of the window, burnt by the Souldiers, and his aſhes ſcatter'd in the River, and upon him was made this Anagram:

Frere Jaques Clement:
Anagram,
* *C'eſt l'enfer qui m'a cree.*

* 'Tis Hell that created me.

But on the other hand the *Covenanters* rejoyce, throw off the mourning which they had worn for *Guiſe*, appear'd in their greateſt glory, clad themſelves in flouriſhing green toſſing Feathers, made Bonfires, had the Monks Picture made and ſhewed publickly, his Mother and Kindred ſought out to be rewarded and gratified, the better to encourage others to the like murther; nay had thoughts to ſet up his Statue in their Churches inſtead of the Kings pull'd down. And no ſooner was the Siege rais'd but a Company of them goeth in Triumph to *St. Cloud*, (called ſo from a ſon of King *Clodomire*) where the King and Monk were ſlain: and becauſe the Friars body was burn'd as aforeſaid, ſo that they could procure none of it, they pared off the ground which had been died with his bloud, which as *Holy Reliques* they place in a Boat, intending to convey them to *Paris* to be worſhip'd as ſanctified ſtuff by the people: but ſee the luck on't, and the end of themſelves in the height of this their religious Trophy; a wind ariſeth, turns over their Boat, whereby the people and their Reliques were loſt and drown'd.

Satyre Menip. p 128. Vide Mem. de la Ligue, tom. 4. p. 14, &c. *Thuan.* l. 96.

As for the Preachers, they magnifie the Action as Heroick and Noble: *Burgoin* the foreſaid Prior of the *Jacobins* compared him in his Sermons to *Judith*, the murdered King to *Holofernes*, and the delivered City to *Bethulia*: Father *Robert* (a *Franciſcan* at *Vendoſme*) publickly commends the deed: Dr. *Boucher* cometh out in Print by Authority of the Union in vindication of it, affirming it to have been done * *to the unſpeakable joy of all good men*; comparing the Friar to *Ehud* for killing *Eglon* King of *Moab*; that he had done a greater work then *Judith* in killing *Holofernes*, *David Goliah*, or *Samſon* his thouſand men; obſerveth a Providential Miracle for honour of the *Roman* Church, *viz.* that it was committed on the day of St. *Peters* Feaſt *ad vincula*, and another for the preſervation and juſtification of the *Sorbonne* School and her Doctors, *viz.* that this Monk was born at a Village call'd *Sorbonne*, in the Territory of the City *Sens* by the lower *Champaigne*; at laſt abuſeth many Texts of Scripture in his commendation, and will have the action aſcrib'd to (*a*) Heaven, to the no ſmall comfort of the Covenanters: And we are alſo (*b*) told, that *Claudius Sanctius* writ in vindication of this murther.

* Incredibili bonorum omnium gaudio & exultatione. *De vita Hen. III. a Pithœo l. 4. c. 23. Id. p.* 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455.

Nor will (*c*) *François Veronne* let him paſs without a favourable nod. (*d*) Another layeth it down as a brave ſubject for Hiſtorians, Poets, Orators, and Preachers to exerciſe their

(*a*) Quod factum nuper & probatum divinitus etiam gratulamur. *Id. epiſt. ded.*

(*b*) Tho. Lanſ. *Conſult.* German. p. 281.

(*c*) *Apol. pro* Jean Chaſtel *part.* 3. *c.* 1. p. p. 122.

(*d*) Vid. Jeſuit. Sicar. appendix, p. 271.

their parts with, affirming it to be ——* *A generous and noble action, neceſſary for* France, *and profitable for Chriſtendom, agreeable to and approved of by the Authority of Canons, with the reaſon, advice, and judgment of the wiſeſt and godlieſt of men.* To give all the commendation and *encomiums*, which this Writer ſets down at large of this (*a*) *beſt of Jacobins*, (as he calls the Villain) would be too tedeous: nor need I here mention the impudence of *James Cammolet* the Jeſuite, and the reſt of the *Leaguers*, who (if we may believe ſome *Engliſh Roman* (*b*) Prieſts themſelves) would not give *Abſolution* to the Gentry of *France*, unleſs they would take Arms againſt their King *Henry* III. of whoſe murther thus one of their Poets:

* Tam generoſum, tam glorioſum, tam neceſſarium *Gallia*, tam utilem atque fructuoſum, toti Chriſtiano orbi tam acceptum & approbatum ab authoritate Canonum, à Ratione, Conſilio & Sententia tot hominum ſapientiſſimorum & devotiſsimorum in mundo. *Ib. p.* 272.

(*a*) Optimus ille *Jacobinus*.

(*b*) *See their Preface to the Jeſuits Catechiſm,* ¶ ¶ 3. *p.* 2.

Qui Monachi virtutem habitu ſimulaverat olim,
Hunc Monachi virtus non ſimulata necat.

The counterfeited Monk his death doth feel,
Being ſtabb'd by one was Monk as true as Steel.

Nor need we queſtion their commendations of this Parricide, ſince they held him for a *bleſſed* * *Martyr*, not only in Words and Writing but in Pictures too, and this not only in *France* but at *Rome* it ſelf. And further it was the opinion of ſome, that if this wicked Friar had been a *Franciſcan* (Pope *Sixtus* V. being of that Order) as he was a *Dominican*, he might have been declar'd a *Saint*.

* Spondan. *an.* 1589. § 17. Will. Warmingtons *Moderate Defence of the Oath of Allegeance*, *p.* 147.

And what opinion the Chieftains of *Rome* had of this action, may in part appear by the Letter ſent to the *General Council* of the *Holy Union* by Cardinal *Montalto*, Nephew to Pope *Sixtus*; the which take thus:

Illuſtriſſimi Domini,

'Valde hic dubitabamus, num rumor de morte *Henrici III. Galliæ* Re-
'gis verus eſſet aut falſus. Nam licet is e diverſis locis ad nos adcurrebat,
'autorem tamen clarum aut certum non habebat: quandoquidem id
'quod narrabatur fabulæ ſimilius videbatur quam veritati. Verum ad-
'ventus * *Nicolai Nivellii*, civis *Pariſienſis*,
'qui adhuc adpulit 25 die menſis præſentis,
'cum literis quarto die ſcripti à Duce *May-*
'*ennio* ad ſanctitatem ejus, omne nobis du-
'bium exemit. Idem attulit ſecum inſtru-
'menta publica Monitorii Apoſtolici, in effe-
'ctum illic producti: non habebat tamen
'literas ullas à vobis ad ſanctitatem ejus, quod *ingratum* ſane ei ac-
'cidit.

* Nicolas Nivelle *and* Rollin Tierry *were the two Booksellers and Printers privileged and appointed at* Paris *by the* Holy Union *to print and publiſh their affairs, as* Jean Pellehotte *was to the* Holy Union *at* Lyons.

'Quanquam autem dicta ſanctitas ejus libenter cognovit liberatam
'eſſe *Lutetiam*, & imminutas vires *Hugonotorum*, triſtitia tamen non par-
'va perfuſa eſt, & ſummè obſtupefacta, audians tam magnum admodum
'& nobilem Regem, morte tam miſerabili peremptum, adeoque finem
'ejus conformem non fuiſſe illi, quem ſortiti ſunt tot anteceſſores ejus,

1589 'qui longa ſerie per plurima ſecula glorioſe regnarunt in *Gallia*, & poſtea ex hac vita in meliorem tranſiverunt cum gloria ſempiterna.

'Verum quia ſanctitas ejus deſiderat (vel ut copioſius nomine ejus 'ad Ducem *Mayennium* perſcripſi) videre tandem, & quidem durante 'tempore Pontificatus ſui finem imponi turbis, tempeſtatibus, & miſeri- 'is funeſtiſſimis potentiſſimi illius regni, utque extirpatis hæreſibus, pri- 'ſtinam recuperet Majeſtatem ſuam, floreatque ibi uſus S. Catholicæ, 'Apoſtolicæ, *Romanæ* Religionis noſtræ; ideo notum vobis facio, ſancti- 'tatem ejus paratiſſimam eſſe (ſiquidem neceſſarium à vobis judicetur) 'ad mittendum *Legatum Cardinalem, qui neceſſitatibus veſtris ſuccurrat,* ☞ 'partim *ſuppeditando vobis milites & pecunias* (quas per Dei gratiam alibi 'mutuo ſumere haud oportebit) partim autoritate & conſilio ſuo *complu- 'res principes alliciendo*; ut ita eodem conſilio juvetur, conſervetur, & 'promoveatur cauſa Dei, Fidei, & Religionis noſtræ.

'Sed quum apud nos, qui veſtro nomine rem agere poſſit tam arduam 'ſit nemo, ſanctitas ejus exhortatur vos, ut tempore provideatis, & 'quoad ejus primum fieri poteſt; idque aut per literas, aut per Depu- 'tatum quempiam noſtratim, cui res veſtræ omnes probe notæ ſint; aut 'mittendo ex profeſſo quempiam e veſtris partibus, qui authoritate & 'ingenio polleat ſufficienti tractando negotio tam gravi & primario. Et 'quandoquidem conſtat, adverſarios attonitos valde eſſe, & quaſi divi- 'no ictos fulmine; antequam unire iterum ſe, & conſilium atque vires 'corroborare poſſint: omnis ideo lapis movendus erit, ut TAM PRÆ- 'CLARA ET RARA OCCASIO ne amittatur, *de qua dici aliud non 'poſſit*, QUAM DIVINITUS A POTENTI ET BENIGNA MA- 'NU DEI *oblatam eſſe*.

'Et proinde ſanctitas ejus exhortatur vos non tantum ut conſervetis, 'ſed etiam amplificetis & propagetis concordiam & unanimitatem IN 'SANCTO VESTRO FOEDERE; omnia ſiquidem peſſum ac 'perditum irent, cum perpetuo noſtro dedecore atque damno, ſi inter vos '& alios *unitos* vincula pacis & *unionis* firma atque fortia non eſſent. 'Dominus noſter adſit vobis ſpiritu ſancti conſilii ſui, & concedat vobis 'PLENAM VICTORIAM IN HOSTES NOSTROS, & Divi- 'næ ipſius *Majeſtatis*.

Roma, 26 *Auguſti*, 1689.

Veſtri ſtudioſiſſimus ut Frater,

A. Cardinalis MONTALTUS.

Though by this Letter and what hath been ſaid it appears plainly, that the Pope ſided with the *Covenanters*; yet to ſumme up all, take here the Popes own Speech, which he made in the Conſiſtory to the Cardinals upon the Kings murther.

Animo meo ſæpe ac ſerio revolvens, mentiſque aciem intendens in ea, quæ nuper Dei voluntate acciderunt, videor mihi vere poſſe illud Prophetæ* *Abacuch* uſurpare, —— *Quia opus factum eſt in diebus veſtris, quod nemo credet cum narra-*

*1.5.

Conſidering oftentimes with my ſelf, and applying my whole underſtanding unto theſe things, which now of late by a juſt judgment of God are come to paſs; I think I may with right uſe the words of the Prophet Habakkuk —I have wrought a work in your days,

bitur

bitur —— Mortuus eſt Rex *Francorum* per manus Monachi; nam ad iſtud poteſt recte applicari, licet de alia re, nempe de incarnatione Domini, quæ omnia mira ac mirabilia ſuperat: Propheta proprie locutus ſit, ſicut & Apoſtolus *Paulus* eadem verba * *Actorum* 13. ad *Chriſti* reſurrectionem veriſſime refert.

Quando Propheta nominat *opus*, non vult innuere aliquid vulgare vel ordinarium, ſed rarum, inſigne, ac memorabile facinus, quomodo de creatione mundi, —*Opera manuum tuarum ſunt Cæli* —— Item, ——*Requievit die ſeptimo ab omni opere quod patrarat* —— Cum vero *factum* ait, eo verbo tale aliquid in Scripturis exprimi, quod non temere, caſu, fortuna, aut per accidens evenire dicitur; ſed quod expreſſa Dei voluntate, providentia, diſpoſitione ac ordinatione obvenit. Ut cum dicit Salvator, —*Opera quæ ego facio vos facietis, & majora horum facietis*— & ſimilia in ſacris literis plurima. Quod autem loquatur in præterito factum eſſe, id more aliorum Prophetarum facit, qui propter certitudinem eventus ſolent ſæpe de futuris, ac ſi jam facta eſſent prædicere. Dicunt enim *Philoſophi* res præteritas eſſe de neceſſitate, præſentes de ineſſe, futuras de poſſibili tantum; ita illi loquuntur. Propter quam certitudinem *Iſaias* Propheta longe ante vaticinatus eſt de morte *Chriſti*; ſic dixit, ſicut in *Act. Apoſt. c.* 8. etiam recitatur, —— *Tanquam ovis ad occiſionem ductus eſt, & ſicuti agnus coram tondente ſe non aperuit os ſuum, &c.* ——. Atque hoc de quo nunc verba facimus, & quod his diebus noſtris evenit vere inſigne, memorabile, & pene incredibile opus eſt, nec ſine Dei Opt. Max. particulari providentia & diſpoſitione perpetratum. *Occidit Monachus Regem*, non pictum aut fictum in charta aut pariete, ſed Regem *Francie*, in medio exercitus

which no man will believe when it is told him—— *The* French *King is ſlain by the hands of a Friar; for unto this it may juſtly be compared, although the Prophet ſpake of another thing, namely of the Incarnation of our Lord, which exceedeth and ſurmounteth all other wonders and miracles whatſoever: As alſo the Apoſtle S.* Paul *referreth the ſame words moſt truly unto the reſurrection of* Chriſt. 1589

When the Prophet ſaid A work, *his mind was not to ſignifie by it ſome common or ordinary thing, but a rare and notable matter, worthy to be remembred, as that of the creation of the world,* —The Heavens are the works of thine hands—*And again,* —He reſted the ſeventh day from all the works which he had made—*When he ſaith,* I have wrought, *with theſe words the Holy Scriptures are wont to expreſs things not come to paſs by caſualty, fortune or accident, but things befallen by the determined providence, will, and ordinance of God, as our Saviour ſaid,* — The works which I do you ſhall do alſo, and yet greater— *and many more ſuch like in the holy Scriptures. And that he ſaith that it is done in times paſt, herein he followeth the uſe and order of the holy Prophets, who for certainty of the event are wont to propheſie of things to come as if they were paſt already. For the* Philoſ. *ſay, that things paſt are of neceſſity, things preſent of being, & things to come only of poſſibility. For which certainty the Prophet* Iſaiah *long before propheſying of the death of Chriſt hath thus ſpoken,* ——He was led as a ſheep to the ſlaughter, and like a lamb before his ſhearer ſo opened he not his mouth— *And this whereof we ſpeak at this preſent, and which is come to paſs in theſe our days, is a famous, notable, and almoſt incredible thing, nor done or atchiev'd without the particular providence and diſpoſition of Almighty God.* A Friar hath kill'd a King, *not a painted one, or one drawn upon a piece of paper or a wall, but the King of* France, *in the middeſt of his*

* *v.* 41.

ſui,

1589 ſui, milite & cuſtodia undique ſeptum, quod revera tale eſt, & eo modo effectum, ut nemo nunc credat cum narrabitur, & fortaſſe apud poſteritatem pro fabula reputabitur.

Pro ſve Comparisons. Quod Rex ſit mortuus, vel etiam peremptus, facile creditur; ſed eum ſic ſublatum, vix eſt credibile: ſicut *Chriſtum* natum ex fœmina ſtatim aſſentimur; ſed ſi addas porro ex fœmina virgine ortum eſſe, tunc ſecundum hominem non aſſentior: ita etiam quod mortuus ſit *Chriſtus* facile credimus, ſed quod mortuus jam reſurrexerit ad vitam, quia ex privatione ad habitum non fit regreſſio, redditur ſecundum intellectum humanum impoſſibile, & propterea incredibile: quod homo ex ſomno, ex morbo, etiam ex Syncope vel Exſtaſi reſuſcitatur, quia id ſæpe ſecundum naturam fit, humanitus credimus; ſed reſurrexiſſe à mortuis ita ſecundum carnem videbatur incredibile, ut *Paulo* apud Philoſophos *Athenienſes* de hac reſurrectione diſſerenti improperarent, quod eſſet novorum dæmoniorum annunciator: & alii (ſicut D. *Lucas* narrat) irridebant, alii dicebant — *Audiemus te de hoc iterum*— De talibus igitur, quæ ſecundum naturæ leges & ordinarium curſum fieri non ſolent, dicit Propheta, — *Quod nemo credet cum narrabitur* — ſed hujuſmodi tantum fidem adhibemus ex conſideratione Omnipotentiæ Divinæ, & per ſubjectionem intellectus noſtri in obedientiam Fidei & obſequium *Chriſti*. Nam hoc modo quod erat incredibile naturaliter fit credibile. Igitur qui ſecundum hominem non credo *Chriſtum* de virgine natum, tamen quando additur, hoc factum eſſe ſupra naturæ terminos per operationem Spiritus Sancti, tunc vero aſſentior & credo. Ita quando dicitur, *Chriſtum* ex mortuis reſurrexiſſe, humanitus non credo, ſed cum id factum eſſe per divinam

Army, compaſſed and environ'd round about with his Guard and Souldiers: Which truly is ſuch an act, and done in ſuch a manner, that none wil believe it when it ſhall be told them, and perhaps hereafter it will be held but for a fable.

That the King is dead or ſlain, is eaſily believed, but that he is kill'd after this manner, is hardly to be credited: even as we preſently agree unto this, that Chriſt *is born of a woman, but if we adde of a Virgin, then according to natural reaſon we cannot aſſent to it: even ſo we eaſily believe that* Chriſt *died, but that he is riſen again from death unto life, is according to humane underſtanding impoſſible, and therefore incredible: that one is awakened again out of ſleep, extaſie, or a ſwound, becauſe it oft happens ſo according to nature we naturally believe; but to be riſen again from the dead, it ſeemeth ſo incredible unto fleſh, that S.* Paul *diſputing at* Athens *of this point was diſliked, and accuſed to be a ſetter forth of new Gods; ſo that many (as* S. Luke *witneſſeth) did mock him, and others ſaid,* — We will hear thee again of this thing — *Of ſuch things therefore which befall not according to the Laws of Nature, and the ordinary courſe thereof, ſpeaketh the Prophet, that* none ſhall believe it when it ſhall be told them. *But we give credit to it by conſideration of the Omnipotency of God, and by ſubmitting our underſtanding under the obedience of Faith, and the Service which we owe unto* Chriſt. *By theſe means this that was incredible by Nature becometh credible by Faith. Therefore we that believe not after the fleſh that* Chriſt *is born of a Virgin, yet when it is added unto it, that this was done ſupernaturally by operation of the Holy Ghoſt, then truly we agree unto it, and faithfully believe it. So likewiſe when it is ſaid, that* Chriſt *is riſen again from the dead, as we are onely fleſh we believe it not, but when it is affirmed, that this was done by the power of Divine Na-*

(quæ

(quæ in ipſo erat) naturam affirmatur, tunc omnino credo.

Eodem modo licet tantum Regem in medio exercitus, tot ſtipatum militibus, ab uno ſimplici & imbelli *Religioſo* occiſum eſſe, ſecundum prudentiam carnis & intellectum humanum ſit incredibile, vel omnino impoſſibile; tamen conſiderando ex altera parte graviſſima Regis peccata, & ſpecialem Dei Omnipotentis in hac re providentiam, & quam inuſitato & mirabili modo juſtiſſimam voluntatem ſuam erga ipſum impleverit, omnino & firmiter credo.

Rem etenim iſtam tam grandem & inuſitatam alio referre, quam ad particularem Dei providentiam, (ſicut quoſdam ad alias cauſas ordinarias, vel etiam ad fortunam & caſum, aut ſimiles accidentarios eventus perperam referre intelligimur) prorſus non licet: ſicut ii, qui totius facti ſeriem preſſius obſervant, facile videre poſſunt, uti plurima intervenerunt, quæ ab homine niſi Dei ſpeciali concurrente auxilio, expediri non quiverunt. Et ſane Regum ac Regnorum rationes, cæteraque tam rara tantique momenti negotia, a Deo temere adminiſtrari non eſt exiſtimandum.

Sunt in Sacra Hiſtoria nonnulla hujus generis, nec eorum quidquam poteſt alio quam ad Deum authorem referri: tamen nihil eſt, ubi magis claret ſuperna operatio, quam in iſto de quo nunc agimus. Lib. *Maccab.* 1. cap. 6. legimus, *Eleazarum*, ut Regem populi Dei perſecutorem ac hoſtem tolleret, ſeipſum certæ morti obtuliſſe. Nam in conflictu conſpiciens Elephantem cæteris eminentiorem, in quo videbatur Rex eſſe, concito curſu in mediam hoſtium turmam ſe conjiciens, hinc inde viam vi ſternens, ad belluam venit, atque ſub eam intravit, ſubjectoque gladio peremit, quæ cadens oppreſſit *Eleazarum* & extinxit.

ture in him, then without any doubting we believe it. 1589

Even ſo when it ſhall be told us, that ſuch a mighty King was kill'd by a poor, ſimple, and weak Friar, *and that in the midſt of his Army, environ'd with his Guard and Souldiers, to our natural reaſon and fleſhly capacity it will ſeem incredible, or altogether improbable; yet conſidering on the other ſide the grievous ſins of the King, and the ſpecial providence of Almighty God herein, and by what accuſtomed and wonderful means he hath accompliſh'd his moſt juſt judgment againſt him, then moſt firmly we believe it.* An infallible Comparison.

Therefore this great and miraculous work we muſt aſcribe onely to the particular providence of God, not as thoſe who refer all things amiſs unto ſome ordinary cauſes, or unto fortune, or ſuch like accidentary events; but as thoſe who (more nearly obſerving the courſe of the whole matter) eaſily ſee, that here in this befell many things, which could in no wiſe have been brought to paſs without the ſpecial help of God. And truly the ſtate of Kings and Kingdoms, and ſuch like rare and weighty affairs, ſhould not be thought to be governed by God raſhly and unadviſedly.

In the Holy Scripture ſome are of this kind, and none of them can be referred unto any other thing but unto God the onely Author thereof: yet there are none wherein the Heavenly operation is more ſeen, then in this whereof we ſpeak at preſent. We read in the Maccabees, *how* Eleazar *offered himſelf unto a ſure death to kill the King, who was an enemy and perſecutor of the people of God. For in the battel eſpying an Elephant more excellent then the reſt, whereon it was likely the King himſelf was, with a ſwift courſe caſting himſelf in the midſt of the troops of his enemies, here and there making a way per force, got to the beaſt, went under her, thruſt his ſword into her belly and ſo ſlew her, and ſhe falling upon him kill'd him.*

Hic

1589 Hic quoad zelum & animi robur, reique tentatæ exitum, aliquid hujus noſtri ſimile cernimus, tamen in reliquis nihil eſt comparabile. *Eleazarus* erat miles, armis & pugna exercitatus, in ipſo prælio conſtitutus, ardoreque animi & furore (ut fit) accenſus: iſte *Monachus*, prœliis ac pugnis non erat aſſuefact. & a ſanguine vitæ ſuæ inſtituto ita abhorrens, ut nec ex venæ inciſione fuſum cruorem forſan ferre potuerit. Ille noverat genus mortis, ſimulque locum ſepulturæ ſuæ, nempe quod ruina belluæ incluſus magis quam oppreſſus ſuo ſepeliretur triumpho: iſte mortem ac tormenta crudeliora & incognita expectabat, ſepulcroque ſe carituram non dubitabat. Sed & alia multa diſſimilia ſunt.

James Clement *a better man then* Eleazar.

Nota quoque eſt inſignis illa hiſtoria ſanctæ mulieris *Judith*, quæ & ipſa ut obſeſſam civitatem ſuam ac populum Dei liberaret, cepit conſilium (Deo ſine controverſia ſuggeſtore) de interimendo *Holoferne* hoſtilis exercitus principe; quod & perfecit. In quo opere licet plurima, & apertiſſima ſupernæ directionis indicia appareant, tamen *longe majora divinæ providentiæ argumenta in iſtius Regis occiſione, ac civitatis* Pariſienſis *liberatione*; ſicut certe quoad hominem, hoc fuit illo magis difficile vel impoſſibile. Nam illa ſancta fœmina intentionem ſuam aliquibus urbis Presbyteris aperuit, portamque civitatis & cuſtodiam pertranſiit illis præſentibus ac approbantibus, ut proinde ſcrutioni vel explorationi, quæ obſidionis tempore ſolet eſſe tam exacta, ut ne muſca fere ſine examine egredi queat, non potuerat eſſe ſubjecta. Apud hoſtes vero, per quorum caſtra & varias excubias tranſeundum erat, ſæpius explorata & examinata cum fœmina eſſet, nec quidquam haberet vel literarum vel armorum, unde ſuſpicio

The Monk more aſſiſted by God then Judith.

Here we ſee ſome things as to zele, valiantneſs of mind, and the iſſue of the enterpriſe, not unlike unto ours, though in the reſt there is no compariſon to be made. For Eleazar *was a ſouldier, exercis'd in weapons, train'd up in arms, ſet in battel, emboldened with courage, and inflamed with rage and anger: whereas this* Friar *was not uſed to fighting, and ſo abhorring of blood by order of his profeſſion, that perhaps he could not abide the cutting of a vein. Again,* Eleazar *knew the kind of his death, as alſo the place of his burial, namely, that he ſhould be entombed under the fall of the beaſt, and ſo buried in his own triumph and victory: but this* Monck *look'd onely for death, and expected nothing but unknown and moſt cruel torments, yea and doubted that he ſhould want a grave to reſt in. But in this are yet many other things that can ſuffer no compariſon.*

The famous hiſtory of the holy woman Judith *is ſufficiently known, who conſulted how to deliver her city and the people of God (no doubt but by Gods inſpiration) to kill* Holofernes, *Chieftain of the enemies forces, which ſhe alſo accompliſhed. Wherein although appear many and moſt manifeſt tokens of heavenly direction, yet* far greater arguments of Gods providence are to be ſeen in the killing of this King, and the delivering of the city of *Paris, as being more difficult and harder to be brought to paſs. For this holy woman diſcloſed part of her intention unto the Governours of the City, and went out with the approbation and in the preſence of the ſaid Elders and Governours, and by that means was not ſubject to the examination and ſearching, which in time of ſiege is uſed ſo ſtrictly, that a Fly can hardly without examining get by. She being come to the enemy, through whoſe Camp and Watches ſhe was to go, and often examin'd and ſearch'd, yet being a woman, carrying no letters nor arms, whence any ſuſpicion might ariſe, and yielding probable reaſons of her co-*

ſpicio

ſpitio oriri potuit, deque adventu in caſtra, & à ſuis, fugæ probabiles reddens rationes, facile dimittebatur. Sicut tam propter eaſdem cauſas, quam propter ſexum & formæ excellentiam ad principem impudicum introduci, & in temulentum facile quod deſignavit perficere valuit: ita illa. Hic vero *Religioſus* aggreſſus eſt, & confecit rem longe majorem, pluribuſque impedimentis ac tantis difficultatibus periculiſque obſitam, ut nulla prudentia aut aſtutia humana, nec alio modo, niſi aperta Dei ordinatione ac ſuccurſu confici potuerit. Debebant obtineri literæ commendatitiæ ab iis, qui erant contrariæ Factionis, tranſeundum erat per eam urbis portam, qua itur ad caſtra hoſtium, quæ ita ſine dubio in illis obſidionis anguſtiis cuſtodiebatur, ut cuncta haberent ſuſpecta, nec cuique ſine curioſiſſima exploratione, de literis, nunciis, negotiis, armis pateret exitus. Sed iſte (res mira!) vigiles pertranſiit ſine examine etiam cum literis credentiæ ad hoſtem, quæ ſi fuiſſent interceptæ à civibus, ſine mora ac ſine ulteriori judicio de vita fuiſſet actum, atque *apertum hoc Divinæ providentiæ argumentum.* Sed majus miraculum eſt illud, quod idem mox ſine omni exploratione tranſierit quoque hoſtium caſtra, varias militum excubias, ipſamque corporis Regis cuſtodiam, ac totum denique exercitum, qui fere erat conflatus ex Hæreticis, ipſe *Religioſus* exſiſtens, & in habitu ordinis ſui, qui ita erat exoſus talibus hominibus, ut in illis locis quæ paulo ante prope *Pariſius* vi ceperunt, Monachos quoſque vel occiderint vel peſſime tractaverint. *Judith* erat fœmina, minimeque odioſa; tamen examinata illa ſæpe, illa nihil

ming there and abandoning her own conntry, was eaſily diſcharged. As alſo for the ſame cauſes, and for her ſex and exquiſite beauty, being brought before that laſcivious and drunken Prince, might with eaſe perform what ſhe had determin'd. But this Religious man *had undertaken a matter of greater weight, and alſo perform'd it, though it was compaſſed with ſo many impediments, difficulties, and dangers, that by no humane means it could have been brought to paſs without the manifeſt ordinance and aid of Almighty God. For Letters of Commendation were to be procured from the contrary* (a) *Faction, then was he conſtrain'd to go through that gate of the City, which directly went to the enemies camp, which without doubt was ſo narrowly kept and watch'd in the extremity of that ſiege, that every triſle bred ſuſpicion, and none were ſuffer'd to go forth without curious ſearching touching their letters, buſineſs and affairs. But he (a wonderful thing!) went by the Watch unexamin'd, yea with letters of commendation to the enemy; which if they had been intercepted by the Citizens, without delay or further ſentence he had ſuffer'd death, and therefore* this is a manifeſt (b) argument of Gods Providence. *But yet behold a greater* (c) *miracle, that he without ſearching went through the enemies camp, by divers Watches and Centinels, yea and paſt the Kings Life-guard, and finally through the whole Army, compos'd almoſt of none but* (d) *Hereticks, he being a* Religious man, *and habited according to his Order, which was ſo odious unto them, that they* (e) *kill'd, or at leaſt grievouſly miſuſed, the Friars they found in the places not long before taken by force about* Paris. Judith *was a woman, and ſo nothing odious, yet often*

1589.

(a) *Here the Pope in his* Infallible Conſiſtorian Chair *calls the* Kings *Party a* Faction, *as if the* Covenanters *were in the right.*

(b) *A good argument, that the chief of the* League *knew his deſign, and ſo order'd his departure.*

(c) *No ſuch wonder, for he was preſently taken by the* Kings Guards, *and ſhew'd them the Superſcription of the Letters he had to the King, ſo they carried him to* Sieur de la Gueſle, *the* Kings Attorney General *and Auditor of the Camp, who kept him all night, and next morning had him to the King.*

(d) *Another miſtake; for the King of* Navarre *and his* Huguenots *kept different Poſts and Quarters from thoſe under the* French *King.*

(e) *None more merciful than* Navarre, *though quarter and favour is ſeldom ſhewn in places ſtormed; nor had the ſe pratling Rebels reaſon to expect equal favour with the ſimple Laymen, by them miſled and ſeduced.*

1589 ſecum tulit unde ſibi oriretur periculum: iſte *Monachus*, & propterea odioſus ac ſuſpectiſſimus, etiam cum cultello ad hoc propoſitum præparato, non in vagina condito (unde poterat eſſe probabilis excuſatio) ſed nudo, ac in manica abſcondito, quem ſi inveniſſent, mox fuiſſet in crucem actus. Iſta omnia clariora ſunt particularis providentiæ divinæ argumenta, quam ut negari queat: nec aliter fieri potuit, quam ut à Deo occœcarentur oculi inimicorum ne agnoſcerent illum.

Nam (ut antea diximus) licet quidam iſta abſurde tribuunt fortunæ aut caſui, tamen nos hoc totum non alio referendum cenſemus, quam in Divinam voluntatem. Nec profecto aliter factum crederem, niſi captivarem intellectum in obſequium *Chriſti*, qui hoc modo admirabili & liberare civitatem *Pariſienſem* (quam variis viis intelleximus fuiſſe in ſummo diſcrimine, maximiſque anguſtiis conſtitutam) & iſtius Regis graviſſima peccata punire, eumque tam infauſta & infami morte e medio tollere ſtatuit.

Atque nos (dolentes ſane) aliquoties prædiximus fore, ut quemadmodum erat familiæ ſuæ ultimus, ita aliquem inſuetum & dedecoroſum vitæ exitum eſſet habiturus. Quod me dixiſſe non ſolum Cardinalis *Joioſa*, *Lenocortius*, & *Pariſienſis*, ſed etiam qui tunc apud nos reſidebat Orator, teſtes eſſe poſſunt. Neque enim hic mortuos, ſed viventes in teſtimonium hujuſmodi verborum noſtrorum adhibemus, quorum iſti omnes probe meminiſſe poſſunt. Quicquid tamen in hunc infelicem Regem hoc tempore dicere cogimur, nullo modo volumus ut pertineat ad nobiliſſimum illud *Galliæ* Regnum, quod nos in poſterum, ſicut hactenus, ſemper omni paterno amore ac honore proſequemur.

(a) *Card.* Gondi *Biſhop of* Paris.

(b) *Marqueſs* de Pilani.

examin'd, though ſhe carried nothing about her that might have endangered her. But this was a Friar, *and therefore hated and moſt ſuſpected, having alſo a Knife prepared for that purpoſe, not put up in a ſheath (which might have affoarded him a probable excuſe) but it was bare, and hidden in his Monkiſh ſleeve; which if it had been found about him, he had preſently ſuffer'd death. All theſe are ſuch clear arguments of the particular providence of God, that they cannot be denied: and it could not be otherwiſe, but that God blinded the eyes of his enemies, ſo that they could not ſee or know him.*

For (as we ſaid before) although ſome abſurdly aſcribe this to fortune or chance, yet we think fit to refer all this to nothing elſe then the will and ordinance of God. And truly I could not believe this to have been done otherwiſe, unleſs I ſhould captivate and ſubmit my underſtanding under the obedience of Chriſt, *who had determined by theſe miraculous means to deliver the city of* Paris, *(which as we have heard hath been in great danger and extremity) and juſtly puniſh the heinous ſins of that King, and take him away out of this world by ſuch an unhappy and infamous death.*

And truly we (not without grief) have often foretold, that as he was the laſt of his family, ſo he would make ſome ſtrange and ſhameful end of his life. Which that I have often ſaid, not onely the Cardinals Joyeuſe, Lenocurtius, *and he of* (a) Paris, *but alſo the* (b) *Embaſſadour at that time here reſident, can ſufficiently teſtifie. Nor do we here call thoſe who are dead to witneſs our words but the living, of whom ſome yet can very well remember them. However, what we have here been forced to ſpeak againſt this unfortunate King, we would in no wiſe that it ſhould reflect againſt that moſt noble Kingdom of* France, *which we ſhall cheriſh hereafter, as we have hitherto done with all fatherly love and eſteem.*

De

De perſona ergo Regis tantum iſta cum dolore diximus, cujus infauſtus fimi eximit quoque ipſum ab iis officiis, quæ ſolet hæc ſancta ſedes (quæ eſt pia mater omnium fidelium, & maxime Chriſtianorum Principum) Imperatoribus & Regibus poſt mortem exhibere: quæ pro iſto libenter quoque feciſſemus, niſi id fieri in hoc caſu ſacræ Scripturæ vetarent. *Eſt*, inquit *Joannes, peccatum ad mortem, non pro illo dico ut roget quis* —— Quod vel intelligi poteſt de peccato ipſo, ac ſi diceret pro illo peccato, vel pro remiſſione illius peccati nolo ut quiſquam roget, quoniam non eſt remiſſibile: vel quod in eundem ſenſum redit, pro illo homine qui peccat peccatum ad mortem, non dico ut roget quis. De quo genere etiam Salvator apud *Matth. Quod illi qui peccat in Spiritum Sanctum non remittetur, neque in hoc ſeculo neque in futuro.* Ubi facit tria genera peccatorum, nimirum in Patrem, in Filium, & in Spiritum Sanctum; atque priora duo eſſe minus gravia & remiſſibilia, tertium vero irremiſſibile: quæ tota differentia (ſicut ex Scripturis cholæ tradunt) oritur ex diſtinctione attributorum, quæ ſingula ſingulis perſonis Sanctiſſimæ Trinitatis appropriantur. Licet enim, ſicut eadem eſt eſſentia, ſic eadem quoque eſt potentia, ſapientia, & bonitas omnium perſonarum (ſicut ex Symbolo S. *Athanaſii* didicimus, cum ait —*Omnipotens Pater, Omnipotens Filius, Omnipotens Spiritus Sanctus*) tamen per attributionem Patri applicatur potentia, Filio ſapientia, Spiritui Sancto amor: quorum ſingula eo modo quo attributa dicuntur, ita ſunt propria cujuſque perſonæ, ut in aliam referri non queant. Ex quorum attributorum contrariis, & diſtinctionem & gravitatem peccatorum dignoſcimus. Contrarium potentiæ, quæ attribuitur Patri, eſt infirmitas, ut proinde id quod ex infirmitate ſeu naturæ noſtræ imbecillitate committimus, dicatur committi

This therefore which with grief we have now ſpoken concerneth onely the Kings perſon, whoſe unhappy end depriveth him of thoſe Duties which this Holy See (the tender mother of all the faithful, but chiefly of Chriſtian Princes) is wont to affoard unto all Kings and Emperours: which we moſt willingly would likewiſe have beſtowed upon him, if the Holy Scriptures in this caſe had not altogether forbidden it. There is, *ſaith S.* John, a ſin unto death, I ſay not that any ſhould pray for it— *Which may be underſtood either of the ſin it ſelf, as if he ſhould ſay, for that ſin or for the forgiveneſs thereof I will that none ſhould pray, becauſe it is not pardonable: or elſe in the ſame ſenſe, for that man who committeth ſuch a ſin unto death, I ſay not that any ſhould pray for. Of which our Saviour himſelf hath ſpoken in S.* Matthew, *ſaying that* He that ſinneth againſt the Holy Ghoſt ſhall not be pardoned, neither in this world, nor in the world to come. *Where he ſetteth down three ſorts of ſins,* viz. *againſt the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt; and that the two firſt are leſs heinous and pardonable, but the third unpardonable. All which difference proceedeth from the diſtinction of the attributes, as the Divines teach, which ſeverally are appropriated unto every ſeveral perſon of the Holy Trinity. And although as the eſſence of all the three perſons is but one, ſo alſo is their power, wiſdom, and goodneſs, (as we have learned by* Athanaſius *his Creed, where he ſaith* —The Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy Ghoſt Almighty) *yet by attribution power is aſcribed unto the Father, wiſdom unto the Son, and love unto the Holy Ghoſt: whereof every ſeveral as they are termed Attributes, ſo are they proper unto every ſeveral perſon that they cannot be referred to another. By the contraries of which attributes we can diſcern the diſtinction and greatneſs of ſin. As the contrary to power, which is onely attributed unto the Father, is weakneſs; and therefore that which we do amiſs through infir-*

1589

An infallible and charitable Doctrine and Expoſition of his Holineſs.

But if the King was ſo damnable, what was the Friar that murther'd him, and the rebellious Covenanters, whoſe Faction and Treaſonable actions the Pope favours?

1589 in Patrem. Oppoſitum ſapientiæ eſt ignorantia, ex qua cum quis peccat, dicitur peccare in Filium, ita ut ea quæ vel ex humana infirmitate vel ignorantia peccamus, facilius nobis condonari ſoleant. Tertium autem attributum quod eſt Spiritus Sanctus, nempe amor, habet pro contrario ingratitudinem, vitium maxime odibile. Unde venit, ut homo non agnoſcat Dei erga ipſum dilectionem aut beneficia, ſed obliviſcatur, contemnat, ac odio etiam habeat. Ex quo tandem fit, ut obſtinatus reddatur atque impœnitens. Atque his modis multo gravius & periculoſius peccatur in Deum, quam ex ignorantia aut imbecillitate: proinde hujuſmodi vocantur peccata in Spiritum Sanctum; & quia rarius ac difficilius, & non niſi abundantiori gratia condonantur, dicuntur irremiſſibilia quodammodo, cum tamen ſola impœnitentia ſit omnino & ſimpliciter irremiſſibilis. Quicquid enim in vita committitur, licet contra Spiritum Sanctum, poteſt per pœnitentiam deleri ante mortem: ſed quis perſeverat uſque ad mortem, nullum locum relinquit gratiæ ac miſericordiæ. Atque pro tali peccato, ſeu pro homine ſic peccante, noluit Apoſtolus ut poſt mortem oraremus.

Jam ergo quia magno noſtro dolore intelligimus, prædictum Regem ex hac vita ſine pœnitentia, ſeu impœnitentem exceſſiſſe, nimirum in conſortio Hæreticorum, ex talibus enim hominibus confecerat exercitum ſuum, & quod commendaverat moriens Regnum in ſucceſſione *Navarræ*, declarato Hæretico & excommunicato; necnon in extremis, ac in ultimo fere vitæ ſpiritu, ab eodem & ſimilibus circumſtantibus petierit, ut vindictam ſumerent ab iis, quos ipſe judicabat fuiſſe cauſas mortis ſuæ. Præter hæc & ſimilia manifeſta impœnitentiæ

mity of nature is ſaid to be committed againſt the Father. The oppoſite to wiſdom is ignorance, through which if any man ſinneth he is ſaid to ſin againſt the Son; therefore that which we commit through natural infirmity or ignorance, is more eaſily forgiven us. The third attribute, which is the Holy Ghoſts, is love, and hath for its contrary ingratitude, a fault moſt odious; for hence it happens, that men do not acknowledge the love and benefits of God, but do forget, deſpiſe, and hate them; whence it followeth that they become altogether obſtinate and impenitent. And this way ſin is committed againſt God with greater danger and peril, then if it were done through ignorance or weakneſs of the fleſh, and therefore it is termed a ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt. And becauſe ſuch ſins are ſeldom or difficultly pardoned, and that not without a great abundance of grace, and ſo in ſome ſort are ſaid to be unpardonable, whereas indeed they become ſimply unpardonable only through unrepentance. For whatſoever is done amiſs in this life, although it be againſt the Holy Ghoſt, yet by repentance may be forgiven before death: but they that perſevere therein till death are excluded from all grace and mercy. And therefore for ſuch ſins and ſinners, it is that the Apoſtle hath forbidden to pray after their deceaſe.

Now therefore becauſe we underſtand, not without our great grief, that the aforeſaid King is departed out of this world without repentance and impenitent, to wit, in company of Hereticks, his (a) *army conſiſting of ſuch men, and that by his laſt will he had commended the Kingdom and Crown to the ſucceſſion of* (b) Navarre, *a declar'd Heretick and excommunicated; as alſo when dying and ready to yield up his Ghoſt, he deſir'd of him and ſuch like ſtanding by him, that they would* (c) *revenge his death upon thoſe whom he judged to be the cauſe thereof. For theſe and ſuch like moſt mani-*

(a) *Suppoſe it did, would any wiſe man loſe his Kingdom, rather then borrow another man's ſword, who agrees not with him in every circumſtance in Religion?*

(b) *And good reaſon, being the lawful next Heir.*

(c) *That this is falſe read* Davila *l.* 10. *p.* 818. Spond. *anno* 1589. ⁂ 15.

nitentiæ

nitentiæ indicia, decrevimus pro ipſo non eſſe celebrandas exequias.

Non quod præſumamus quidquam ex hoc de occultis erga ipſum Dei judiciis aut miſericordiis, qui poterat ſecundum beneplacitum ſuum in ipſo exitu animæ ſuæ convertere cor ejus, & miſericorditer cum illo agere; ſed iſta loquuti ſumus ſecundum ea quæ nobis exterius patent.

Faxit benigniſſimus Salvator noſter, ut reliqui hoc horrendo juſtitiæ ſupernæ exemplo admoniti, in viam ſalutis redeant: & quod miſericorditer hoc modo cœpit, benigne proſequatur ac perficiat, ſicut eum facturum ſperamus, ut de erepta Eccleſia de tantis malis & periculis, perennes illi gratias agamus.

feſt tokens of unrepentance, we have decreed that his death be not ſolemnized with Funerals. 1589

Not that by theſe we would ſeem to determine any thing concerning the ſecret judgments of God againſt him, or of his mercies; who could according unto his good pleaſure at the point of his expiring convert and turn his heart, and deal mercifully with him: but this we have ſpoken, moved by theſe external ſigns and tokens.

God grant therefore that the reſt being admoniſhed by this fearful example of Heavenly judgment, may repent and amend: and that it may further pleaſe him to continue and accompliſh that which he hath ſo mercifully begun, as we put our truſt he will, to the end we may give everlaſting thanks to him, for delivering his Church from ſuch great and imminent dangers.

Thus with his bleſſing he brake up the Conſiſtory; and by this may appear with what * *great demonſtrations of joy* he received the news of the Kings murder. * Davila, p. 868.

But here it may be we may meet with a blunt and bold *Objector*, who poſſibly may affirm, that there was never any ſuch Speech made by the Pope.

To anſwer this we ſhall take *Bellarmine* for our Adverſary.

Firſt, then the * *Cardinal* doth not poſitively deny there was any ſuch Speech, and if he had known there had been no ſuch thing, he would at this time (being pleaded againſt him by King *James*) have boldly denied it, and he could not be ignorant, being then famous and *Prælector of Controverſies* at *Rome*, intimate with the Pope and Cardinals, and ſo not willing to be catch'd in a lie, he endeavours to ſhuffle it off as well as he can. * *Under the name of* Mat. Torrtus. *Reſpon. ad Ap l. Angl. p. 70.*

One time he ſaith, it was onely publiſhed by the enemies to the *Roman* Church. But to this we anſwer, that it was firſt publiſhed by the *Romaniſts* themſelves, preſently after it was ſpoke and * printed at *Paris* 1589. by *Nicolas Nivelle* and *Rollin Tierry*, by Authority of the *Holy Union*, and the approbation of theſe three *Sorbonne* Doctors, *Boucher*, *Decreil*, and *Aneeline*. * Antiſixtus *in anſwer to this Speech was printed at* London, 1590.

Then again the Cardinal argueth, that the Pope himſelf did neither publiſh the Speech, nor command it to be publiſhed. This we may grant, and yet never the worſe, this being no argument to prove he never ſpoke it.

Bellarmine proceeds, intimating no ſuch Speech could be divulged ſeeing none took notes of it as it was ſpoke.

To this may be anſwer'd, that it is true that the Cardinal, whoſe office it was to have noted the Popes Oration, not dreaming of ſuch a deſign, neglected the providing of Pen or Ink; but yet how it was taken this following ſtory will tell.

The

1589 The Oration and Conſiſtory being ended, and the Pope departed towards his Chamber, certain Cardinals with a greedy deſire flocked about Cardinal *Allan* (an *Engliſhman*, created 1587) there in the Chamber, intreating him that he would call to remembrance, and write down what he had heard there ſpoken. *Allan* won by their importunity (they being his friends) promiſed to do his beſt. The ſame Afternoon he began to write the Speech as near as he could remember. Which done, he commanded Mr. *Warmington* one of his Chaplains, and two other his Gentlemen, to write out Copies thereof, which he afterwards preſented to the Cardinals his friends, for which they thank'd him, and upon peruſal affirm'd it to be the very Oration which *Sixtus* had utter'd in the Conſiſtory. And (as his Chaplain confeſſeth) it is ſaid, the Pope liked his doing therein, acknowledging it to be really his Speech. And all this the ſaid * Mr. *William Warmington*, Chaplain to Cardinal *Allan*, and an honeſt and loyal *Roman* Prieſt, doth publickly confeſs and teſtifie. And ſo we need trouble our ſelves no more about it, ſince *Bellarmine* at laſt doth in a manuer acknowledge it, and falls a vindicating of it.

* *A Moderate Defence*, p. 148.

Amongſt the reſt, who in theſe troubles ſet themſelves to ſcribble down obedience, was an *Engliſhman*, viz. *William Reynolds*, then in the *Low Countries* under the *Spaniſh* Dominion, what he writ on this ſubject was by the deſire of ſome of the chief *French* Covenanters, and under the falſe name of * *Guillielmus Roſſeus*, Mr. *Warmington* ſent a Copy of the Popes ſpeech from *Rome* to him, for which *Reynolds* returned him many thanks, glad that he had ſo got the approbation of the *Roman* Biſhop to vindicate his Arguments of a Conditional ſubjection; of whom (I hope by the way) will not be taken amiſs this following ſtory as we find it.

* His book was call'd —De juſta Chriſtianæ Reipub. in Reges impios & Hæreticos autoritate.

This Mr. *William Reynolds* was at firſt a Proteſtant according to the Church of *England*, and of *New College* in *Oxford*, and Brother to him was *John Reynolds* (him of *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Oxford*, famous for his great Reading) who was bred up in Popery beyond Sea. *William* (as the ſtory goeth) with an intent to reclame his brother *John* makes a journey to him beyond Sea, where in a Conference it ſo fell out, that *John* (as they ſay) being overcome by his Brothers Arguments returns into *England*, and (as people uſe to love and run into extremes) was a little tending to Puritaniſm, as his ſiding in *Hampton Court* Conference may ſomewhat teſtifie, yet he died a true Church of *England* man, every way conformable to the Canons, nor was he ever but peaceable and moderate, loving obedience and his ſtudies more then frantick zele and innovations, according to the giddy fury of our hot-headed Puritans. On the other ſide his brother *William* (as they ſay) being convinced by the reaſons of his brother *John*, ſtaid beyond Sea, where he proved a violent and virulent Papiſt, by his writings declaring that Proteſtants were no better then Turks, nay that they were worſe then Pagans.

Of this ſtrange change Dr. *William Alabaſter*, an excellent Poet, and one who had made trials alſo of both Religions, made this following Epigram.

Bella inter geminos pluſquam civilia fratres
Traxerat ambiguus Religionis apex:
Ille Reformatæ *fidei pro partibus inſtat,*
Iſte reformandum *denegat eſſe fidem.*

Pro-

Propoſitis cauſæ rationibus, alterutrinque 1589
Concurrere pares & cecidere pares.
Quod fuit in votis, fratrem capit alteruterque;
Quod fuit in fatis, perdit uterque fidem.
Captivi gemini ſine captivante fuerant,
Et victor victi transfuga caſtra petit.
Quod genus hoc pugni eſt, ubi victus gaudet uterque,
Et tamen alteruter ſe ſuperaſſe dolet.

Which is thus rendered by the Ingenious Doctor *Peter Heylyn*: *Coſmogr. l.1.p.267.*

In points of Faith ſome undetermin'd jars
Betwixt two brothers kindled civil wars:
One for the Churches *Reformation* ſtood,
The other thought no *Reformation* good.
The points propos'd they traverſed the field
With equal skill, and both together yield.
As they deſir'd, his brother each ſubdues;
Yet ſuch their fate, that each his Faith doth loſe.
Both Captives, none the priſoners thence to guide;
The Victor flying to the vanquiſh'd ſide.
Both joy'd in being conquer'd (ſtrange to ſay)
And yet both mourn'd becauſe both won the day.

I have been the longer upon this *William Reynolds*, becauſe he was a great ſtickler in the *French* Covenant, after the murther of the King, coming from the *Netherlands* to *Paris*, where he vindicated their actions by finiſhing his former book, and dedicating it to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and it was ſometimes after printed at *Antwerp*, with great applauſe of the *Roman* Party.

CHAP.

1589

CHAP. VII.

Cardinal Bourbon *declared King by the Leaguers.* Paris *beſieged, and its Famine relieved by the Duke of* Parma.

HENRY III. a little before his death declared *Henry* of *Navarre* to be next Heir to the Crown of *France*, deſir'd all the Nobility ſo to acknowledge him, and adviſed him himſelf to turn a *Romaniſt*, as being the onely way both to gain and continue without danger in the Throne. And ſome will tell us of ſome prophetick obſervations in behalf of the Family of *Bourbon*.

Andre du Cheſne *les Antiquitez de* France, *p.*109, 632.

As how *Louis de Bourbon*, the third Duke of that Line, (who died 1410) building his houſe call'd *Hoſtel de Bourbon* near to the *Louvre*, cauſed to be written over the Portal in Capital Letters this word *ESPERANCE*, viz. *Hope*; as if he expected ſome of his Race would aſcend the Throne, and joyn the two Houſes. And 'tis further obſerved, that in the fine Chapel of *Bourbon l'Archambaut de Lys*, that the ſame day that the former *Henry* was ſtabb'd, a clap of thunder whiſketh away a Bar, which croſs'd and touch'd the ſaid window, without any damage or harm to the Glaſs or Painting.

But leaving theſe gueſſes as nothing to our purpoſe, we ſhall find our *Henry* IV. (no more call'd *Navarre*, but King) in great perplexities how to behave himſelf at this miſhap. For though the *Huguenots* freely acknowledged him as King of *France*, yet he was not to truſt too much to them, leſt he ſhould offend the *Romaniſts*, ſome of whom ſhewed alſo a willingneſs to allow him for their King without any conditions, but the greater part abſolutely denied it, unleſs he would aſſure them to maintain the *Roman* Religion, and give hopes of his own Converſion; whileſt others of them abſolutely renounced him, and preſently ran over to the *Leaguers*: By which jealouſies and Factions this conquering great Army was on a ſudden ſo dwindled away, that the King was neceſſitated to raiſe the ſiege, and retire for his own ſecurity.

On the other ſide the Covenanters rejoyce and daily increaſe, many of them perſuade the Duke of *Mayenne* to take upon him the Title of *King*; but this for the preſent he waveth, as thinking his own Intereſt as yet not ſtrong enough, and ſo with a general conſent of the *Leaguers* old Cardinal *Bourbon* (then in priſon at *Chinon*) is declared in their *Paris* Parlement, and publickly proclam'd in the ſtreets of *Paris* King of *France*, under the names of *CHARLES the TENTH*, coyning their moneys with the Effigies, Name, and Title of *King*, yet is not to this day held or reckon'd amongſt their Kings.

And the better to make all cock-ſure the Duke of *Mayenne* ſendeth forth an Edict or Declaration, wherein

He deſires all to ſtick cloſe to the Holy Union *for the preſervation of Religion and the Crown. And ſeeing it hath pleaſed God of his mere goodneſs, ſingular providence and juſtice, to deliver us from him who had joyn'd himſelf with the Hereticks, contrary to the holy admonitions of the Pope: Therefore waiting for the liberty and preſence*

ſence of our King and Soveraign Lord, we deſire and command all good people to joyn themſelves with us, and to ſwear to die in the Roman *Religion.* 1590

Paris, 5 *Aug.* 1589. *SENAULT.*

And the Parlement of *Tholouſe* is as brisk as any; for no ſooner had they news of the Kings murther, which was committed on the firſt of *Auguſt*, but they put forth a Decree, wherein

They command all to unite in defence of the Roman *Religion.*
That all Biſhops within their Churches give thanks to God for the deliverance of Paris *and other places.*
Ordain that the firſt day of Auguſt *ſhall for the future be every year celebrated with Proceſſions and publick prayers, in acknowledgment of the great benefits they received that day.*
Forbid any to accept or allow of Henry de Bourbon *for their King, or to aſſiſt him.*

Tholouſe, 2 *Aug.* 1589. *du TORNOER.*

Nor is it the *French* onely, but other buſie people will not by any means allow this *Henry* to be King. Amongſt the reſt I find our Father *Perſons* or *Creſwell* (if not both) layeth it as a grand fault upon Queen *Elizabeth* for acknowledging him to be King, of whom they are ſo confident as to affirm, that 'tis not poſſible for him to be truly King of *France* by any Law either Divine or Humane.

—Fit manifeſtiſsimum, nullo jure neque Divino neque Humanno, Regis *Galliæ* nomen aut dignitatem *Navarræ* poſſe competere. *Reſponſio ad Edictum Reginæ Angliæ ſeū.* 2. p. 148, 153. p. 184, 190.

But to return to *France*, where the war is carried on vigorouſly, but to the loſs of the *Covenanters*, to whoſe aid Pope *Sixtus* ſends Cardinal *Cajetano* as Legat into *France*, and with him amongſt other Scholars came *Bellarmine*; but what was moſt powerful, they brought with them Bills of Exchange for large ſummes of money, to be diſpoſed of as the Legat thought beſt for the advantage of the Cauſe.

King *Henry* IV. being inform'd of the Legats coming, cauſed to be publiſh'd, that if he came towards him, that then he ſhould be received with all honour aad ſafety; but if he went towards his enemies the *Covenanters*, then none ſhould acknowledge him for a Legat, or receive him under pain of Rebellion. But *Cajetan* after many turnings and windings at laſt arriveth at *Paris*, where he is received in great pomp, lodged in the Biſhops Palace, richly furniſhed with the Kings goods taken out of the *Louvre*. 1590

In the mean time the Kings Parlement met at *Tours*, declareth againſt the Legat: on the contrary, the *Paris* Parlement or *Rump* with the *Sorbone* Doctors ſtand for him, order all to acknowledge to him; and that he being then the ſupreme Spiritual Authority in the Kingdom, no power there could meet and act in oppoſition to him. For the Legat did not a little fear that the *Royalliſts* (conſidering how much the Pope favoured the Rebels) would chuſe a * *Patriarch* for that Nation, which would have ſpoil'd his Holinoſs markets. And now concerning this Legat the Pens on both ſides are more buſie then the Swords.

* Jac. Fullgott *vit. Card.* Bellarmini, l. 2 c. 9.

1590 Amongſt the reſt who expected to gain by theſe Troubles was the King of *Spain*, who alſo had aſſiſted the *Leaguers*, and for their further encouragement ſets forth a Deelaration, the ſumme of it being:

Philip *by the grace of God King of* Caſtile, Leon, Arragon, *&c.*
Is ſorry for the Troubles and Hereſies in France.
Therefore commands all Chriſtian Catholick Princes to joyn with him to extirpate Hereſie, and deliver the moſt Chriſtian King of France Charles X. *that* (France *being once cleared of Hereſie*) *they may proceed to purge other Heretical Countries, all which being exterminated, they may recover the* Holy Land *from the* Turks.
Proteſteth that he deſigns nothing but the exaltation of the Roman *Church, the repoſe of all good Catholicks under their lawful Princes, the extirpation of all Hereſies, the peace and concord of Chriſtian Princes; to obtain which he is willing not onely to imploy his means but his life alſo.*

Madrid, 8 *March* 1590. Juan de Vaſquez.

A little before this ſome of the *Royalliſts* ſpread abroad ſuch like Propoſitions as theſe following:

That Henry of Bourbon *might or ought to be King.*
That with a ſafe conſcience the people might aſſiſt him and pay Tribute.
That an Heretick, though relaps'd and put out of the communion of the Church, may have right to the Crown of France.
That the Pope of Rome *hath not right to excommunicate Kings.*
That now it is not only lawful but neceſſary to make a Treaty or League with the Bearnois *and his Hereticks.*

Which Propoſitions were preſently condemn'd by the *Sorbone* Doctors, the *Decree* of theirs was confirm'd by the Cardinal Legat, and ſubſcrib'd and ſworn to by the Biſhops and Curats.

10 *Feb.* Spond. *an.* 1590. § 3.

Yet their courage was ſomewhat cool'd by the Kings ſucceſs, nor was the *League* proſecuted with that eagerneſs as was expected, by reaſon that the Duke of *Mayenne* and the *Spaniards* miſtruſted one another, beſides the great jealouſies amongſt the Covenantiug Chieftains themſelves, every man ſeeking his own Intereſt, all expecting to make themſelves great, and ſeveral deſigned the Crown for himſelf. Adde to theſe the unwieldineſs of *Mayenne* their General, being very fat, heavy and ſlow in all his actions, and one that ſpent much time in eating and ſleeping. And the truth is, the moſt vigorous and earneſt promoters of the *League* were the Prieſts and Women, the firſt acting as well by the Sword as their Seditious Preachments, the later encouraging and gaining by their boldneſs and inſinuations; nay, ſo zealous were they in this Cauſe, that from the higheſt to the loweſt they were not aſham'd to act any thing to gain Proſelytes; ſo that the King ſuppos'd, that what his Armies wan in the Field they loſt by theſe Love-tricks, ſeveral of his Officers being now and then wheedled over to the *League*, when they came under the lieur of ſuch attractive baits at *Paris*.

Yet

Yet the *Leaguers* were quite creſt-fallen after the King had totally routed *Mayenne* and his great Army at the battel of * *Yory* (of which *Du Bartas* hath a long Poem.) But as a little before, when *Henry* conquered the ſame Duke at * *Arques*, the better to keep up the hearts of the people and *Pariſians*, the Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier* had the confidence to publiſh abroad that the *Covenanters* were Conquerorrs, that *Navarre* himſelf was taken and conducting to *Paris*, which was ſo far believed, that many Ladies hired Windows in S. *Denis* ſtreet to ſee him paſs by: but they were convinced of the error when a little after they ſaw the ſaid King take their very * Suburbs of *Paris*. 1590 * 14 *March*, 2590. * *Septemb.* 1589. * 1 *Novemb.* 1589.

So after the aforeſaid battel of *Yory* the Leaguing Chieftains fearing leſt the *Pariſians* would mutiny at the ſad news of it, gave out many lies concerning it, and at laſt perceiving all could not conceal the ſtory, to make the beſt of a bad market the Legat, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour, and the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, got the Prieſts to uſe their cunning in the Pulpits to deceive the people, who as yet were not certain of the Defeat.

Amongſt the reſt Father *Chriſtino de Nizza* from theſe words —*Thoſe whom I love I rebuke and chaſten*— ſeem'd to foretell them, that God would prove the Faith and Conſtancy of the *Pariſians*, as he was wont to try the courage of his children, for which he clapt together a great ſtore of Examples out of Scripture; and then making a ſhew as if Letters were juſt then delivered to him, he ſhewed them to the people, ſaying that he was very ſorry that he had done the office of a Prophet, and that God had been pleaſed by his mouth to advertiſe the People of *Paris* of that Temptation which was to fall upon them, as now it troubled him to relate it; and ſo told them that the Catholick Army had lately come off with the worſt. To all which he added ſuch effectual prayers and exhortations, that the people ſeem'd rathor heartned then diſcouraged. The ſame trick was uſed by *Guilliaume Roſe* (Biſhop of *Senlis*) *Jean Boucher*, *Prevoſt*, *Feu-ardent*, *Peletier*, with the other Preachers: amongſt the reſt was *Franciſco Panigarola* Biſhop of *Aſti*, who came along with the Legat, who (though he preach'd in the *Italian* Tongue) was continually follow'd by abundance of people, being famous for his great eloquence. And to theſe ſtories may be added the former zelous Widow *Montpenſier*, who ſaid, *that truly the Duke had loſt the battel, but that the* Bearnois *was dead*; which by many was believed for ſome days, which ſatisfied to reſtrain their firſt fears, and ſo to gain ſome time to give orders, and to ſend to raiſe new ſuccours.

The Parlement at *Rouen* proceed deſperately, putting to death ſome priſoners they had, becauſe they were Servants to the King, and then make an Act that all ſhould be guilty of High Treaſon who joyned with the King of *Navarre*, and did not ſide with their King *Charles* X. as they termed him. 10 *April.*

However King *Henry* goeth on proſperouſly, and with his Victorious Army layeth cloſe ſiege to *Paris* it ſelf, which ſo cool'd the fury of thoſe people, that many of them began to ſtagger in their reſolutions to prevent which the chief of the Citizens and Leaguers drew up theſe three following *Quares*.

I.

If it ſhould happen (which God forbid) that the moſt Chriſtian King Charles X. *ſhould die; or, if whileſt he is unjuſtly kept in priſon, he ſhould yield up his right of the Kingdom to* Henry de Bourbon:

1590 *Whether then the* French *be bound to or may with a ſafe conſcience receive for their King the ſaid* Henry, *or any other Prince who favours Hereſie; although it were ſuppoſed that he were abſolved from his crimes and cenſures, conſidering the evident danger of his falſhood, of the deſtruction of Religion and the Kingdom?*

II.

Whether he may be ſaid to be ſuſpected of Hereſie, or a Favourer of it, who procureth or permitteth a peace to be made with the ſaid Henry, *when the ſaid Party may hinder it?*

III.

Whether theſe things be of Divine Right, and may be neglected by Catholicks without mortal ſin and pain of damnation? And on the contrary, Whether it be meritorious to oppoſe with all ones endeavours the ſaid Henry? *And if the ſaid Oppoſer be kill'd in this cauſe, Whether he may not be call'd a Martyr?*

With theſe Propoſals they wait upon their *Aſſembly of Divines* at the *Sorbone*, deſiring their Reſolutions and Determinations of them, which take in their own words as followeth:

7 *May.* Anno Domini Milleſimo quingenteſimo nonageſimo ineunte menſe *Majo, &c.*

Super quarum dubitationum determinatione *Sacra Facultas* per juramentum convocata, ſæpiuſque cum publice in Collegio *Sorbonæ* poſt Miſſam de Spiritu Sancto, tum privatim vocato ſelectorum Magiſtrorum cœtu congregata, matura deliberatione præhabita, cunctiſque capitibus ſerio ſigillatim ac diligenter, quoad fieri potuit, examinatis & diſcuſſis, in hunc tandem modum cenſuit.

Jure Divino prohibentur Catholici Hæreticum hominem, aut fautorem Hæreſios & hoſtem Eccleſiæ notorium, multoque magis relapſum, & à ſancta ſede nominatim excommunicatum, ad Regnum admittere.

Quod ſi ejuſmodi quiſpiam abſolutionem à criminibus & cenſuris in foro exteriore impetraverit, & tamen ſubſit manifeſtum ſimulationis & perfidiæ, & everſionis Religionis Catholicæ periculum, is nihilominus eodem jure excludi debet.

In the year of our Lord God One thouſand five hundred and ninety in May, &c.

Upon the determination of which doubts the Sacred Faculty *being called together by oath, and many times aſſembled, as well in publick congregation at the College of* Sorbone, *having celebrated the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, as alſo privately at the meeting of the Delegates, mature deliberation being had, all the particulars being carefully, truly, and ſeverally examin'd (as much as could be) at laſt have declar'd their judgments in manner following.*

All Catholicks by Divine Law are forbid to admit any into the Throne that is an Heretick, or a favourer of Hereſie, and a known enemy to the Church, much more one that is relapſed, and by name excommunicated by the Pope.

If it ſhould chance that any guilty as aforeſaid, ſhould procure a ſentence of Abſolution from theſe crimes and cenſures, yet if there be evident danger of his hypocriſie, perfidiouſneſs, and the ruine of the Catholick Religion, he then for all his ſaid Abſolution is (by the ſaid Divine Law) to be excluded from the Kingdom. Qui-

Quicunque autem ſatagat ut is ad Regnum perveneat, aut ei ſtudet ac favet, aut etiam ad Regnum promoveri permittit cum impedire poſſit, & ex officio debeat, ſacris Canonibus eſt injurius, de Hæreſi merito ſuſpectus, & Religioni atque Eccleſiæ pernicioſus, contra quem eo nomine agi poteſt & debet, cujuſcunque gradus & eminentiæ ſit.

Cum igitur *Henricus Borbonius* Hæreticus, fautor Hæreſios, hoſtes Eccleſiæ notorius, relapſus & nominatim excommunicatus ſit, & ſi forte abſolutionem in foro exteriore impetraret, manifeſtum appareat ſimulationis ac perfidiæ, & everſionis Religionis periculum, eum Chriſtianiſſimi Regni aditu, etiam abſolutione obtenta, & quovis alio legitimo Hærede mortuo vel cedente, *Franci* prohibere, & à pace cum eo facienda abhorrere tenentur, & qui ei favent, Canonibus injurii, de Hæreſi ſuſpecti, & Eccleſiæ pernicioſi, ac ut tales ſerio ſeduloque coercendi ac puniendi ſunt.

Ut autem qui dicto *Henrico* ad Regnum aſpiranti favere, ſuppetiaſve quovis modo ferunt, Religionis deſertores ſunt, & in continuo peccato mortali manent: ſic qui ſe illi quocunque poſſunt modo zelo Religionis opponunt, plurimum apud Deum & homines merentur: & ut illos, Satanæ regno ſtabiliendo pertinaces, æterna pœna damnandos: ſic hos, ſi ad ſanguiuem uſque reſiſtant, æternum in præmium & ut fidei propugnatores Martyrii palmam conſecuturos judicare par eſt.

Concluſum (nemine repugnante) in tertia congregatione generali ſuper ea re facta in majore Aula Collegii Sorbonæ, *omnibus & ſingulis magiſtris per juramentum vocatis, ſeptima die* Maii, MDXC.

Whoever alſo endeavours that he ſhould be King, or doth partake with or favour him, or doth ſuffer him to be ſet in the Throne, when he might prevent it, and was oblig'd ſo to do; he for ſo doing doth violate the holy Canons, is juſtly ſuſpected of Hereſie, and is miſchievous both to Religion and the Church, therefore he may and ought to be oppos'd, be he of whatſoever degree or quality. 1590

Therefore ſeeing Henry de Bourbon *is an Heretick, a favourer of Hereſie, a known enemy to the Church, is relapſed and by name excommunicated; and though he might obtain ſentence of Abſolution, yet there being evident danger of hypocriſie and perfidiouſneſs, with the ruine of Religion; and though he had Abſolution, or any other lawful heir dead, or yielding up his right, yet are the* French *obliged to keep him from the moſt Chriſtian Crown, and to abhor the thoughts of making peace with him; and thoſe who do favour him are violators of the Canons, may be ſuſpected of Hereſie, are enemies to the Church, and as ſuch ought to be earneſtly and carefully chaſtized and puniſhed.*

As therefore thoſe who favour the ſaid Henry *in his aſpiring to the Throne, and do any ways affoard him any help, are deſerters of Religion, and remain in a perpetual mortal ſin: ſo thoſe, who for their love to Religion do oppoſe him as much as in them lieth, do very much merit both of God and Men: And as on the one hand it muſt be ſuppos'd, that thoſe people ſo obſtinate in ſtrengthening the Kingdom of darkneſs will be eternally damn'd; ſo on the other, it is moſt mtet to conclude that theſe, who are ſlain in this cauſe againſt the ſaid* Henry, *as Champions of the Faith, ſhall obtain an everlaſting reward, and be crown'd with the Trophies of Martyrdom.*

And this is concluded on (not one gainſaying it) in the third general congregation held upon this buſineſs, in the great Hall of the College of *Sorbone*, all and every one of the Maſters being ſummon'd thither upon oath, 7 *May* 1590. In

1590

In the mean time *Mayenne* was very buſie in raiſing Forces, in conſulting with the Duke of *Parma*, then Governour in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, to get Supplies from him, the better to force the King to quit the ſiege: and the truth is, this affair did greatly perplex him; for if he loſt *Paris* the Cauſe was undone, and if he relieved it by the *Spaniſh* aſſiſtance (and without them he could not do it) his own Intereſt might be loſt. For the *Sixteen* wiſh'd him not well, becauſe he had broken up their Council of *Forty*, (which contrary to his expectation bridled his Authority) and they thinking to introduce a *Commonwealth* Government, he had croſt that by creating another Council, a Keeper of the Seals, and four Secretaries of State, with which he governed affairs, without calling them, except when he had need of money. And thus having diſpleas'd the *Sixteen*, he fear'd they would engage *Paris* under the *Spaniſh* Yoak, if they ſaw *Spaniards* enough to deal with all: But of two evils the leaſt is to be choſen; and ſo he reſolveth to reinforce his Army with *Spaniſh* Supplies.

In his abſence he appoints his Brother the Duke of *Nemours* (a courageous young man) to command the City, and aſſign'd him a * Council: care is taken to fortifie all ſuſpected Avenues, and the people are Sermon'd up to ſuch an height of madneſs, that a great ſcarcity of proviſions being in the City, ſome for letting ſlip but ſome words, as if peace were better then to be ſtarv'd with hunger, were by the fury of the Zelots either executed in publick, or caſt headlong into the River as damn'd perſons, enemies to the Catholick Faith, and infected with the poiſon of Hereſie.

* *Their names in* d'Aubigne *to.* 3. *l.* 3. *c.* 7.

Whil'ſt the *Pariſians* were thus eager for the Cauſe, their Kingling *Charles* X. or Cardinal *Bourbon* dieth in priſon at *Fontenay*, being 66 years old, much troubled with the Stone, and greatly addicted to old Wives Propheſies, which pleas'd him the more becauſe now and then he was told ſome which denoted his Kingſhip. His death troubled ſome of the Leaguers, having now no King, and ſo one of their grand pretences vaniſhed; yet they continue reſolute; *Mayenne* keepeth to himſelf the Title of *Lieutenant General of the State and Crown of France*, and the States General are ordered to meet for the Election of a new King; the *Sorbone* renew their Decrees againſt the King as an Heretick, and ſo not capable of the Crown.

9 *May*, 1590.

And the better to keep the people up in their humours, by order of the Legat a Proceſſion is made of the Clergy to implore Gods aſſiſtance: at the Head of theſe went *Roze* Biſhop of *Senlis*, with a Croſs in his left hand and an Halbert in his right; then followed the Monks and Friars according to their ſeveral Orders, *Capuchins*, *Minims*, *Franciſcans*, *Dominicans*, *Fuillans*, *Carmelites*, *&c.* In the *Proceſſion* the Prelates, Prieſts and Monks walked in their ſeveral accuſtomed Habits, but over them armed openly with Head-pieces, Croſlets, Coats of Mail, &c. all of them with Swords girt to their ſides, and in their hands carrying ſome ſort of Arms or other; ſome with Guns, ſome with Spears, others with Halberts. Thus marched they along ſinging Hymns, ſhooting off their Guns, with which one was ſlain by chance; and with them they carried all their *Reliques*, as notable Aſſiſtants and Well-wiſhers to their *Solemn League and Covenant*; and thus they foot it to the great Church.

31 *May*, *Aſcenſion-day*.

After

After this followeth another Proceſſion of the Duke of *Nemours*, the Officers of the Army, the Magiſtrates of the City, with the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and ſome other valiant Biſhops. Theſe trudge alſo to the great Church, where upon the great Altar laying their hands upon the Goſpel, they ſwear to defend the City to their utmoſt, and to oppoſe the Heretical Prince. And a little after, to make all ſure, their Parliament at *Paris* by Act forbid *any upon pain of death to talk of any Agreement Peace or Compoſition with Henry of Bourbon*, for ſo they called him. 1590 15 *Junii.*

By this time the City began to be in great want by reaſon of the Kings cutting off all aſſiſtance from them; therefore to encourage the people Cardinal *Pietro Gondy* Biſhop of *Paris* ('twas made an Archbiſhoprick 1622) pittying the poor, had all the Church-plate turned into money for them, the Legat cauſed all his own Plate to be melted and coined, *Mendoza* the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour promiſed them ſix ſcore Crowns a day in bread, and of all his Plate he left himſelf but one Silver Spoon; the Ladies and richeſt Nobles ſold their Houſhold-ſtuff, Jewels and Ornaments; the Legat alſo got fifty thouſand Crowns for them from the Pope.

But all theſe helps were not enough for two hundred thouſand perſons then in the City, proviſions growing ſo ſcarce, that a Buſhel of Wheat was ſold for one hundred and twenty Crowns, the fleſh of Horſes, Dogs, Aſſes, Mules, &c. are publickly vended; but the poorer ſort wanting moneys to buy ſuch dainties, were forced to feed upon ſuch Herbs and Graſs as they found in the Yards, Ditches, and along the Ramparts, which made them die in heaps, yet were the Chieftains (as if they were related to the old *Saguntines*) ſo far from yielding, that they cauſed ſeveral to be executed for deſiring Bread or Peace.

And here we need not trouble our ſelves with the ſtories of former great Famines, as of *Hieruſalem*, amongſt the *Turks* 1595, in *Poland* and *Bohemia* 1312, in *Tranſylvania* 1604, at *Leyden* 1574, at *Sancerre* and *Rochel*, of *Pegu* 1598, of *Caifung* in *China* 1642, and ſeveral others, ſince (as is confeſs'd by all) this Famine at *Paris* was not inferiour to any of them, many being forced to make bread of dead mens bones, and not onely feed upon Skins, Tann'd hides, &c. but men eat one another, and ſome women their own children; and we may juſtly ſuppoſe a grand ſcarcity, when there was but one little * Dog in all the City, which the Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier* kept for her ſelf, and refus'd two thouſand Crowns onely for its brains, though it was to preſerve the life of *Monſieur d'Orlan* one of her friends. In ſhort, above twelve thouſand died of very Famine, yet did the people really think themſelves *Holy Martyrs* for dying in ſo good a Cauſe. At laſt the King for mere pity permits as many to depart the City as would; at one time there crauled out above four thouſand, glad they were delivered from ſuch a miſery; then he ſent Paſports to the Scholars, Churchmen, Ladies, and even to his greateſt enemies.

* *Mem. de la Ligue. tom. 4. p. 332, 333.*

In the mean time the King preſſeth more upon them, taketh *S. Denis*, (the *Leaguers* before their yielding it up having * poiſon'd the Wells, the better to deſtroy the Kings Forces) at which ſiege the King himſelf was ſo vigilant, that he ſate on horſe-back forty hours together. Being entered *S. Denis*, in the Preſence-chamber were two *Franciſcan* Friars and another Prieſt ſeiz'd on in the habit of Gentlemen, who being impriſon'd and ſtrictly examin'd, confeſt that they were three of the ſix and twenty who had ſworn the Kings death, for which they were hang'd.

7 *Julii.* * d'Aubigne, *tom. 3. l. 3.* Ann. Colynet, p. 476.

Then

1590 Then the King aſſaults and takes the Suburbs of *Paris*, which ſo ſtartled the *Leaguers*, that they deſire a Treaty onely to ſpin out time, daily expecting relief; the King grants it, but their Propoſitions are ſo extravagant that nothing is done.

However the King having now the *Pariſians* as it were by the throat, the Doctors of *Sorbone* are at their wits end, ſuſpect the Integrity of the Legat, grew angry at the Pope for not affoarding them more aſſiſtance, and in this pet and fury drew up a Letter to be ſent to his Holineſs; but the City was ſo cloſely beſieged, that the Letter and Meſſenger were ſeized on, and ſo never got as far as *Rome*; which the better to ſhew what fears, jealouſies and diſtractions they were poſſeſt with at the writing of it take as followeth, as I meet with it *then* tranſlated into *Engliſh* out of the *Latin* Copy.

Moſt Holy Father,

By thoſe continual Letters, partly touching the cruel and lamentable ſlaughter of our moſt Chriſtian Brethren, which your Holineſs at ſundry times hath received, was eaſily to be known that all *France* hath fixed her eyes onely upon the See of *Rome*, the Cauſe concerning the ſtate of the whole Church; and therefore the rather becauſe it hath been always the chiefeſt refuge of thoſe that were afflicted for the defence of Religion in their greateſt miſery and extremity. Beſides, the good report that we daily hear of your Holineſs Zele, Wiſdom, Sincerity, Juſtice, and Hate of all Ungodlineſs, did not a little increaſe our hope, the tokens whereof being brought unto us, were very ſevere againſt all the wicked, as are the heavy Cenſures and Sentences pronounced by your Holineſs own mouth againſt the *Hereticks* and *Politicians* of our time, and the Orations made in the ſacred Aſſemblies of the Cardinals, which we read with a great deſire, being now printed: and alſo becauſe there is ordain'd a Council of moſt reverend Cardinals for the redreſs of the ſtate of *France*, and favourable and Fatherly Letters written to the Princes and Magiſtrates of this Realm, and moreover to many of ſundry degrees and qualities; whereby we perceive that your Holineſs did commend and approve our purpoſe and enterprize, promiſing us all aid and aſſiſtance to the furtherance thereof. And laſtly, the ſending of your Holineſs * *Legat* through ſuch long and dangerous ways, being a man of great parentage and ſingular wiſdom, with the full conſent of all the moſt Honourable Council of Cardinals, nothing more comfortable and to be deſired in this our general and common grief.

We of our ſide, for to encourage the hearts of the common people, have cauſed to be printed in both the Languages (that every man might underſtand them) thoſe Letters, the which (with great commendation of our College) the renouned Cardinal of (a) *Montalto* hath vouchſafed to ſend, wherein was ſpecified that your Holineſs *Legat* was ſent with men and money: and that the onely and chiefeſt care of your Holineſs was touching this Realm, how beſt to refreſh and ſuccour the afflicted and diſtreſſed people thereof, that therefore we ſhould not doubt but that your Holineſs will out of hand in this our diſtreſs ſend us ſufficient relief. The private Communication of your Holineſs *Legat* did alſo confirm your ſingular good will and affection towards us, and the exquiſite eloquence of (b) *Aſtenſis* did greatly enlarge and commend it in the Pulpit. Wherefore we ceaſe not daily to publiſh and declare unto all the world this

* *Card.* Cajetan.

(a) *Nephew to this Pope* Sixtus V.

(b) *The old Tranſlator might as well have ſaid* The Biſhop of Aſti. *His name was* Franciſco Panigarola. *He was an eloquent Preacher, and came into* France *with* Gaetano *the Legat.*

this your great benefit ſo ready and certain, and are not afraid with a wonderful contentment to aſſure our ſelves in our publick and private communications of your Holineſs favourable inclination towards us. 1590

But ſeeing that our grief daily increaſeth, and that honeſt and godly men daily ſuſtain and receive hourly great loſs and damages, that it lacketh but little but that we (God puniſhing our ſins in his heavy judgment) begin to feel the ruine of the State of *France*, and (which worſe is) the uttermoſt decay and overthrow of Catholick Religion; the people beginning to waver, and to be removed from their accuſtomed conſtancy, ſuſpecting that the goodwill of your Holineſs, and the Credit and Authority of your Preachers, and which is more (not without our great grief) almoſt eſteem little or nothing of the Legacy of the moſt renowned Cardinal *Cajetan*, that whereſoever we can turn our ſelves, are importun'd and wearied with theſe continual complaints, that our want is not relieved by the plentifulneſs of the See Apoſtolick, and that theſe fifteen moneths (ſomewhat more or leſs) being ſpent in hoping and Watching, the foreſaid *Legat* hath not had or uſed a particular power of *Excommunicating* and *Depoſing*, therewith to bridle and ſubdue all the ungodly and enemies of the Church, of what Quality or Condition ſoever they be: ſeeing that as yet no ſpecial *Excommunication* of *Henry* of *Bourbon* and his Favourites hath been publiſhed, which long ago ſhould have been done they ſay, before they being hardened in their impiety would have deſpiſed it: ſo that it is very eaſie to perſuade unto the weak, wavering, and diſcontented people (being already diſcouraged with long wars, with poverty and need almoſt diſmayed and dead) that which the *Politicians* whiſper in their ears, namely, that your Holineſs either favoureth *Henry* of *Bourbons* ſide, or at the leaſt will not contraid or diſpleaſe them, or elſe that you make but a ſmall account of our affairs: and that to content the minds of honeſt and good men your Holyneſs hath ſent your *Legat*, as to Adverſaries void and deſtituted almoſt of power and money: and therefore being infected with the peſtilent policies of this time, (for this the wicked ones ſeek to perſuade) endeavoureth to pleaſe both Parties, and therefore ceaſe not to affirm that your Holineſs hath excogitated and invented onely theſe delays. And to that intent* *Luxenburg* (the greateſt enemy of the Catholicks) hath been received at *Rome* with ſuch humanity, and was entertained ſo liberally, and in great diſſimulation excluded, but afterwards moſt friendly recalled again, unto whom they ſay your Holineſs hath promis'd that *Navarre* ſhould be uſed favourably, and that another ſhall be ſent (the firſt Cardinal being called back again) in a moſt honourable Legacy.

* Francis *Duke of* Luxenburg (*a ſtrict* Roman *Catholick*) *ſent to* Rome *to ſee if he could get the Pope and King* Henry *reconciled*, 1589.

Moreover we are not a little grieved that ſome of the better ſort (aſtoniſhed and diſmayed through the imminent dangers unto the Catholick Religion, and wearied with long delays) foreſeeing partly the iſſue of our affairs by the preſent ſtate thereof, begin (to confeſs that which is true) to have an ill opinion of our actions, and to interpret all things to the worſt. And further to teſtifie that which we have ſeen, we know that not long ſince out of *Italy* Letters have been written in plain words by men of Authority and Account, whoſe Credit was never yet ſuſpected in like or greater matters, that in vain we look for money and aſſiſtance from the See of *Rome*, becauſe all things are not done there plainly and ſincerely as they ſhould be. Whereby as much as we can gueſs it is probable enough that all things ſtand in danger of Schiſm, and that a moſt perilous fire (unleſs God provide otherwiſe) is already kindled to the overthrow of the whole Church.

1590. O what a painful and troubleſom ſtriving and wreſtling ſuſtain we againſt thoſe noiſom rumours and tidings? O with what a great labour is this to be drawn again out of the peoples minds? (if in any wiſe it can yet be rooted out again) which if it go further and take faſter hold, we pray your Holineſs to judge what ſhall at the end become hereof; and likewiſe to conſider if there can be any croſs more grievous unto honeſt and good-zeal'd men then this: ſo that not without cauſe our lives are unto us altogether unſavoury and unpleaſant.

And although we invent certain probable cauſes of your Holineſs delay, therewith ſomething contenting the peoples minds and eaſing their griefs; notwithſtanding we cannot ſatisfie our ſelves herewith, ceaſing not to bewail theſe long delays, but chiefly when we remember the words of the Poet, ſaying,

A wound which at firſt was to be cured with eaſe
With lingering is coming dangerous diſeaſe.

But this is far worſe, that all things almoſt are come into an extremity, as much as any mortal man is able to judge; and, which is worſt of all, now every one ſaith that this is come to paſs through the negligence of the See of *Rome*, and we are not able any longer to diſprove their objections. To no other end tend our daily and mighty Meetings and Aſſemblies with the moſt renowned Cardinal *Cajetan* and his Aſſiſtants, (whereof they will perhaps complain unto your Holineſs) inquiring importunately, and with full Aſſembly daily deſiring to know what there is done at *Rome* as touching our matters, and the occaſion that we are kept thus long in ſuſpence, and if there be yet any hope left where to reſt upon; which as often as we do and bring home nothing elſe but the common anſwer, and always one ſong, namely, that his Holineſs hath a great care of our affairs, and that he will never abandon our Cauſe, being our moſt loving and careful Father, very wiſe and expert in that he hath to do, and that ere long will quench this burning Fire, and that he hath not in vain ordain'd this worthy *Legacy*, and ſuch like things many more. We ſee, and not onely we but every particular man, that this is told us but to drive us off; as thoſe that maſk their faces with mirth and cheerfulneſs, but being ſifted narrowly, this which the Poet ſaith fitteth them of right:

In ſight they feign good hope, and mirth in countenance bear,
But pinching grief in heart and mind cloſely they wear.

Of what mind thinketh your Holineſs we ſhould be, or how to repoſe any truſt in thoſe anſwers which are altogether without ſubſtance and frivolous? Well, to what end ſoever this Council tendeth, this generally we fear, that whiles you in lingering ſeek for fitter opportunity, and in the mean time the *Romans* take counſil, * *Saguntum* ſhall be aſſaulted and won, and your Inſtruments and Engines of war (as *Brutus* ſaid) ſhall come too late after the battel. In the mean while the * *Heretick* proſpereth in his ſucceedings, and the unconſtant people ſpeak well of him, but we muſt often with grief approach near unto the gates of death.

* Meaning *Philip* is.
* *Henry* IV.

Moreover (moſt holy Father) they ſow and caſt out every where theſe ſpiteful and diſdainful ſcoffs, that at *Rome* are oftentimes rehearſed and remembered the ſingular and great benefits of this Realm unto the See Apo-

Apoſtolick; but now the ſame Kingdom being grievouſly diſtreſſed, 1590
is not once requited with like, no not with neceſſary thanks and reward. That this Realm is honoured with the Title of *The Firſt begotten of the Church*, but that it is altogether handled as a Baſtard, and abandon'd as an untimely Fruit. That the Biſhop of *Rome* challengeth unto him the name of a Father, and ſuccoureth not his moſt obedient and dutiful Children, enduring now extremity, and ſtretching forth their humble intreating hands; but rather provoketh them to anger. Finally, that all theſe lingerings are of ſmall effect, and theſe excuſes not worthy to be written in water.

It is alſo very grievous to hear, and is now upon every mans tongue, that it cannot be done without our great ſhame, that all the Treaſure of *England*, *Germany*, and other Heretical Nations, is ſpent, waſted, and conſumed in an ill and an ungodly Cauſe; and that from every place power is ſent, and cometh in favour and aid of the Hereticks: But that the Catholick Princes (* one onely excepted, of whom *France* receiveth a great and continual ſuccour in ſuch important Affairs, but notwithſtanding inſufficient) look one upon another careleſs, being in a moſt juſt and weighty Cauſe altogether faint, cold, and unwilling. Which as it is in great grief to be lamented in other, yet eſpecially in him unto whom it belongeth to ſurmount them all in this kind of duty, for to encourage them with word and deed to defend the Cauſe of that particular member of the Church, whereof he is ſet and appointed by God a Governour and a general Preſident, and always armed with preſent money wherewith to defend her. And rather ſhould by Letters and Meſſengers pawn and engage his Credit, for to encourage the hearts of the Catholicks, then to abate and diſmay their hope, in fearing in vain to look for that, whereunto reaſon and equity doth perſuade and bind him; chiefly by that the Biſhop by whom *Navarre* himſelf, and other attending unto Divelliſh Doctrines, and other walking after the deſign of the fleſh in impiety, ſcoffing the name of Catholicks, the wiſeſt and moſt learned men have always judged were excommunicated and curſed.

Philip King of *Spain*.

For what is he (moſt Holy Father) that with one eye cannot ſee, that they onely gape after the Goods and Poſſeſſions of the Catholicks, by all means ſeek to entrap their lives, greedily thirſt after their bloud, and onely wiſh the deſtruction of Chriſtian ſouls, and utter decay of true Religion? This the conquer'd Cities do witneſs, this the ſacked and ſpoiled Goods of honeſt and godly men, this the rewards granted or at leaſt promiſed unto the Hereticks; this the Conſecrated Reliques, nay rather the moſt ſacred body of *Jeſus Chriſt* caſt before Dogs; this the hard and impenitent hearts of the corrupted Nobility, this the Souldiers ready to the ſpoil and overthrow of Churches, this the new eſtabliſhed Synagogue of the Miniſters of Sathan corrupting and falſifying the pure Word of God, this the manifold Gibbets of Preachers, this the bodies of ſundry Captains and Souldiers beheaded, this in great heaps the murthered Catholicks, this the members of the *Franciſcans* and *Dominicans* quickly torn in pieces with wild horſes, this finally the cruel ſlaughters of Chriſtians, and chiefly of Eccleſiaſtical perſons, manifeſtly declare and confirm. Amongſt whom the bright and ſhining Lights, and worthy to be belov'd and deſired, and the ſtays and pillars of their Orders, * *Cheſſaeus* Preſident in his Country, and one of S. *Francis* Family, drawn by violence from Gods ſervice and committed unto the Hangman, being at *Vendoſme*, not without great grief of all good Chriſtians, in the ſpring and

* It may be his name was *Robert Cheſſaeus*, *Davila pag.* 861. he had publickly commended the Murther of *Henry* III.

1590 and prime of his age, hang'd and depriv'd of his life. The Director and worthy Regent of the *Dominicans* at *Paris*, *N. Demonte*, threeſcore and ten years of age, firſt in infinite places ſtabb'd, and not far from the City almoſt torn in pieces. And of the ſame calling before a moſt worthy and valiant *maintainer and defender of the truth*, * *Burgonius*, after divers torments with horſes at *Tours*, being diſmembered, have all (now laureated and crown'd with their innocent bloud) yielded up their Ghoſts into the hands of the Almighty.

*He adviſed *Clement* to murder *Hen.* III.

Whereupon when we think, we have thought good, diligently to do two things by the liberty which *Chriſt* freely hath beſtowed upon us. The firſt is, which although others can do it better, yet after our ſmall and ſlender skill to declare unto your Holineſs the whole ſtate of *France*, whoſe earneſt zeal and deſire to aid us, we doubt not ſhall be driven in the reſt, as the Letters of your moſt Renowned * Nephew written unto the whole body of the Holy League, moſt plainly witneſs. The other, that we by all means will ſeek to comfort and ſtrengthen the careful minds of the people, partly heavy and wavering by the ſubtilty of the *Politicians*, and partly by their own natural weakneſs, and move and ſtir them up with all diligence and earneſtneſs to *expell* and *drive out Navarre*, and refuſe and deny him boldly even in the middeſt of Sword, Flame, and Fire, all ſervice and obedience, and exhort them to prefer rather what miſery ſoever, before an ungodly and wicked peace, although he ſhould ſeem to have forſaken and forſworn his Hereſie, and for it ſhould have obtain'd a Pardon, (whereunto yet notwithſtanding his is nothing near) and ſhould profeſs himſelf a Catholick again, ſubmitting himſelf under the Holy See, for the manifeſt danger which might enſue and befall unto the true Religion by this deceitful Converſion and feigned repentance: and he that ſhall favour him counſelling any to agreement, or elſe conſenting and according thereunto, when by any means ſhall be able to ſtay and hinder it, to be eſteemed dangerous and ſuſpected of Hereſie, and altogether unworthy of mens company.

* Card. *Montalto.*

Whereupon our minds and heads are altogether ſo occupied, that we are fully determined ere long to put in print to the view of the world certain Articles concerning theſe points, and ſend them firſt unto your Holineſs, and afterwards diſperſe them in all places of the world, partly to a perpetual reproach and upbraiding of the Inhabitants of this Realm, if (ſo often times admoniſhed) with baſeneſs and cowardlineſs of heart, they ſhould conſent to ſubmit themſelves under the yoke and bondage of an Heretick; partly to ſtir and raiſe up every mans affection, to ſend with all expedition aid and relief unto our diſtreſſed Affairs. And laſtly to leave behind us for our Succeſſours ſure witneſſes and tokens of our care and *loyalty to our Country*, and ſo to disburthen our Conſciences, and purge and diſcharge our ſelves before God, his Angels, and the World, not to have forgotten our duties in time of perſecution, but conſtantly to have confeſt the name of Chriſt.

It therefore concerneth your Wiſdom (moſt Holy Father) to foreſee (ſeeing we are now in theſe dangerous days, whereout we cannot eſcape without great miracle) that this evil turn not to the deſtruction of your Holineſs, and the utter overthrow of the Apoſtolick See; and that the judgment of God (as S. *Peter* ſaith, and the continual and known threatnings of *Navarre* ſeem to confirm) begin not at his houſe, and that that Serpent (which hath till now been nouriſhed, defended, and by thoſe unto whom it did not become moſt courteouſly uſed) ſpit and caſt not his poi-

poiſon and venom upon him, by whom it was expedient his head ſhould have been broken and bruiſed, to the perpetual reproach and ſhame of *Sixtus* V. but notwithſtanding by a juſt revengement and ſecret judgment of God. 1590

And while there is any hope remaining, that with all ſpeed your Holineſs linger not to draw the two-edged ſword, although too late we fear (but who knoweth if God will be appeaſed and forgive us our offences?) upon this *noiſom beaſt*, and diſplay all force and power againſt it. For it is now long enough, nay we fear too long tarried, delayed, lingered, and loitered. And this is that we crave of your Holineſs for the tender love and mercy of God, if there be left any regard of duty, fame and eſtimation, or any care of the publick, or the particular health and welfare, deeply to think and conſider, that it concerneth the uttermoſt danger of the Church, and the ſafety of Chriſt his flock ſo dearly bought, and committed unto our charge; and whiles you are able to *ſlay this wilde Boar*, that conſumeth the Vineyard of the Lord, and drive away, bridle, and repreſs with thy double Sword all the ſmall Foxes breaking and throwing down the ſame; for fear this being wilfully neglected, his anger be not ready to puniſh and chaſten us, who will reproach us the hardneſs of our hearts, and require at our hands the innocent bloud-ſhedding, and the great quantity of ſouls loſt for ever; who becauſe his flock is become a prey, and his ſheep a ſpoil unto the wilde beaſts, and his Vineyard trodden under foot, and made waſte, will grievouſly complain, and we be not ſnared and wrapt in his juſt but moſt fearful and terrible judgement, eternally to be lamented and bewailed.

Wherein we proteſt before the ſame Almighty and High God, and his Angels, that herein we have performed our charge and duty; and therefore if here be written any thing ſomewhat *bitterly*, we pray your Holineſs to take it in good part, as coming from a *burning zeal*, towards the Church now periclitating and ready to fall; and therefore the rather, becauſe it behoveth that all our thoughts be fixed in the defence of *Sion*, whoſe duties we judge it to be to leave nothing undon, whereby we might by all means poſſibly both things above and beneath, and all that is in Heaven and Earth move and provoke for to pity her diſtreſſed eſtate, becauſe it is more then full time ſo to do.

Farewel, *And as your Holineſs pitieth the* French, *nay, the Univerſal Church, ready to fall; ſo God be favourable and merciful unto you.*

In Paris, *from your Holineſs Colledge of* Sorbonne, 1590. 29 July.

Your Holineſs Affectionate Orators, and moſt Humble Servants, the Dean and the reſt of the *Sorbonne* at *Paris*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* intent (as aforeſaid) upon the relief of *Paris*, at laſt joyneth with *Aleſſandro Farneſe* Duke of *Parma*, and marcheth towards the City; the King wirh a Reſolution to fight them raiſeth the Siege; but *Parma* carried his deſignes ſo cunningly, that in ſpight of all oppoſition he conveyed great ſtore of Proviſions into the City, nor could the King force or oblige him to a Battel; yet the King reſolved to give one luſty ſtorm to the City, to which purpoſe Ladders being provided, and ſilently be in the night ſet to the walls, the City had been won,

1590 won, if by chance a *Jeſuit* (as * *Davila* ſaith) or a few *Jeſuits* (as * *de Buſſieres* ſaith) who ſtood Centinel without the *Corps du Garde*, which was kept by thoſe Fathers, and *Nicholas Nivelle* the Covenanting Bookſeller, (all the reſt being aſleep and negligent) had not diſcovered them, given the Alarum, and fought ſtoutly againſt them upon the walls.

* Pag. 958.
* Pag 343.

The King ſeeing himſelf diſappointed by *Parma*, the *Pariſians* well ſtored with Victuals, and a Sickneſs in his Army; raiſeth the Siege, diſpoſeth his Forces into Quarters; the Duke of *Parma* returning alſo to his Government in the *Low-Countreys*.

Many Stories are we told of ſome mens fooliſh contempt and ſcorn over their ſuppoſed Superiors, ſome whipping their Gods if not agreeable to them, *Auguſtus Cæſar* could defie *Neptune*, The *Thracians* would rant againſt the Heavens if Thundred, *Xerxes* would ſhackle the *Helleſpont*, and though the Ancient Poets and *Lucian* villifyed their Gods (it may be upon good reaſon) by making them guilty of all the villanies in the world; yet none could be ſo extravagant as that which the Ingenious † *Montaigne* tells us of one of the late Kings (neighbouring to *France*) of *Spain* as ſome think, who having his Expectations diſappointed by Heaven, ſwore to be revenged on God himſelf, and (if the ſtory be true) *he commanded his ſubjects not to pray to God for ten years, nor to ſpeak of, or believe in him.* I ſhall not ſay that theſe *Covenanters* proceeded ſo far, but may juſtly affirm that never any people acted more againſt Gods Vice-gerent then they. Their ſtubbornneſs may here be ſeen by their miſeries, and thus their contempt of favour, law, life, duty and obedience, doth ſhew their diſreſpect to the Divine Oracles, and God himſelf.

* Les Eſſais l. 1. c. 3.

CHAP. VIII.

The Thirdlings. *Young* Guiſe *eſcapes out of Priſon.* Barnaby Briſſon *Strangled. The Duke of* Mayenne *overaw'd the Sixteen. The Mock* State General *meet at* Paris. *King* Henry *the Fourth declares himſelf a Romaniſt, and received abſolution at St.* Dennis.

27 *Aug^uſt.* WHileſt *Parma* is returning to the *Netherlands*, Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth dyeth; upon which the Cardinal Legat departeth *France*, leaving behind him in *Paris*, *Filippo Sega*, Biſhop of *Piacenza* (he came from *Italy* with him, and was alſo a Cardinal) to act as Vice-Legat. *Urban* VII. is elected Pope, who dying thirteen days after, *Gregory* XIV. is * choſen to ſit in the Chair.

5 *Decemb.*

In the mean time the King is pinched on all hands, the *Pariſians* vapour as Conquerors, *Emanuel de Loraine* Duke of *Mercœur* carryeth all for the *League* in *Brittain*, with whom above four thouſand *Spaniards* joyn: the Duke of *Savoy* conquereth in *Provence*, and by the Parliament of *Aix*, is Declared Head of their Government, having alſo ſome Intentions for the Crown; nor was the Duke of *Lorraine* idle. But theſe proſperous proceedings did not altogether pleaſe *Mayenne*, fearing their greatneſs would Eclipſe him: Yet by theſe was the King brought ſo low that he borroweth aid from *England*, *Holland*, and the *German* Princes, and *Mayenne* ſendeth to deſire the like from the Pope and King of *Spain*.

By

By this time *Barnaby Briſſon*, chief Preſident of the Covenanting Parliament at *Paris*, for ſome reaſon or other, was more agreeable to the King then formerly, and ſeveral in the City began to wiſh a Reconciliation with him. The King himſelf knew, that he had ſome friends in the City, by whoſe aſſiſtance he had a deſign to ſurprize it, by having ſeveral of his Captains diſguiſed in Countrey habits, pretending to carry Horſe-loads of corn or meal into it by night [the uſual time ſo to ſteal in, by reaſon of the Kings Forces ſcouring the ways and Countrey:] But this plot being diſcovered, it fail'd, and is yet call'd the * *Day of Flour or Meal*. Theſe cauſed the *Pariſians* for the more ſtrengthning themſelves againſt any ſuch like attempts, to receive into their City Four thouſand *Spaniards*, to the diſpleaſure of *Mayenne*, who feared that Nation and Faction might in time be too ſtrong for him there. 1591

* 20 Jan. Journee des farines. *Farinorum dies*, or *Nox farinarum.*

But he was very male-contented with the forwardneſs of the new Pope *Gregory* XIV. who eſpouſed the quarrel of the *League* with a great deal of earneſtneſs, ſendeth *Marſilio Landriano* of *Milan* Nuncio into *France*, with two * *Monitory Bulls.*

*They may be ſeen at large in a Book, calld *de Chriſtianiſſimi Regis periculis*, or *de periculi Henrici* IV. Printed 1591.

I.

One relating to the Clergie, whom he interdicted *if within* 15 *days they forſook not the obedience and part of the King. And further, if within* 15 *days more they departed not from him, then to be deprived of their Livings, Benefices, and Functions.*

II.

The ſecond concerned the Princes, Nobility, and the reſt of the Laity, wherein under great pains he alſo warned them to depart from the King, whom he call'd Heretick, Perſecutor of the Church, an Excommunicated Perſon, and therefore depriv'd of all his Dominions and Poſſeſſions.

To theſe the Pope addeth Arms and Money, ſending his Nephew *Hercole Sfondrato* (newly for Honours ſake made by him Duke of *Montemarciano*) with an Army, which he will maintain with the moneys gathered up by *Sixtus* V. and kept in *Caſtel St. Angelo*; and beſides this he alloweth 15000 Crowns a moneth to the *Leaguers.*

The *Royaliſts* are greatly offended at theſe Papers and Proceedings. Thoſe of the *Soverein Court* (for conveniency then ſitting) at *Chaulons*, by Decree declare that the former *Bulls* and actings againſt *Henry* III. as alſo theſe againſt the preſent *Henry* IV. to be *odious, ſeditious, falſe impoſtures, contrary to all holy Decrees, Canons, Conſtitutions, Councils, the Rights and Liberties of the* Gallican *Church*, and ſo to be idle, vain, null and void, and to be burnt by the hands of the Hangman. Ordain alſo that *Landriano* calling himſelf *Nuncio*, to be ſeiz'd on, and ſuffer according to Law, forbid any to entertain him; declare that all Cardinals, Prelates and other Eccleſiaſticks, who any way promote a Conſent to theſe *Bulls*, or approve of the late Murther of *Henry* III. ſhall be deprived of all their Benefices in this Kingdome, and that none hereafter carry any money to *Rome*, or procure any Benefices thence, &c. * 10 *June* 1589. The ſame in effect was decreed by the Parliament then ſitting at *Tours*, but with this addition, prohibiting any upon pain of *High Treaſon* to publiſh and obey any of the afor-ſaid *Bulls*. And which

*Yet I have a Copy of it (that year printe:) bearing date 29 *Aug.*

which was beſt of all—— * *Hath declared, and doth declare* Gregory (*calling himſelf* Pope) *the XIV. of that name, an Enemy to the Peace, to the Union of the Catholick-Apoſtolick-Roman Church, to the the King and his Eſtate, a Partaker of the* Spaniſh *Conſpiracy, a favourer of Rebels, guilty of the moſt cruel, moſt inhumane, and moſt deteſtable Parricide, Traytorouſly committed on the Perſon of the moſt Chriſtian King, and moſt Catholick King* Henry III. *of moſt happy memory*——5 Auguſt, 1591.

* ...A declare & declare *Gregoire*, ſe diſtant Pape, quatorzieſme de ce nom, ennemie de la paix, de l'union de l'Egliſe Catholique Apoſtolique & *Romaine*, du Roy & de ſon Eſtat: adherant a la Conjuration d'Eſpagne, & fauteur des Rebelles, coulpable du tres cruel, tres cruel, tres inhumain, & tres deteſtabable parricide, proditoirement commis en la perſonne de *Henry III.* Roy de tres heureuſe memoire, tres Chriſten & tres Catholique.

1591 * 3 *Aug.* The ſame Language was uſed by the Parliament ſitting at * *Caen*: on the contrary the Parliament at *Paris* thunder out their Decrees, commanding the *Nuncio* and Monitory *Bulls* to be received and obeyed, as proceeding from an Authentick Authority, threatning ſevere puniſhments to all thoſe who ſubmit not to them.

And here having mentioned ſeveral Parliaments, the common Reader may underſtand once for all, that *France* had then, and hath now, ſeveral Seats of Parliament (or rather *Courts Judicature*) having command within their reſpective Precincts, and inſtituted by ſeveral Kings, as this following Scheme will ſhew.

Order	Where	Settled by	Anno
I.	*Paris.*	*Philippe IV. le Bel.*	1302.
II.	*Tholouſe.*	*Charles VII.*	1443.
III.	*Grenoble.*	*Charles VII.*	1453.
IV.	* *Bourdeaux.*	*Louis XI.*	1462.
V.	*Dijon.*	*Louis XI.*	1476.
VI.	*Rouen.*	*Louis XII.*	1499. ſome ſay 1503.
VII.	*Aix.*	*Louis XII.*	1501.
VIII.	*Rennes.*	*Henry II.*	1553.
IX.	*Pau*, ſaid firſt to be inſtituted afterwards confirmed.	*Louis XIII.*	1620.
X.	*Metz*	*Louis XIII.*	1633.

* *Was conſtituted 1447 and ſo, it was then the third Parliament, but it loſt that rank and order by a rebellion.*

In order and time theſe as they were made, fixed, or ſedentary; otherwiſe we might ſay that Parlements were had at *Paris* 577, at *Tholouſe* 1302, and at *Rouen* 1443. In the time of this *League Paris* and *Rouen* being in the hands of the *Covenanters*, King *Henry* III. removed the Seſſions of thoſe Parlements to *Tours*, *Caen*, *&c.* whither accordingly as many of the Royal Members as could go went and ſate, acting for their Kings, whileſt thoſe of the other perſuaſion ſtaid, and were as buſie and zelous for the *Leaguers*.

But to return; the *Nuncio*, the Embaſſadours of *Spain* and *Savoy*, the Lords of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, *Nicolas de Pellevé*, then Archbiſhop of *Sens* (and not of * *Rheims* till the year after, as † *Davila* miſtakes) with ſome others meet at *Rheims*, where every man ſeeming for the *League*, yet under that vizard to carry on their own deſigns and Intereſt, their Conſultations broke up without any determinations.

* *Card.* de Lenoncourt *was now living and Archbiſhop of* Rheims.

† *Pag.* 1014.

In

In the mean time ſpang up a third Party, which had like to have foil'd both King and League. *Charles* Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who whilſt the old Kingling Cardinal *Bourbon* lived was called Cardinal of *Vendoſme*, he ſeeing the *Pope*, *Spaniard* and *Covenanters*, and all reſolved to exclude King *Henry* the IV. if he turn'd not preſently *Romaniſt*, hoped that change would never be, and ſo doubted not (being of the Royal blood) to get the Crown to himſelf. This Plot he carried on ſecretly by his Favorites, amongſt whom was *Jaques Davy* Sieur *du Perron* (though now but young, and of mean birth, yet of great parts and Learning, and afterwards a Cardinal:) This Plot being diſcovered, *Mayenne* was not a little troubled at it, as aiming to take away his greatneſs, and the King not ſatisfied as offering to rob him of the Crown: However, though his Party was potent, and in the Opinion of the *Romaniſts*, grounded upon good reaſon, yet the King ſeemed outwardly to deſpiſe and ſlight it, by jeeringly calling them the * Thirdlings, as being neither for the King nor *Covenant*. 1591.

* Les Tiercelets.

And another accident did not a little trouble *Mayenne*; viz. The eſcape of *Charles* the young Duke of *Guiſe* from his Impriſonment at *Tours*, for he had been ſecured ever ſince the killing of his Father at *Blois*; but whether this eſcape was by the Kings deſire and permittance, the better to divide, and ſo weaken the *Leaguers*, or by Bribery, or chance, is nothing to our ſtory. The truth is, *Mayenne*, though he ſeemed pleaſed at his Nephews liberty, yet he liked not the great rejoycings the *Covenanters* made at it, by Bells and Bon-fires, whereby he feared himſelf might be neglected, and by ſuch diviſions and jealouſies, the King might aſſure himſelf no loſer. 15 Auguſt

Mayenne himſelf alſo dreading the event of theſe diſtractions, procureth a Private Meeting with the Duke of *Lorrain*, and ſome others; where it was ſecretly concluded to unite together, never to permit (if they could prevent it) any to the Crown, but of their Family; but if they ſhould be conſtrained to yield further, yet that no ſtranger ſhould be, but a Prince of the Blood, and of the *Roman* Religion: This is ſigned and ſealed by them, and of it they inform the Duke of *Guiſe*, who deſires time to conſider.

Nor is *Paris* free from ſidings and fear; for the Council of *Sixteen* (which had been the foundation of the *League*, and the raiſing of the Duke of *Mayenne*) began now to diſtruſt his proceedings, as a man thwarting their greatneſs, not active and fierce enough againſt the King and *Hugonots*, and one that regarded *ſelf* more than the Publick: And he of late being commonly far abſent from them, had not that aw and reſpect as formerly; ſo they began to neglect him, and cry up the young *Guiſe*: And conſidering themſelves ſtrong enough, having the Preachers, the People, the *Spaniard*, the Biſhop of *Piacenza* (lately Vice-Legat) on their ſide, reſolve to have things carried as they pleaſe. To this purpoſe, they ſend their demands and complaints to *Mayenne*; who not conſenting to them, vext their Worſhips ſo much, that they reſolved to lay him aſide, and conſult ſome other *Head* or *Chieftain*. And to this purpoſe, (being alſo inſtigated by *Mendoza* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador) in the *Jeſuits* Colledge (where their deepeſt Plots uſed to be made) a Letter is drawn up, and by the *Sixteen* and others, ſent to *Philip* II. King of *Spain*, by one called Father *Matthieu*, and by * *Thuanus*, and *Davila*, nominated *Claude Matthen*.

* Lib 102. * p. 1041.

But becauſe *François Montagne*, *Rene de la Fon*, and *Louis de Beaumanoir*; or if you will have the plain truth of it, the Jeſuit *Luys*

1591

Richeome (for he was the *French* Author that writ the (a) *Apologies* for the *Jesuits* under the former false names) Because, I say they deny his name to be so, alledging, that *Claude Mathieu* dyed above two years before, *viz.* 1588. at *Ancona* in *Italy*, though there might be others of that name besides him, and because *Matthieu* may as well be a Christian Name as a Sirname, as the Advocate (b) *Arnauld* and the Author of the (c) *Jesuits Catechism* do intimate, that this was so; and the late (d) Prints from *Paris* assure us that his name was *Matthieu Aquarius*. I shall say no more, this being enough to overthrow one objection, and *Davila*, *Thuanus*, *Arnauld*, *Pereſixe* and others, being enough to testifie the truth of the thing, supposing the name were not in all things exactly set down. Part of the Letter take as followeth.

(a) But these with his other Apologies are not printed amongst his Works in 2 vol.

(b) Play-day.

(c) Book 3. fol. 200, 201.

(d) Memoirs d' Estat en suite de ceux de Monſ. de Villeroy, tom. 3. p. 44. where you may also see the whole Letter it self.

Most High and Mighty Prince,

'Your Catholick Majesty having been so gracious unto us, as to let 'us understand by the most religious and reverend Father *Matthew*, not 'onely your holy intentions for the general good of Religion, but more 'especially your great affections and favours towards this City of *Paris*, &c. Then after great commendations of young *Guise*, and the telling of their own miseries, they go on to tell him——

'We trust in God, that before it be long the Forces of his Holiness 'and your Catholick Majesties being joyn'd together will free us from 'the oppressions of our enemies, who have hitherto for an year and 'half so block'd and hem'd us in on all sides, that nothing come into the 'City but by chance or force of Arms, and would press further, stood 'they not in fear of the Garrisons your Majesty was pleas'd to send us. 'We can boldly assure your Catholick Majesty, that the prayers and 'desires of all the *Catholicks* are to see *your Catholick Majesty sway the Sce-*
☞ *'pter of this Kingdom and Reign over us.* As we most willingly cast our 'selves into your arms as into the arms of our Father. Or that your 'Catholick Majesty would be pleased to appoint some of your poste-'rity.

'And if it shall stand with your good pleasure to appoint any other 'besides your self, that it may please you to 'make choice of a (a) *Son in Law*, whom 'we will receive as *King* with all our best 'affections, all the Devotions and Obedience 'that a good and loyal people can, and are 'bound to yield to their Liege and Sove-'raign. For we hope so well of the blessing 'of God upon this Alliance, that what we 'have already received of that most puissant 'and most Christian Princess (c) *Blanche* of 'Castile, Mother to our most Christian and 'most religious King St. *Louis*; we shall re-'ceive it, yea twofold, of this great and ver-'tuous Princess (c) *daughter* of your Ca-'tholick Majesty; upon whom for her rare 'Vertues the eyes of all men are fixed and

(a) *The Duke of* Guise, *or some other Frenchman, to marry his daughter* Isabel. Clara Eug.

(b) *Daughter to* Alphonso IX. *of* Castile *and* Leon, *married to* Louis VIII. *of* France, *and so Mother to St.* Louis IX. *She was a wise Queen Regent, quelling all the Conspiracies of the Crown and Kingdom.*

(c) Donna Izabella Clara Eugenia, *eldest Daughter to* Philip II. *(by his third wife* Elizabeth *Izabel of France Daughter to Henry II.). Her they would have to be Queen of* France, *and to marry with some* French *Prince or Nobleman to be King.*

set

'ſet, as a moſt pleaſant object, and in whom moſt gloriouſly ſhineth the 1591.
'Blood of *France* and *Spain*, to no other end or purpoſe, but by a perpe-
'tual Alliance to fraternize and joyn in one brotherhood, as it were theſe
'two great Monarchies under their Government, to the advancement of
'the glory of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the beauty of his Church, and uni-
'on of all the Inhabitants of the world under the Enſigns of Chriſtian-
'iſm.

'As your *Catholick Majeſty* with ſo many notable and triumphant Vi-
'ctories by the favour of God and his aid hath mightily prevail'd and
'advanced the ſame; ſo we moſt heartily pray to God (who is the Lord
'of Battels) to continue your proceedings therein, with ſuch accom-
'pliſhment, that the whole work may be finiſhed and perfected in all
'points. To which end and purpoſe that it would pleaſe him to pro-
'long your Catholick Majeſties days in perfect and happy health, ac-
'companied with daily ſucceſs of Victories and Triumphs over all your
'Enemies.

From Paris *this ſecond of* November,
1591.

The reverend Father Matthew *this bearer, who hath greatly comforted us, and fully inſtructed with the ſtate of our affairs, ſhall ſatisfie your Catholick Majeſty in all things which may ſeem defective and wanting in our Letters: Beſeeching your Majeſty moſt humbly to credit him in whatſoever he ſhall report unto you from us.*

Whether this *Matthew Aquarius* the Agent of the League was a *Jeſuite* or no, I ſhall not poſſitively affirm, though there be good Authority for it, but the beſt Authors may have their miſtakes. I ſhall onely obſerve by the by, that there was at this time one *Matthaus Aquarius* a *Dominican*, and in vogue as well for his Philoſophy as Schoolmanſhip, both in *Rome* and *Naples*, ſo a truſty ſervant both to *Pope* and *Spain*. And though the *Jeſuites* will attribute the title of *Fathers* to themſelves, yet I find this *Aquarius* (as oftentimes others are alſo) before his printed books ſo intituled, that any might miſtake him for a *Jeſuite*, becauſe called *Father*; I ſhall not ſay, nor can I affirm that this *Aquarius* the *Dominican* was the ſame man with the Leaguers Agent.

This Letter was intercepted near *Lyons* by *Gilbert de Chaſeron* Governour of the Province of *Bourbon*, and by him ſent to the King, whereby their Honeſty, Religion, and Loyalty was diſcovered.

Now as the *Sixteen* and their Aſſociates had laid the Deſign to humble the Parlement of *Paris* to them, which they thought to depend too much upon *Mayenne*; they began to ſtir up the people, perſuading them Religion was betrayed, their Cauſe and good *Covenant* quite undone; that the Parlement intended to deliver the City into the hands of the *Navarrois*, *i.e.* the King. And to obtain their deſigns with greater eaſe and facility, they conſulted about a new * *Oath*, whereby all that favour'd them not ſhould be driven out of the City, and all the *Blood Royal* to be excluded from the Succeſſion and the Crown.

In the mean time they take an occaſion to be ſtark mad; for one *Brigard* (once a violent *Covenanter*) being ſuſpected by them of too much favouring the King, was hurried to priſon, reſolving to have him hang'd for

* 5 Novemb. *Jo. de Buſſieres* vol. 4. p. 364, 365. *Gomberville* Mem. de M. de *Nevers* Tom. 2. pag. 623.

1591 for it; but the Parlement not agreeing in this with their humours, cleared him in a full trial; and he at last finding means to escape from their fury out of the City, they in a giddy zele turn their malice upon his Judges.

15 Nov. Thus resolved they hurry the people to Arms, seise upon *Barnaby Brisson* the Chief President, *Claude l'Archer* Counsellour of the *Chastelet*, with *Jean Tardif*, whom they carry to the Sessions-house, there in a haste condemning them without rule or reason. *Brisson* desireth them to spare him a little time, till in prison he had finished his book *De Formulis* (so much cried up by learned and knowing men) but no favour or mercy being granted, they are all three instantly strangled in prison, scarce a quarter of an hour being allow'd to *Brisson* to confess in. Thus murder'd, he is presently hung out of his own Chamber-window, and the next day hung on the Gallows publickly to be seen of all. Such was the end of the learned but unfortunate *Brisson*, who before had in * verse bewail'd the mischiefs of a Civil war, and it may be in relation to this *League*.

* *Post.* Gal. *vol.* 1. *p.* 713,714.

17 Nov. This done, they meet at the house of *Pellettier*, the *Covenanting Lecturer* of *S. Jacques de la Boucherie*, where they conclude that a Court of Justice shall be form'd of men of their Faction, to proceed against Hereticks and the Favourers of the King, that the moneys and Treasuries how expended shall be look'd into, that the Council of State shall be fill'd up, and the men were there named by them; that a Council of war shall be chosen, upon whose consent the Governour (*de Belin* left by *Mayenne*) should act nothing; that the Seals of the Crown which *Mayenne* carried about with him, should for the future always remain in the City, &c. To these they adde the sending of the Letter to the King of *Spain* formerly writ, with which they now forthwith dispatch *Mathieu*.

* Memoires en suite de ceux *de Villeroy*, tom. 3. p. 24,25.

Yet *Thuanus* dates the Letter the 20th. of *November*, and * another the 20th. of *September*; but herein I follow *Arnauld*, who maketh a particular observation upon the timing or dating it, the *Jesuits* themselves not objecting any thing against his date, *viz.* 2 *Novemb.* and *Davila* saith it was sent this day, *viz.* 17 *Novemb.* and so most probably writ before, this day they being too busily implied in other mischiefs. However the day is no great matter, the difference being but small, and probably a mistake in the writing or printing.

This done, they arise from Council, get the Council of State presently to assemble, to whom they propound the Articles, to the end to have them confirm'd and executed: but at this time they are put off, it being alledged the day was too far spent, and the Dutchess of *Nemours* carried her self so powerfully with them, that they were willing to let the execution of them alone till they had heard from her son the Duke of *Mayenne*, who being inform'd of these hurly-burlys, thought it best to quell them before they went any further, for which purpose well guarded he hastes towards *Paris*: at whose approach the *Sixteen* discouraged, crave pardon, let him enter the City, the *Bastile* is also yielded to him, then he seizeth on *Louchart*, *Emmenot*, *Auroux* and *Ameline*, great Sticklers amongst the *Sixteen*, whom he caused to be strangled in the *Louvre*, and publickly hung on the Gallows, and others had tasted the same sauce had they not fled for it.

28 Nov.

3 Dec.

At this the Priests and Doctors of *Sorbonne* were wonderfully terrified, but he not willing to lose them quite, knowing such men to be dangerous enemies amongst the people, waited upon them himself, gave them good words, told them all was pardoned, and Justice satisfied, which

which he ratified by an Edict. At the ſame time he alſo decreed, 1592
that upon pain of death no more Councils, Meetings or Conventicles, ſhould be had any way, except the Ordinary one of the *Union* with the ſenſe of the lawful Magiſtrates, which being regiſtred in full conſent of Parliament, put an end to the power and greatneſs of the *Sixteen*, and ſomewhat ſpoil'd and cool'd the deſignes of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters. And an Oath was alſo drawn up and read in Parliament for all the Souldiers in the City to take, the better to keep them in Obedience.

Whilſt theſe things were acting, Pope *Gregory* XIV. dying, *Innocent* IX. ſucceedeth him, who allowed the *League* fifteen thouſand Ducats a month, deſiring them to fall to work, and chuſe a King of the *Roman* Religion, aiming (as 'tis thought) at Cardinal *Bourbon* (the Head of the *third party*) but what his other deſignes were, his * death after a two months Popedome, would not let be known. And after him ſucceeded *Clement VIII.* * 30 *Dec.*

The Parliament at *Rouen* now puts forth a ſevere * *Edict* againſt any * 7 *Jan.* that ſhall adhere to *Henry* of *Bourbon*, as they call'd him; yet the proſecution of the *League* was ſomewhat hindred by the Jealouſies ariſing betwixt *Parma* and *Mayenne*, the latter fearing to be out-vapoured by the *Spaniard*, was not ſo averſe as formerly from an Agreement with the King, to carry on which the great Stateſman *Villeroy* (who as yet kept himſelf with the Leaguers) and *du Pleſſis Morney* (the Kings faithful friend) had divers meetings, but the *Covenanters* Propoſitions were ſo high and lofty (getting all into their own hands, leaving his Majeſty a meer ſhadow) that it brake off without any determination, though the King was willing to grant much to be at reſt and quiet. 1592

This Treaty was preſently made known, thinking to do *Mayenne* a diſpleaſure, and ſo it did, both the *Spaniards* and *Leaguers* being offended at him, in offering to treat without their conſent or knowledge, and ſo made jealous as if intended to leave them in the lurch. But on the other ſide, the King gain'd not much by the bargain, the *Romaniſts* who followed him (next that it ſhould be carried on by an *Huguenot*, viz. *Morney*) began to have the ſame ſuſpicions of His Majeſty. And in this zeal and humour having conſulted themſelves, they forthwith gave *Mayenne* to underſtand that it was fitting for the common ſafety, that all the *Romaniſts* ſhould be united, and ſo to require of the King to change his Religion within a prefixt time, and then they would acknowledge him, otherwiſe they would joyntly proceed to the Election of a King of the *Roman* perſuaſion, for ſuch an one (and none other) they would have.

Adde to this Pope *Clements* favour of the *League*, allowing it 15000 Ducats a moneth, exhorting them to chuſe a new King of the *Roman* belief, alledging none to be capable of a Crown but one of that Religion, commanding the *Nuncio* Cardinal *Piacenza* to forward the Election. Upon all theſe and other ſuch like conſiderations the King is perplext beyond meaſure, now clearly perceiving that all of them were gone to that height of Conditional Subjection, as never to receive him for King unleſs he would be of their Religion, nor was his force ſufficient to oppoſe. The caſe is hard, but a Kingdom is not to be loſt, yet the war goeth on vigorouſly on both ſides.

In the mean time the Pope having ſent to his *Nuntio* in *France* to haſten the calling of the *States General*, that a Catholick King, an enemy to Hereticks, and a Defender of the Church, might be choſen; the Duke

1593. Duke of *Mayenne* took heart, fancying that the Pope might aim at him, and thus entertaining ſome thoughts of being King, he reſolved to convocate the *States General*; the *Spaniard* would have it at *Soiſſons*, that *Parma* might the ſooner aſſiſt or awe them from *Flanders*; the Duke of *Lorrain* deſires *Rheams*, where his greateſt Intereſt lay; but *Mayenne* thought *Paris* beſt, his own Authority being greateſt there by his former weakening the *Sixteen*.

In the mean time all care is taken by them to exclude *Henry*; and nothing could thwart them more then his turning *Romaniſt*, of which they had ſome fears, ſeveral earneſtly ſolliciting him to it. To prevent this 'tis ſpread abroad, how unlawful it is for any to deſire his Converſion; how it is *againſt Divine, Civil, and Canon Law, the Decrees of the Popes, the Fundamental Law of the Kingdom, the Holy Union, &c.* and therefore conclude, that thoſe who propoſe or endeavour ſuch a thing are *wicked Citizens, unſtable perjur'd Politicks, ſeditious Diſturbers of the Commonweal, favourers of Hereticks, ſuſpected of Hereſie, Excommunicated, ought to be driven out of the City, leſt they ſhould corrupt the reſt.*

October.

Mem. de M. de *Nevers* vol. 2. pag. 634.

And thoſe of *Chaalons* having put forth a * Decree againſt Cardinal *de Piacenza* the Popes *Nuncio*, as alſo the Popes *Bulls*, as they did formerly againſt Pope *Gregory* XIV. Thoſe of the Parlement of *Paris* publiſh an Act, whereby they

* 18 *Novemb.*

Declare the ſaid Decree of Chaalons *null, of none effect or force, being publiſhed by thoſe of no Right or Authority to be a Parlement, being Schiſmaticks, Heretieks, Enemies to God and his Church, diſturbers of the State and publick peace of the Kingdom.*

Order the ſaid Decree as full of Scandal, Schiſm, Hereſie, and Sedition, to be torn and burnt by the Hangman.

Forbid any to receive or obey the ſaid Decree.

Injoyn all to honour and obey Pope Clement VIII. *and acknowledge his Legat.*

Affirm that their intended General States deſign nothing but the Preſervation of the Roman Religion, and to chooſe a true Chriſtian Catholick French *King.*

Forbid any to hinder or moleſt the members, coming to the ſaid meeting of States.

Paris 2 Decemb. 1592. *DU-TILLET.*

1593. 5 *Jan.* Accordingly to ſummon the ſaid *States-General*, the Duke of *Mayenne* Publiſh'd a large Declaration, in which he undertakes

To Vindicate himſelf.

Deſireth the Romaniſts *to unite.*

That though the Leaguers *had too much cauſe to deſire the late Kings death, yet they had no hand in it, it being a blow from Heaven.*

That Navarre *could not be King, becauſe an Heretick, Obedience being only founded upon the of the* Roman *Religion.*

So they cannot be blamed for their Actions, nor can be Rebels, ſeeing they fight only againſt Heretieks, and their Aſſociates, who have deſpiſed the Popes Bulls, and Admonitions, &c. And ſo throwing an odd blot upon the King concludes.

To this the Popes Legat *Piacenza*, thinking that of *Mayenne's* not plain and ſevere enough, added another Declaration,

Deſiring

Desiring all to be obedient to the Pope, who will never assent to an Heretical King, or the ruine of the Church or that Crown. 1593
Affirming that to think that the Priviledges of the Gallican *Church extendeth so far as to admit of an Heretical King, is the dream of a Madman, and an Heretical Contagion.* * 15 Jan.
That those who had acknowledg'd Navarre, *had forgot the Piety of their Ancestors, the Reputation of their Country, and the safety of their souls, their salvation being desperate.*
That Navarre *had violated all Laws both divine and humane.*
And that the Parliament of Paris *is a true and lawful one, and so perswadeth them to proceed to an Election.*

To these the King returning Answers, endeavoring to clear himself from their Accusations, not forgetting also to shew what a favour he had for the *Roman* Religion.

And though the death of the *Duke* of *Parma* had been no small Hindrance to the *Spanish* designs, yet now *Lorenzo Suarez de Figuera* Duke of *Feria* cometh Embassador to manage the Interest of that Crown at the meeting of the *States*, several at this time aiming at the Throne, and every one not despairing of their Cause or Interest: The *Spanish* daughter *Izabella Clara Eugenia*, the Dukes of *Guise*, *Lorain*, *Nemours* and *Mayenne* having all hopes.

In short, the *States-General* meet at *Paris* in the Great Hall of the *Louvre*, amongst the rest of the *Drolleries* of these times, nothing took more then a Book call'd *Satyre Menippee* or *le Catholicon d' Espagne*, Composed in abuse of this Convention. * *Justus Lipsius* will have a fling at this *Book*, but the greatest honour it received was from *Rome*, where their Wisdomes there, (as if they had nothing else to do) did many years after very gravely call it to remembrance, and at last thought it fit to pass under their (*) Censure of Reprobation. The prose of it was made by the Almoner to *Cardinal de Bourbon*; the Verses were composed by *Nicholas Rapin*, commended by * *Johannes Passeratius*; (*) *Scævola Sammorthanus* with others, and *Rapin* himself hath some * Poems out in *Latin*. 26 Jan.

* Debit. Pret. Belg. Tom. 3. p. 339.
(*) 16 Mar. 1621. vid. Ind. Expurgat. *Alexandri* VIII. p. 218.

The *States* being met as aforesaid, *Mayenne* (King-like) sitteth under the Cloth of State, desiring them to choose a Catholick King, an Enemie to Heresie, which was seconded by others. The next day at a private meeting the *Legat* moved, that at the next Sessions of the *States* all should take a solemn Oath never to acknowledge *Navarre* for their King, though he should turn *Romanist*, but this was quasht at the Proposal, as to swear against the *Popes* Authority, suppose he should turn, and his Holiness command him to be received. 28 Jan.

* Poet. *Gall.* vol. 3. p. 165.
(*) Ib. p. 420, 421.
* Ib. p. 204, &c.

The next day the *Romanists* with the King (with his consent) send Propositions to the States for a Treaty with them, at which the *Legat* stormeth, affirming the Proposal to be Heretical, and so not fit to be Answer'd; Cardinal *Pelleve* and *Diego d' Ivarra* one of the *Spanish* Agents agreeing with him, but this was opposed; and because the Paper was directed to all the *States*, 'twas judged fit to be communicated to them, which so netled the *Legat*, that he got the Colledge of *Sorbonne* to declare it *Heretical*, as intimating *a declared Heretick might be King, and ought to be obeyed.* Yet the Proposal is shewn to the States, a Conference with the Royal *Romanists* is consented to, but in their Answer they had this odd Conclusion, —— *That to oppose an Heretical King is not Treason.* The place agreed on is *Surenne*, between *Paris* and

1593. and St. *Denys*, and Perſons are nominated on both ſides.

In the *States* the *Spaniards* carried high for the *Infanta*, many ſeeming willing to it for intereſt-ſake; but when they named *Erneſt* Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, the Emperors Brother, for her husband, it was rejected, as not fitting to give the Kingdom to a ſtranger. The *Spaniards* ſmelling the deſign, offered to admit of a *French* Prince to be married to *Philips* daughter, which took pretty well, *Guiſe*, *Nemours*, *Lorain*, and *Mayenne* his ſons, each of them hoping to be the Man and King. Nay, ſome who ſeem'd to be the Kings Friends and Allies, as Cardinal *Bourbon*, Count *de Soiſſons*, the Prince of *Conti*, with ſome others, began to hearken to this Propoſal, every one fancying to make the Crown his, upon which conceits they were not ſo earneſt in the Kings Cauſe and Intereſt as they ſeem'd to be.

The King perceiving that the Authority of the Pope was one of his greateſt Enemies or Pretences, had a great minde to have him pacified, to which purpoſe he formerly had the Republick of *Venice*, and *Ferdinando de Medici* Grand Duke of *Tuſcany* to uſe their intereſts in his behalf at *Rome*; and to further it had alſo been ſent Cardinal *Pietro de Gondy*, Biſhop of *Paris*, and the Marqueſs *de Piſani*, in the name of the *Romaniſt* with the King upon the ſame Errand. But the Pope commanded them not to enter into the Eccleſiaſtical Territories, as being Favourers of Hereticks, well-Wiſhers to *Navarre*, with whom they had preſumed to ſpeak and treat, to which ſome Reaſons and Excuſes being returned, the Pope at laſt permits them to enter *Rome*. And at laſt the King himſelf gave fair Signes and Proffers to the Conference at *Surenne*, not only of his being willing to be inſtructed in the *Roman* Religion, but as it were ready to be of it.

This amazeth the *Covenanters* to the purpoſe, the *Legat* proteſteth againſt the Conference as dangerous, that they could neither treat with, nor admit of a peace with *Navarre*, being a declared Heretick, and that if they did either, he for his part would quit the Kingdom; and this he publiſh'd in Print that every one might take notice of it. Nor were the *Spaniard* leſs concerned, who (fearing the Kings Converſion, would make haſte and be excepted of, thinking to ſpoil it) Nominates the Duke of *Guiſe* for Husband to the *Infanta*, ſhewing it was ſo in his Inſtructions.

At this *Mayenne* is ſtung to the heart, nor could he ſo much diſſemble but his thoughts were perceived; however he thanks them for their kindneſs to his Nephew, and deſires time till things were better prepared; But this Nomination being known, the Embaſſadors, Nobles, Citizens, and every one flock to pay their ſervice to *Guiſe*, and give him joy, his Palace is fill'd, himſelf cried up, and now they vapour of a new Kingling, * *Charles XI.* At all this the Dutcheſs of *Mayenne* is mad, ſhe frets, ſtorms and weeps three days, and not able any longer to endure, ſhe falleth upon her troubled husband with Sighs, Exclamations, Threatnings and Railings, jearing him as one that hath loſt all his labour and pains, if he who had hitherto borne the brunt, muſt at laſt only thus truckle to his young Nephew.

* *Charles de Guiſe.*

The Duke alſo (thus perplext to ſee himſelf as it were laid aſide) puts many into young *Guiſe* his head, demands ſtrange and exorbitant Conditions of the *Spaniard* for performance; yet thinking theſe not ſure enough, deſigneth a Treaty with Cardinal *Bourbon*; and leſt this alſo ſhould fail, cunningly dealeth with the Parliament of *Paris*, to make a *Decree*, that the Crown ſhould not be transfer'd to ſtrangers, and the nulling

nulling of all Treaties held to that purpoſe, as contrary to the *Salique Law* (which ſome think a Cheat) and other Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. And this trick was ſoon obtain'd by the hands of *Jehan le Maiſtre* chief Preſident, who (as if the Duke knew nothing of the buſineſs) waited upon *Mayenne* with a good Company of Councellors, to inform him of their Order; which Action and Decree, the Duke ſeemed to take in ill part, as if they had been too bold in medling, and this had ſome effect, not a little daſhing the Confidence and Plots of the *Spaniard*. 1593 28 June.

The King underſtood all this *Cabal*, and alſo he perceived, that though they agreed not amongſt themſelves, yet were they all reſolved againſt him, and to adde to his trouble, the *Romaniſts* whom he moſt truſted, were falling from him as a Prince not to be converted. Theſe and other * Inconveniences, forcing him to be more apprehenſive, he thinks himſelf now neceſſitated ſo far to comply with them in ſecuring the Kingdom to himſelf, as to hint the Roman Religion to be the beſt; and ſo at *Mante*, having talked between * five and ſix hours with ſome Prelats, he ſeem'd well enough ſatisfied, and thus thruſt from his failings, he declareth he will publickly go to receive *Abſolution*, and hear Maſs at St. *Denys* within two days. * *Camden an.* 1593. * *Spond.* 1593. ſect. 17. 23 July.

Now is *Mayenne* at his Wits end, he had been at ſome pains and trouble to lay aſide his Nephew, his Dutcheſs perſwading him rather to make peace with *Navarre*, then to be a ſubject to young *Guiſe*. But here he perceives himſelf out-witted, all his Pretenſions againſt the King being becauſe he was an Heretick, but now by this declared Converſion he is left without excuſe. Well, finding no other remedy, he conſults to get a Truce with the King for ſome time, to which his Majeſtie ſhews himſelf willing, hoping by the ſweetneſs of a little peace to gain upon the people, though *Mayenne* had other deſigns againſt him. As for the Duke of *Guiſe*, conſidering well how things went, he excuſed his Election to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadors, as a thing that would prove ridiculous to others, and ruinous to himſelf.

In the mean time, the *Legat* inform'd of the Kings deſign, to convert and be abſolved at St. *Denys*, pulls out his Paper-Tools, and falls to the old Work, declaring *Navarre* to be an Excommunicated Heretick, being ſo pronounced by *Sixtus* V. and therefore not to be abſolved or admitted into the Church, but by the Pope himſelf; That all ſhall be null and void, that they ſhall do that waywards; and that thoſe who ſhall appear there, ſhall be excommunicated and deprived: to theſe *Mayenne* addeth his good-will, by forbidding any man to go to St. *Denys* under great penalties. 25 July.

But all to no purpoſe, for the day being come, all ſorts of people croud thither, the King clothed in white, with a black Hat and Cloak, nobly attended, goeth to the Great Church, the Gates being ſhut, the Lord Chancellor knocks, they are opened, and within appeareth *Renaud e Beaune* Archbiſhop (or if you will * Patriarch) of *Bourges*; ſitting in his Chair in his *Pontificalibus*, environ'd with a great number of Prelats. He ask'd who he was, and what he would have? The King replied, that he was *Henry* King of *France* and *Navarre*, deſiring to be received into the boſome of the Church, the Arch-biſhop ask'd him if he heartily deſired it, and was truly ſorry for his former Errours? which the King affirming on his knees, repeating the Confeſſion of Faith, with ſome Prayers, and being ſworn, after ſecret Confeſſion he received *Abſolution*; then ſat under the Cloth of State to hear *Maſs*; ſo all being

* A Title loſa attributed to the Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, Pope *Nicolas I.* calling *S. Rodolphus* the 47. Prelat of this City a *Patriarch*: Cauſ. 9. Queſt. 3. c. *Canonicus* & Gloſſ.

1593 being done, he returned an excellent *Romaniſt* to his Palace, but with what bad words and maledictions the Prieſts of *Paris* could throw upon him.

In the mean time at the Conference of *Surein*, a Truce being concluded between the King and *Mayenne*, the *Legat* ſhewed himſelf very zealous and furious againſt it, threatning to be gone, but he was ſomewhat appeas'd by *Mayenne*'s getting a Decree from their illegal *States* for the receiving the Council of *Trent*, though a little before, the *Council* being treated on, in the ſame *States* the Parliament oppoſed its Reception, producing XXVI. Articles in it, contrary to the *Gallick* Church.

Spond. on 1593. ſect. 9.

Mayenne ſeeing the Covenanting Cauſe thus at a ſtand, if not quite loſt, thanks the *Spaniards* for the honour they had done his family, by honouring their *Infanta* to his Nephew *Guiſe*, and for their aſſiſtance to the *League*, but tells them withal, that it is fitting to defer the Election to a more convenient time, then Aſſembling the *States*, he made them all take an *Oath* to perſevere in the *Holy Union*, and ſo adjourn'd them for ſome months, and then to meet again at the ſame place, hoping yet with himſelf rather to raiſe then diminiſh his greatneſs.

8 Auguſt.

The King having as aforeſaid taken away all Objections at home about his Religion, endeavours the ſame at *Rome*, to which purpoſes he ſends *Lodovico Gonzago* Duke of *Nevers* Embaſſador thither, with ſeveral Divines, amongſt whom was *Jaques Davy*, Sieur *du Perron* the Elect Biſhop of *Evreux*, who had already thrown off the intereſt of his former Maſter *Cardinal Bourbon* (the Head of the third Party) for whilſt he Negotiated the Cardinals deſigns with ſome great ones at *Court*, he grew acquainted with the King, pleaſing him with his Learning, Eloquence, Mirth, Wit and Poetry: thus commanding the Kings Ear and Humour; and perceiving his own greatneſs might more eaſier be attain'd to by the King (eſpecially his Converſion) then the Cardinals Exaltation, quitted his old former ſervice, and became very active for his Majeſty.

Vid. *Gomberville* Memoires de M. de *Nevers* vol. 2. p. 405. &c. p. 638. Davila. pag. 1220.

Nevers and his Company go towards *Rome*, whilſt *Arnaud d'Oſſat* (though but of mean Parentage, yet of great Wit and Judgment, as his Negotiations and Letters teſtifie) now living at *Rome* (and afterwards a Cardinal) ſecretly and wiſely on his own head, agitated for the Kings advantage. The Pope ſends *Poſſivino* (the known *Jeſuit*) to *Nevers*, not to approach, the Duke returneth many Reaſons, and goeth on; at laſt the Pope allow'd him, but he muſt enter the City privately, and not ſtay in it above ten days. He waiteth upon the Pope, but *Clement* will grant him nothing, nor abſolute, nor confirm the former Abſolution of *Henry*, nor permit the Biſhops who came along with him to kiſs his *Toe*, becauſe they had preſumed to abſolve *Navarre*, though they alledged it was but *ad futuram Cautelam*, reſerving his Obedience and Acknowledgment to the Pope, which he now rendred him. The Duke and Prelats ſeeing nothing to be done, depart the City and go to *Venice*.

In the mean time *Mayenne* carrieth on his deſigns, ſends into *Spain*, deſiring that their *Infanta* might be married to his eldeſt ſon; but the *Legat* is mad at him for ſpoiling the cauſe, by croſſing the Promotion of *Guiſe*: nor had the *Spaniards* any great kindneſs for him, perceiving that he favour'd and made uſe of them only for his own advantage. Beſides theſe, the *League* was now alſo ſomwhat weakned by the Ambitious thoughts of the Duke of *Nemours*, who thinking to canton out

or

or make himſelf abſolute Lord or Prince of *Lyon* (where he was Go- 1593
vernour) and the Territories adjoyning was by *Mayenne's* Directions turn'd out of the City and Government, by which affront (as his Brother in law *Nemours* thought it was) one grand prop of the Covenant was thus diſcontented and laid aſide. Upon which *Mayenne* and *Guiſe* (thus conceiving their own Relations and Confederates to plot againſt them) thought it behoved them to be more cunning and wary, and ſo they joyn more ſtrictly together, for the more ſure preſervation of themſelves, Family and Faction.

CHAP. IX.

The Several Plots of Pierre Barriere *againſt the King.* Paris *yielded to the King.* Chaſtel *ſtabs the King in the Mouth.* Charles Ridicove *a Friar ſent to kill the King.*

WHILST the *Leaguers* (as aforeſaid) were grievouſly perplext by their own Jealouſies, Diviſions, and the Kings Conqueſts, the Murther of his Majeſty, (his life being the main Obſtacle to the *Covenant*) is zealouſly contrived. There was one *Pierre Barriere* or *la Bar*, firſt a Boatman in *Orleanse*, and after a truſty Souldier for the *Solemn League* and *Covenant*; he ſome way or other inſtigated, took up a Reſolution to kill the King, thinking thereby to do God good ſervice, and meritoriouſly to make his way more eaſie for Heaven, their Preachers from the Pulpit having continually thundred into the peoples ears the lawfulneſs and gallantry of ſuch an Action. 1593

His deſign he communicateth to ſome Friers, who incourage him in it; then he muſt needs reveal it to *Seraphino Banchi*, a *Florentine Dominican* then living in *Lyon*; *Banchi* honeſtly abhorring the Fact, diſcovereth it to *le Sieur de Brancabeon*, a ſervant of the Queen Dowagers, and ſheweth him the fellow to the end he might uſe his direction in informing the King.

Barriere reſolved on his buſineſs, goeth to *Paris*, conferreth about the buſineſs with *Chriſtopher Aubre*, Curat of *S. Andre des Arcs* (or *en Laa*) who ſeem'd well pleaſed with the noble Reſolution, made the fellow drink, telling him, *That he ſhould gain by that Act both great Glory and Paradice*; and ſo ſendeth him for further Inſtructions to *Ambroſe Varade*, about three weeks before choſen Rector of the *Jeſuits* Colledge. *Varade* entertaineth him friendly, telling him, that *the Enterpriſe was moſt holy, and that with good Conſtancy and Courage he ſhould Confeſs himſelf, and receive the bleſſed Sacrament.* Then led him to his Chamber, gave him his bleſſing, received the Sacrament in the Colledge of the *Jeſuits*, and was confeſt alſo by another *Jeſuit* by *Varade's* Order.

The Villain thus encouraged buyeth a Knife for Eighteen pence, a luſty knife with a blade, ſome ſeven inches long, edged both ways with a long Poyniards Point. Thus prepared he went to St. *Denys* (where the King then was) watching opportunity to give the blow, but prevented there, he followed him to Fort *Gournay*, then to *Bricontrez Robert*, where he confeſs'd again, and communicated with *Thomas Boucher*,

1594. (whether akin to *Jean* I know not) the Curate of that place; here the King paſſed by and eſcaped him, as he was drawing out his knife; ſo loſing that opportunity he followed His Majeſty to *Melun*, whither *Brauzaleon* being come, and ſeeing the fellow, he is diſcovered, and taken, and carried to priſon, where he deſired of *Anne Rouſſe* the Gaolers wife
31 *Auguſt.* ſome poiſon. Being examin'd, confeſs'd all, is condemn'd, led to the Scaffold in the Market-place, where he further confeſſeth, that two Black Friars went from *Lyon* alſo upon the ſame deſign: ſo his right Hand is burned in a flaming Fire, his Arms, Legs, and Thighs broken, ſo put upon the wheel and ſtrangled, the next day his body was conſumed to aſhes, and they thrown into the River.

The King now goeth on proſperouſly, taking ſeveral places, and others
1594 yielding freely to him, which ſucceſs troubled not a little the *Covenan-*
* 27 *Jan.* *ters.* But to keep up their hearts the *Nuncio* put forth a * Declaration, exhorting all the Catholicks to unite and oppoſe *Navarre*, telling them that the Pope will not abſolve him, nor admit of his Abſolution; that the Duke of *Nevers* is diſreguarded at *Rome*, his Embaſſie is deſpiſed by the Pope; that they owe no obedience to the King, his Converſion being but a Cheat, and himſelf not received into the boſom of the Church.

In the mean time *Aix* in *Provence* yields to the King, to the great trouble of *Gilbert Genebrard* the Hebrician and Chronologer, who the year before had this Archbiſhoprick given him for his great zeal to the *League* by Pope *Gregory* XIV. and ſo vext was this old *Covenanter* at the rendition of this place, that he forthwith departed the City, ſcorning to breathe amongſt ſuch Royalliſts. *Mayenne* having ſought help from Pope, *Spaniard*, and every where elſe, and now growing jealous of Count *de Belin* his Governour of *Paris*, he removed him, putting in his room Count *de Briſſac*, and ſo marcheth out to try his fortune in other places.

Briſſac having thus *Paris* under his command, thought it beſt to conſult his own advantage by making peace with the King, whom he ſaw to carry all. Whileſt this Capitulation went ſecretly on, the King had
27 *Feb.* himſelf crown'd at *Chartres*, by *Nicholas de Thou* Biſhop of that City, and for his Sacreeing or Anointing, becauſe *Rheims* was poſſeſt by the *Covenanters*, and ſo they could not procure the *Sancte Ampoule* or holy Vial of Oyl (of which their Legends talk much) they had recourſe to
* Monaſte- ri m majo- ris Mona- ſte ii. that kept in the Abby * *de Marmonſtier* near *Tours*, which they ſay was brought from Heaven by an Angel († *Gononus* ſaith the Virgin *Mary*) to cure the broken bones of St. *Martin* the Archbiſhop of that City. For the Ceremonies of this Coronation I ſhall refer you to (a) *Andre Favyn*,
† Pag. 57. (a) Hiſt. de *Navarre*. (b) *Theodore Godefroy*, and the ſtory of it was the ſame year printed in *French* as alſo in *Engliſh*.
(b) Le Ceremonial de *France*. Well, the Treaty is concluded about the delivering up of *Paris*. *Briſſac* upon feigned excuſes ſendeth out of the City the Souldiers he could not confide in, then having prepared all things for the beſt, the King and his
22 *March.* Forces are ſecretly let into *Paris*, the Souldiers and Citizens upon notice crying *Vive le Roy*, all things are carried peaceably, all pardon'd and kept in their Places and Offices; but Cardinal *Pelleve* Archbiſhop of *Rheims* a furious *Covenanter*, now lying ſick in *Paris*, and inform'd what was a doing angrily ſaid, that —— *He hoped yet the Arms of the* Spaniards *and good Catholicks would drive that* Huguenot *out of* Paris —— which ſaid he died. All the Kings enemies had liberty to depart. The *Legat* (though the King deſired him to ſtay) returned for *Rome*, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadours

dours and Forces marched away, and ſeveral * *Frenchmen* jealous of their own Villanies quitted the City, and others the Kingdom. And now both Parlement of *Paris* and the *Sorbonne* Doctors wheel about, and declare themſelves dapper fellows for King *Henry* IV. and the Parlement of *Paris* puts forth a Decree, the ſumme of which was: 1594.

* *Their names in* Mem. de M. Nevers, *t. 2 p. 718.*

Nulleth and maketh void all Decrees and Oaths made or taken againſt King Henry IV. *ſince Dec.* 20. 1588.

Nulleth all that hath alſo been done againſt King Henry III. *commandeth all to ſpeak reverently of him, and that thoſe ſhall be proceeded againſt who were any way guilty of his murther.*

Revoketh all power formerly given to the Duke of Mayenne, *forbids any to yield him any obedience under pain of Treaſon, and under the ſame penalty commands the Houſe of* Lorrain *to acknowledge* Henry IV. *for their King.*

Commandeth all people to forſake the League *or* Union.

Revoketh all that hath been done by the late pretended States General *at* Paris, *and that for the future they aſſemble not.*

And that the 22th. of March *ſhall for the future be kept as an Holyday, &c.*

Paris, 30 March 1594. De Villoutreys.

The King thus proſperous, many places (ſeeing ſmall hopes left) ſubmitted themſelves. The Duke *de Elbœuf* of the Houſe of *Lorrain* maketh peace, the Duke of *Lorrain* himſelf is inclinable, but *Mayenne*, *d'Aumale*, and ſome others ſtand out obſtinately. As for the *Spaniards*, they ſeeing the *League* ruin'd, fight for their own Maſter *Philip*, under that notion beginning a war with *France*, to them the Duke of *Aumale* ſubmitting himſelf and Intereſt, rather then to his own Sovereign; and *Mayenne* followed almoſt the ſame ſteps, joyning with them, though he did not abſolutely ſubmit himſelf to them. Thus the *League* daily loſing ground, *Lorrain* maketh a Truce or Peace with the King, and *Guiſe* ſeeing little elſe to truſt to, renounceth the *Covenant* and compounds with His Majeſty.

But that all hopes might not fail, another attempt muſt be made upon the Kings Perſon. The * *Jeſuits*, *Capuchines*, and other Religious Zelots had formerly contriv'd his murther; and † *François Jacob*, a Scholar of the *Jeſuits* at *Bourges* had boaſted and threatned his death, but here we meet with a fellow that will endeavour to be as good as his word.

* Memoirs du Duc de *Sully*, tom. 1. p. 169.

† Mem. de la *Ligue*, tom. 6. p. 263.

His name was *Jean Chaſtel*, ſon to a Draper in *Paris*, a young man of a wicked life, and bred up in the Jeſuits School. Having conſider'd with himſelf what an abominable life he had led, reſolved to do ſome noble and meritorious action for the benefit of Religion, thereby to waſh and wipe out the ſtains of his own crimes and offences. And having often heard it preach'd from the Pulpit, diſcourſed of and diſputed in the Schools (where he converſed) that it was not onely lawful but glorious to kill Heretical Kings, and particularly *Henry* of *Bourbon*. Thus nurs'd up, he concluded nothing could be more meritorious to himſelf, and acceptable to God and Man, then the taking out of the world *Navarre*, whom he was taught to believe to be truly no King, but a dam-

Laurence Bouchel Hiſt. de la juſtice criminelle de *France*, tit. 11. ch. 15.

1593 damnable Heretick and Perſecutor of the Church. Thus reſolved, he imparts his deſign to his father and the Curate of Saint *André* in *Paris*.

And now being fully confirm'd in the glorioufneſs of the action, and being well prepar'd for the attempt, he will take the next opportunity. The King with ſeveral Nobles being at the *Louvre* in the Chamber of the fair *Cabrielle d'Eſtrees*, (by him for love-ſake made Dutcheſs of *Beaufort*) *Jean Chaſtel* amongſt the reſt had boldly thruſt himſelf in. At laſt getting near the Kings perſon, he out with his knife offering a ſtab
27 *Decemb.* at his Throat or Heart, but the King by chance then ſtooping to one in complement, received the blow or wound upon his upper lip, which alſo ſtruck out a tooth. The Villain upon the blow let the knife fall, and having mixt himſelf with the Company deſigning to ſlip away, it could not preſently be known who was the Criminal, till the Count *de Soiſſons* by chance caſting his eyes upon *Chaſtel*, and perceiving him in an amazed and affrighted condition, ſeiz'd on him by the arm, upon which the fellow preſently confeſt, and which was more boldly vindicated the action. Upon this wound *Perron* made a long Copy of (*a*) verſes, and ſo did (*b*) *Baudius*, (*c*) *Sebæ*, and others upon the Parricide and Pyramide.

(*a*) Vide *d'Eſpinelle* le Parnaſſe, tom. 1. fol. 13, 14, &c.
(*b*) Poet. Belg. tom. 1. p. 500, 501.
(*c*) Poet. Gal. tom. 3. p. 718, 719.

The by-ſtanders would have cut the Villain to pieces, but the King wiſer then their paſſions commanded he ſhould not be hurt; ſo he is had to priſon, tried, and condemned to have his fleſh pull'd off with hot Pincers, his right hand holding the knife to be cut off, and himſelf drawn in pieces by four horſes; which accordingly was done, the Parricide ſhewing no ſign of grief or pain.

The Father of *Chaſtel* was baniſhed, his houſe before the Palace pull'd down, and a ſtately Pyramide erected in its place, with many Inſcriptions in Golden Letters upon it, caſting no ſmall reproach upon the *Jeſuits*. The Inſcriptions at large you may ſee in other * Writers. Of *Chaſtel* and the Jeſuits thus ſaith part of it:

* *Lud. Lucius* Hiſt. *Jeſuit.* l. 4. c. 3. *Jo. Wolfius* Lection. Memorab. to. 2. p. 1359, 1060. *D'Aubigne* tom. 3. l. 4. c. 4. Mem. de la *Ligue*, tom. 6. p. 266, &c.

Huc me redegit tandem herilis filius,
Malis magiſtris uſus, & ſchola impia
Sotoricorum, eheu, nomen uſurpantibus, &c.

On another ſide of the Pyramide amongſt other words were theſe:

—*Pulſo præterea tota* Gallia *hominum genere novæ ac malifice ſuperſtitionis, qui rempub. turbabant, quorum inſtinctu piacularis adoleſcens dirum facinus inſtituerit.*

On the fourth ſide of the Pyramide was the *Arreſt* or *Decree* of Parlement againſt the ſaid *Chaſtel* and the Jeſuits, part of which relating to the latter, take as followeth:

† *This* Jeſuits *College at* Paris *was firſt the houſe of* Guillaume de Prat, *Biſhop of* Clermont. *He permitted the Jeſuits to live and teach there* 1564. *and when he died he left it and his Eſtate to them. He built them Colleges alſo at other places.*

—— *The ſaid Court doth likewiſe ordain, that the Prieſts and Students of the College of* † Clermont, *and all others calling themſelves of that Society, ſhall (as corrupters of youth, diſturbers of the common peace, and enemies to the King and State) within the ſpace of three days after the publication of this preſent Decree, depart out of* Paris *and other Towns and places where their Colleges are, and fifteen days after out of the Kingdom, upon pain (whereſoever they ſhall be found,*

found, the said term being expired) to be punished as guilty of the foresaid crime of High Treason. Also the goods as well moveable as unmoveable to them belonging, shall be imployed to charitable uses, and the distribution and disposing of them to lie as shall be ordain'd by the Court. 1593

Furthermore, hereby are forbidden all the Kings Subjects to send any Scholars to the Colleges of the said Society which are out of the Kingdom, there to be instructed upon the like pain and crime of High Treason, &c.

29 Decemb. 1594. *Du TILLET.*

This Decree against *Chastel* and the Jesuits was so ill resented at *Rome*, that it was some years after there * condemned amongst other books which they look'd upon as Heretical, in number of which was also the famous *Thuanus*. And we are * told that *Bellarmine* was so nettled at the learned Bishop *Andrews* his *Tortura Torti*, that he was the great stickler in procuring the former *Censure*. Thus were the Jesuits (who, as *Davila* confesseth, were the first Authors and continual Fomenters of the *League*) banished the Kingdom; though since they have been restored, the Pyramide pull'd down, and a Fountain erected 1604, in its stead. As for the *Pyramide*, *Chastel*, the *Decree* against the *Jesuits*, and the *Kings Tooth*, one did thus endeavour to reconcile all:

* 9 Nov. 1609. Index Expurg. edit. *Antw.* vii. pag 205

* *Jan. de Serres.* an. 1609.

Sire, si vous voulez du tout à l'advenir
De l'Assassin Chastel *oster le souvenir.*
Ostant la Pyramide, *& l'*Arrest *qui la touche,*
Qu' on vous remitte donc une dent dans la bouche.

Sir, if for th' future you will have forgot
The murth'rous *Chastel* and the trait'rous Plot;
Th' Pillar, and th' Decrees that th' Jesuits stain
Destroy; then let them *tooth* your mouth again.

And the King himself (when told that *Chastel* was a Student amongst the *Jesuits*) did give them this biting blow, —— * *It seems then it is not enough that the mouths of so many good men have testified that the* Jesuits *were none of my friends, if they be not also convinced of it by mine own mouth and blood now shed.*

* Memoirs *du Sully* Tom. 1. p. 270.

The truth is, upon *Chastels* * confession more then once, that he learned this King-killing Doctrine from the Jesuits; their College of *Clermont* was searched by Order, amongst which in the Study of Father *Jean Guignard* (born at *Chartres*) were several Writings found, praising the murther of the late King, persuading the killing of this, &c. of which take his own words:

* Mem. de la *Ligue* vol. 6. Jes Cat. fol. 205 *Davila*, p. 1332.

—— *That cruel* * Nero *was slain by one* Clement, *and that Counterfeit Monk was dispatch'd by the hands of a true Monk. This Heroical act performed by* James Clement *is a gift of the Holy Spirit, (so termed by our Divines) is worthily commended by the*

* i.e. Henry III.

Prior

1593 *Prior of the* Jacobins, Burgoin, *a Confeſſor and Martyr. The Crown of* France *may and ought to be transferred from the Houſe of* Bourbon *unto ſome other. And the* * Bearnois, *although converted to the Catholick Faith, ſhall be more mildly dealt with all then he deſerves, if rewarded with a ſhaven Crown he be ſhut up in ſome ſtrict Covent, there to do penance for the miſchiefs which he hath brought upon the Realm of* France; *and to thank God that he hath given him grace to acknowledge him before his death. And if without Arms he cannot be depos'd, let men take Arms againſt him; and if by war it cannot be accompliſhed, let him be* Murthered.

* *Henry IV.*

This *Guignard* being tried confeſt the book to be of his compoſing, is condemn'd, and ſuffer'd; yet have they pictur'd him amongſt the *Martyrs*, attributed Miracles to him, though * *Adrian Behotte* (a little more modeſt) is unwilling to hear any more of him, as if he were guilty. By Order alſo was *Jean Gueret*, another Jeſuit, Teacher of Philoſophy, and Confeſſor to *Chaſtelet*, baniſhed, and his goods confiſcated, *Chaſtel* having learned Philoſophy under him for two years and an half, in which time he had heard ſuch Principles of King-killing aſſerted.

* Reſponſe a l' *Anticoton.* c. 1. p. 32, 33.

And it cannot be denied but that the *Feſuits* College was bad enough in theſe Leaguing times. At the firſt breaking out of Troubles they inſtituted at *Paris* a *Brotherhood*, eſteeming it a Congregation in honour of our Bleſſed Lady, and it was commonly call'd *The Congregation of the Chapelet*, becauſe the Brethren of that Company were to carry a pair of *Beads*, to ſay them over once a day. Of this Fraternity the Zelots of the *League* had themſelves enrolled, as *Mendoza* the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour, the *Sixteen*, and ſeveral others. This Congregation was kept every Sunday in an upper Chapel: on Saturdays they were confeſt, on Sundays they received the Sacrament; when *Maſs* was done, a *Feſuit* ſtept into the Pulpit, exhorting them to be conſtant in the Cauſe. This done, the Common ſort departed, the Grandees ſtaying behind to conſult about the affairs of the *League*, of which Council Father *Odon Pigenat* was a long time Preſident, being one very zealous and fiery.

Jeſ. Cat. fol. 198, 199.

In the School of this College one *Alexander Haye* a *Scotchman* was *Regent* of the firſt Form for three or four years of the Troubles, being a furious *Covenanter*, and a great Corrupter of the Youth. He read to his Auditors *Demoſthenes* his *Invectives* againſt *Philip* of *Macedon*, where by his Gloſſes he made good ſtuff againſt the King, affirming it a commendable act to kill him, by which bleſſed Deed the Actor could not fail of *Paradice*, and be exempted from the pains of *Purgatory*. Nay ſo zelous was he againſt the King, that he openly proteſted, that if the *Bearnois* ſhould enter the City, and paſs by their College, he would leap from the higheſt window thereof upon him, thereby to break the ſaid *Henry*'s neck, being firmly perſuaded, that this fall would alſo carry himſelf into Heaven. That day that the King went firſt to St. *Denis* to hear *Maſs*, this *Haye* underſtanding that certain of his Auditors had been there to ſee the Ceremony, the next day he forbad them his Lectures as Excommunicated perſons, forbidding them to enter his School till they had been abſolved by ſome of the Jeſuits from that horrid crime.

When the people began to talk of Peace with the King, he commanded one of his Scholars to *declame* againſt it; but the *Orator* ſeeming rather

ther to be for Peace, *Haye* ſtorms at him, makes him come down, calling him *Heretick* and ſuch like *Covenanting* names. When the King took poſſeſſion of *Paris* one of the Scholars went into the School before the reſt, and wrote all about his Claſs 1593

GOD SAVE THE KING;

which when *Haye* ſaw, he fell into a rage, crying out againſt thoſe who had ſpoil'd the walls, (for he durſt not now ſpeak poſitively againſt the King, threatning if he knew the offender to have him puniſh'd, and ſo cauſed it to be wiped out. He being now forced to leave the Kingdom, went to *Rome* where he lived.

And *Jaques Cammolet* a furious Jeſuit, and a great Stickler in the Leaguing Council, was as arrogant of the King as any, uſing to make it his buſineſs to prattle miſchief into the people. One time preaching in the Church of St. *Berthelemy*, he took for his text how * *Ehud* ſlew *Eglon* the King of *Moab*, he diſcourſed a long time in Commendation of *Henry III.* placing *Clement* the Murtherer amongſt the Angels. And at laſt thus inſtigated the people to do the like to *Henry* IV. ——*We have need of an* Ehud, *we have need of an* Ehud, *were he a Friar, were he a Souldier, were he a Laquay, were he a Shepherd, it made no matter; needs we muſt have an* Ehud, *one blow would ſettle us fully in the eſtate of our affairs, as we moſt deſire*—— Another time he (and ſo did *Barnard*) call the King *Holofernes, Moab, Nero*, &c. and maintained that the Kingdom of *France* was Elective, and ſo it belong'd to the people to chuſe the Kings: For proof of which he cull'd out this Text, ——*Thou ſhalt chuſe thy brother for King*: which thus he and *Barnard* expounded, ——*Thy brother*, —— *that is, not of the ſame lineage, or of the ſelf-ſame Nation, but of the ſame Religion, as this great Catholick King, this great King of* Spain *is.* Another time *Cammolet* affirm'd, that by theſe words, —— *Deliver me, O Lord, out of the mire, that I may not ſtick in it*—— King *David* underſtood Prophetically the rooting out of the Houſe of *Bourbon.* * *Judges* 3. 15, 16, 21, 22.

When *Barriere* was examined concerning his Deſign to murther the King, he alſo confeſt that two Friars went from *Lyons* to act the ſame; and that *Cammolet* knew of their or ſome other mans wicked purpoſe, was in thoſe times fully believed, of which he himſelf gave this hint. When news came to *Paris* that *Barriere* was diſcovered and executed, many of the *Zelots* began to deſpair of a Remedy, *Cammolet* the next * Sunday thus encouraged his Auditors, —— *Have patience, have patience, for you ſhall ſee within few days a wonderful miracle of God, which is at hand; yea eſteem it as already come.* * 5 *Sept.*

Such like Diſcourſes as theſe, and their thus ſiding with the *Spaniard* againſt their own King and Countrey, with other actions, were the reaſon that the *Jeſuits* were judged to be expell'd the Nation, and occaſioned a pleaſant *French* Gentleman in a little Poem thus to conclude of them:

——*A* Geſis *ſunt indita nomina vobis,*
Quæ quia Sacrilegi, Reges torquetis in omnes,
Inde ſacrum nomen, ſacrum ſumpſiſtis & omen.

From * *Geſan*, which againſt all Kings they ſhake,
The *Jeſuits* their Name and Fortune take.

* *A warlike weapon uſed by the ancient* Spaniards *and* French, *and from them taken up by the* Romans *and others.*

A little after *Jehan Chastel* had wounded the King, there was one *François de Verone* set forth a Book in Vindication of the Villain and and Action, affirming it to be (a) *A generous, vertuous, and an Heroick Act, and comparable to the most Renowned Deeds of the Ancients, either in Sacred or Prophane History.* That it was (b) *purely just, vertuous and Heroick*; That it was (c) *most holy, most humane, most worthy, most to be prais'd and commended*; That it was (d) *agreeable to God, to all Laws, to all Decrees, and the Church.* That those who had condemn'd him, had (e) *judg'd against God, against the Holy Scriptures, against the Church and her Decrees, and against the States and Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom.* And as for *Chastel* himself, he was a (f) *Happy Soul*, and a (g) *true Martyr.* And the same *Verone* also write an Apology for Father *Guignard*, whom he (h) commends for his Constancy, in defending to the last gasp his treasonable papers against the King, for which he reckons him a Martyr and Saint in Heaven.

(a) *Apol. pour* Jean Chastel, *part* 1. c. 7. p. 21.
(b) *Part* 2. p. 25.
(c) *Part* 4. c. 1. p. 147.
(d) *Ib.* p. 155, 156.
(e) *Part* 4. c. 2. p. 152.
(f) *Part* 3. c. 10.
(g) *Pag.* 23.
(h) *Part* 5. c. 9, 10.

1595 But to return to the King, who had earnestly solicited the Pope to allow him to be a *Romanist*, and receive him into the Church. At last the Pope perceiving the King victorious, the League ruined being not able to make head against him, after many solicitations and Treaties, (though the Duke of *Sessa* the *Spanish* Embassador oppos'd and (i) threatned much) consents, and so *Jaques Davy* (k) Bishop-Elect of *Evreux*, and *Arnaud d'Ossat*, the Kings Proxies or Representers appear'd before the Pope in the Porch of S. *Peters*, * prostrating themselves before him, and kissing his feet, desiring in the Kings name Absolution. First, the Pope nulls and makes void the Absolution formerly given the King at S. *Denis*, then they lying prostrate at his feet, whilst the Psalm *Miserere* was sung. At the end of every verse the Pope with a Wand (l) gently striking their shoulders; then he pronounced the *Absolution*, upon which the Gates of the Church fly open, and in they are led, *Te Deum* is sung, Bonefires and Guns make the Boys mad for joy, and so the *King* is a good *Romanist*.

(i) *Mem d. Nevers, vol.* 2. *p.* 716.
(k) *He was consecrated B sh. of this See by Card.* Joyeuse *at* Rome, 29 Decem. *this year. He was after Archbishop of Sens, and Cardinal du* Perron.
* 17 Sept.
(l) *Was used at* Rome—— *S. K.* James *saith in his Apology for the Oath of Allegeance*, p. 75. Virga Sacerdotal leviter percussum, *Mar. Tort.* p. 89.

In the mean time the Duke of *Mayenne* seeing no hopes of carrying on his own designes of greatness, the King being now successful, and most of the Kingdom obeying him, is willing also to be at peace with him, which the King perceiving, very graciously offers him Conditions. A Treaty is begun, and all his shifts and pretences being spoil'd by the Popes admission and absolution of the King, after many Demands, Consultations and Concessions, an (m) Agreement is struck up, very favourable and beneficial to the Duke and his party, all things being pardon'd and liberty given to them to come in and live peaceably.

(m) *All the Articles and Edicts concerning all these Agreements with the King are in* Histoire des derniers troubles de France. Edit. 1601.

Many advised the King to prosecute *Mayenne* to the utmost, and not accept him into his favour, having shuffled him off for six years together, troubling him with fifty Treaties without concluding any thing, and one not willing to agree as long as he had any means and opportunity to oppose. But the King being good natured, waved all his jealousies, made a firm peace with him, kept him his Favourite; and he himself ever after lived a good subject. And to this Agreement, 'tis supposed the fair *Gabrielle* did not a little perswade the King, she losing nothing by making such reconcilements.

Now the Duke of *Nemours* (the elder Brother died a little before a fierce *Covenanter*) reconciles himself also, so doth the Duke of *Joyeuse*, the City of *Marseilles* as seized on too, and delivered to the King; so that now nothing seem'd to remain of their *Solemn League and Covenant*, but the Duke of *Aumale*, and the Duke of *Mercœur*; The

1596 first

firſt would not acknowledge the King, having ſubmitted himſelf to the *Spaniard*, for which he was declared a Traitor, and *in Effigie* was executed, by the drawing of it in pieces by four horſes. The ſecond, being Brother to the Queen Dowager, ſtill maintain'd part of the Dutchy of *Bretaigne*, fooliſhly hoping to ſeparate that Province from the Crown, and retain it to himſelf. The *King* had often offered him good Conditions, but ſtill he delayed time, which at laſt ſo troubled his Majeſty, that he reſolved to march into *Brittany* himſelf to reduce him, which *Mercœur* perceiving, and by conſequence his ruine not far off, claps up a Peace, by giving his only daughter to *Cæſar*, eldeſt ſon of the fair *Gabriele* (by the *King*) which ſon by this great Match was made *Duke* of *Vendoſme*. And now alſo was ſtruck up a compleat Peace at *Vervins* between the *French* and *Spaniard*. And thus ended the *French* League and Rebellion. 1597 1597 1598

But before we leave this *League* we will give you a chip of the old block, whereby you may perceive other deſignes on foot, to take away the *Kings* life.

The Duke of *Parma* Governour of the *Netherlands* dying (1592.) *Erneſt* Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, and Brother to the Emperour *Rodolph* II. ſucceeded in that Command, and with him at *Bruxels* reſided *N. Malavicinus*, Embaſſador from Pope *Clement* VIII. which Agent had formerly acted at *Paris* very earneſtly for the *Covenanters*. Thuan. *lib.* 123. *Ledaye de Monſ. de la Marteliere, p.* 97, 98.

Nor did his zeal leſſen by a farther diſtance, for here he conſulted all means to get ſome body to aſſaſſinate the *French King Henry* IV. At laſt informed that one *Charles Ridicove* a *Dominican* Friar at *Ghent*, had ſhewed himſelf a mortal enemy to *Navarre*, and would be apt enough to undertake ſuch a wickedneſs. *Malavicino* ſends to the *Provincial*, commanding him to ſend *Ridicove* to him; which is obey'd. The *Dominican* being come to *Bruxels*, and acquainted with the noble Exploit, deſireth that the *Deed* might be approved of by the Pope and Cardinals, that himſelf and friends might be rewarded, and himſelf Conveniences allowed. *Malavicino* conſenting and undertaking for all, the Conditions are agreed on.

* *Avenaria* Mother to *Ridicove* (who alſo knew of the Plot) in Confeſſion telleth it to *Hodume* the *Jeſuit*, who liketh the Fact well enough, but deſireth to ſee the hardy fellow; 'tis granted, and having view'd him well, approveth of all, but fears the man is not ſtrong enough: In ſhort, *Ridicove* is bleſt and croſt by *Malavicino*, and liberty granted him (for the better carrying on the buſineſs) to appear Gentleman-like, to ride, fence, dance, and ſuch like Accompliſhments. Thus qualified, he departs the *Netherlands*, goeth to *Vernand*, thence to St. *Denys*, where finding the thing difficult, or not fully reſolved or hardy enough to venture, he returneth to *Bruſſels*. *Malavicino* ſeeing him, and nothing done, wonders at his negligence, *Ridicove* excuſing himſelf becauſe he now perceived the King was turn'd *Romaniſt*. To take off this, *Malavicino* tells him he is miſtaken, the *Bearnois* being damned by the Pope, all his Partakers excommunicated, and ſo ask'd him if he would once undertake it again; the Villain conſents, but deſires the Popes Authority: At laſt he is perſwaded to try the other bout in *France*; ſo diſguiz'd, he departed with an excuſe in his mouth, as if he had been ſent by *Nicholas Baſta*, a Commander at *Antwerp*, (who was alſo privy to the Plot) to treat underhand about the delivering up of *Capaulme*, (a ſtrong little place on the Frontiers of *Artois*) to the King.

* *It may be the true name was* D'avelnes, *the ſame with that we have mov'd in* Hiſtoire de la paix entre les Roys de France & d'Eſpagne, fol. 144.

At this time one *Pet. Arzer* a *Dominican* alſo of the ſame Monaſtery of

1598 *Gant*, had been trucking at *Bruxels* with *Malavicino* about the Kings death, which he undertook to perform, ſome *Italians* loving to be ſure in Murther.

Ridicove in the mean time changeth his name, and from his Mother calls himſelf * *Avenarius*, thus he goeth to *Amiens*, waiteth upon the Governour, with whom thinking to get the greater repute, and not to be diſcovered himſelf, he the falſe *Avenarius* telleth him of one *Ridicove* inſtigated by *Malavicino* to kill the King, and to this he addeth alſo the deſign of *Peter Arger*. The Governour inform'd the King of all, who ſendeth for this ſuppoſed *Avenarius*, who boldly affirm'd the ſame ſtories to his Majeſty; and that *Ridicove* being his intimate friend, had diſcloſed the ſame to him. In ſhort, the King, till a further diſcovery, hath *Avenarius* impriſon'd; though at laſt, doubting leaſt this might only be a trick to caſt an *Odium* and Jealouſie upon *Albert* the Cardinal Arch-Duke, and Archbiſhop of *Toledo* (who upon the death of his Brother *Erneſt* was then Governour of the *Netherlands*) and ſo to hinder the peace between the two Crowns then conſulting on; the King ordered the fellow to be ſet at liberty, but to depart the Kingdom, and to return no more upon pain of death.

* d'Avrſnes

Ridicove getting to *Gant*, conſulteth again how to kill the King, and having joyn'd himſelf with another *Dominican* call'd *Clement Odin*, and diſguiſing themſelves in the habits of *Heremites*, trudge into *France*, diſcover their deſign to *Pierre Morell* a Curate, who relateth it to *Deſidere Pariſote*, who abhorring the Fact, tells the King, whereby the Friars are ſecured, examin'd; and being ask'd what could excite them to ſuch a deed, *Ridicove* Anſwer'd,——*That he was firſt inſtigated to entertain ſuch thoughts, by the daily Sermons and Diſputations which he had heard, fitted for ſuch Actions; it being the cuſtom not only in their Churches, but the ſtreet and all other meetings, to extol* Jacques Clement, *as a moſt glorious Martyr, for ſacrificing his life for the liberty of his Countrey, whereby he alſo thought the deed to be glorious and acceptable to God, eſpecially when* Malavicino *did warrant it to him by the Authority both of God and the Pope, and thus fully perſwaded he had undertaken the Murther.*—for which he was condemn'd and executed.

At the ſame time there was one *Nicolas l' Anglois* a *Capuchin* Friar, belonging to that Monaſtery in St. *Miel*, or St. *Michel* in the Dukedom of *Bar*, and in the Dioceſs of *Toul* in *Lorrain*, who throwing off his Cowle or Hood, and under the diſguiſe of a Beggerly habit, being found in the Court, upon examination, giving no good account, and Convict by Teſtimony was alſo condemn'd and ſuffered upon the Wheel.

Such like murtherous deſignes of the *Friars*, occaſioned many Poems againſt them, amongſt the reſt upon the ſtabbing of *Henry III.* (who is ſaid to have loved them moſt affectionately) thus one of them concludeth.

Jamais il n'y eut Roy *par qui la* Moinerie
Reſpectee fut plus, & par qui plus cheria:
Si les Moins *ainſi tuent leurs grands amis,*
Bon Dieu! que ferent ils à leur grand Ennemis?

Never did *King* carry more kinde deſires,
Than *Henry*, unto all ſorts of Fryers;

If *Monks* to friends will give ſuch deadly blows,
Good God! what will they do unto their Foes? 1598

Thus much for the *French, Popiſh, Solemn League and Covenant*, by Retorting of which is enough to ſtop their mouths concerning our late Rebellions, ſeeing,

The *Romaniſts* there ſafely pretended the danger of Religion as well as our *Presbyterians* did.

They entred into a *Solemn League and Covenant*, as our *Non-conformiſts* did.

They forced their King to take it, and it is not unknown what our villainous Long-Parliament would have done, and what the impudent Schiſmaticks in *Scotland* did do.

They ſpred abroad that their King was an enemie to their Religion, and in this were worſe then our *Puritans*, who though they ſlandred our King, yet had it rather been a ſcandal for him to have been of their ſchiſmatical perſwaſion.

They had their Prieſts and Jeſuits ſacrilegiouſly to abuſe the Pulpit and People, with their ſeditious, lying and treaſonable Diſcourſes, as our Rebels had their blaſphemous *Lecturers*, ignorant and impudent Tub-Thumpers; and 'tis hard to tell which of theſe Covenanters were the greater Villains, though I'le grant ours to be the greater Dunces.

They falſely gave out that many thouſand *Hugenots* lurk'd in *Paris* to kill them, thereby to incenſe and inrage the people, as our *Puritans* did of God knows what *Cavaliers* and *Papiſts* muſtred under ground, and ſuch like tales.

They had their ſeveral *Juncto's* and *Cabal's*, as ours had their Committees, &c.

They null'd and made void all their Oaths of Allegiance, as ours did.

They declared that Allegiance was but Conditional, *viz.* to a *Romaniſt*, as ours did to a Covenanter.

They made many Oaths in behalf of Conditional Subjection and Rebellion, as out late Zealots did.

They had their Doctors or Divines of *Sorbonne*, to countenance and vindicate their wicked *Actions*, and to declare for good whatever they would have them; As ours had their Club of *Aſſembly* of *Divines*, to prove new Govetnments, and King-oppoſing to be by *Divine Right* and *Predeſtination*.

They made Baniſhment and other Penalties for thoſe who would not take and ſubſcribe their Oaths, as our Rebels did for their *Covenants* and *Engagements*.

They had their particular Proceſſions, and ſuch like Set-pieces of Devotion, to crave Divine Aid and Aſſiſtance, as ours had their *monthly Faſts* to deſire God to bleſs their ſins and Rebellions, as alſo their *Thanksgiving*, like the old *Iriſh*, who uſed to thank God, if by Theft or Robbery they had got a good booty.

They had their Oaths of Abjuration as well as ours had.

They would pardon and authorize all thoſe who acted for their cauſe, as ours could indempnifie one another, ſome may think with as much right or true Authority, as the * *French* Prieſt conſecrated the Sacrament in the name of the Devil.

* *Mer. Cath. ſubm's* Neceſsity of Reform. *p.* 75.

They

1598 They call'd their *League* againſt their *King* Loyalty, and ours thought as well of the *Covenant*.

They would have the Council of *Trent* revived, as ours would the *Covenant*, *Directory*, and *Presbytery*, and ſuch like ſchiſmatical and treaſonable Principles.

Some of them would have their Chieftain *Mayenne* to be *King*, as others in *England* would have had *Oliver*.

As their *Mayenne* would not take upon him (when offered to him) the Title of *King*, becauſe his Intereſt was not then ſufficient to vindicate it, and ſo would only be Lieutenant of the Crown of *France*; thus *Oliver* upon the ſame account refuſed the *King*ſhip, but would be *Protector* of *England*.

They commended *Guiſe* and *Mayenne* as the only Prop of their Church, as ours by their Addreſſes did ſacrilegiouſly magnifie *Oliver*, and his ſon *Richard*.

They had their *Rump* and *ſecluded* Members as well as we, but in this the *French* were worſt of the two, they turning out honeſt men, whilſt ours excluded only Conditional ſubjects, *i. e.* Traitors, ſo one *Knave* turn'd out another.

They ſent to the Popiſh Princes large Complaints againſt their *King*, as ours with their Schiſmatical *Aſſembly* againſt *King Charles* I. to *Holland* and *Geneva*.

They would alter, limit, put out and in as they pleaſed their *Kings* Council, as our *Puritans* deſired to do in *England*.

They would take away the *Kings Negative Vote*, and make the *States* ſuperiour to him, ſo would our *Roundheads* here.

They ſent a Letter to deſire Protection and Aſſiſtance from *Spain*, (an enemie to their *King* and Countrey) as the *Scotch Covenanters* did from the *French* King *Lewis XIII.* againſt their *King Charles I.* as appears by their Letter, ſubſcribed by their Chieftains.

They in Triumph conducted *Guiſe*, and his friends into *Paris*, as our *Presbyterians* did the *five Members*, &c. to the affront of King and Government.

They by their Tumults forced their *King* to flee from his chief City and Court *Paris*, as our *Puritans* did *King Charles I.* from *London* for his own ſafety.

When their *King* offered them and their General *Mayenne* Pardon, Favour, and deſired a Peace, they reject both it and him, as ours did with *King Charles*, when he offered the ſame to them and their General *Eſſex*.

They cenſure all who ſided with the *King*, and ſat at *Tours* or *Chaalons*, as ours did thoſe who ſat at *Oxford* as a Parliament.

They broke the *Kings Great Seals*, making new ones, as ours alſo did.

They declared it Treaſon to aid or favour their *King*, as the *Engliſh* did.

They murthered any who ſided with their *King*, as well as our Rebels here.

They defaced all the *Kings* Pictures, and Statues, as the Phanaticks did here.

They had their Women of all Qualities to promote their Cauſe by their Love-tricks and Contributions, as the Puritans in *England* had their *Wives*, *holy Siſters*, and zealous Ladies, hurried along with as much Chaſtity and Religion, as Honeſty, Moderation, or Loyalty.

They

They renounced all obedience to *Henry III.* and his Queen, ordered he should not be prayed for; as our wicked *Presbyterian Long-Parliament* declared the Queen a Traitor, renounced the King by their abominable Votes, and Declaration of *Non-Address*, and it was afterwards death to pray for him. 1598

They often attempted the death of *Henry IV.* contrived and procured the Murther of *Henry III.* as ours designed King *Charles*'s death in the Isle of *Wight*, and at last murthered him on the Scaffold.

When *Henry III.* was kill'd, some of them would not acknowledge his Successor *Henry IV.* but would have a Government or Ruler of their own making; others would admit him if he would turn *Romanist*. As when King *Charles I.* was martyred, some would not at all have his heir *K. Charles II.* to reign, whilst others would not reject him, provided he would turn *Presbyterian*, otherwise not.

They often endeavour'd to seize on their King, then to kill him or depose him by clapping him up in a Monastery, but fail'd in their designes; whilest ours had the luck of it to conquer, and so to act with our King as they pleased. Though 'tis plain the *French* had as bad intents, though not the like success and opportunities, it may be their Kings were not so much betray'd as ours.

Yet herein lay the difference, whereby the *Romanists* were most culpable; their Troubles and Seditions being countenanced, acted and headed by the most learned and knowing of their Clergy, as *Popes*, *Cardinals*, and their *Prelats*; whilst our Rebellion and Schism was hurried on, and noised up by an ignorant pack of *Lecturers*, fellows of no Religion, having not Learning to apprehend any.

In short, our *Covenanters* and *Rebels* followed and trod in the Footsteps of the *French Leagne* (a Warr which first occasioned the multiplicity of Pamphlets) and from which all latter Rebellions have taken the Items, Rules, Principles, and Methods. * Andr. Philopater, *Resp. ad Edict. Reginæ* Angl. p. 210, 211. & 172, 173

Yet how abominable and wicked soever, this *French-Roman* Solemn *League* and *Covenant* was, it had its Admirers of those no way engaged in it; Amongst whom our *English* Father *Parsons* was none of the hindmost, vapouring to the world, * *How just, how famous, and how holy the Cause was*: That it was not only *lawful, praise-worthy*, or *holy*; but *necessary* and of *Duty*; by *Divine Command*, and *Christian Obligation*; Nay, *that they could not do otherwise without danger of their souls*; It may be grounding all this upon his Papal Rule, That † *no People whatever are to admit of an Heretical King under pain of Damnation.* But 'tis known well enough, that his Pen is no slander, nor are his Commendations of any Credit. † Nulli populo sub damnationis pœna licet Regem hæreticum admittere. *lib. margin.*

The End of the Eighth BOOK.

A CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE Romiſh Treaſons AND USURPATIONS.

BOOK IX.

CHAP. I.

The Quarrels betwixt Pope Paul *the Fifth, and the* Venetians.

NEer the beginning of this Century, by the *Death* of *Leo* XI. (who ſat as Pope but a few days) *Paul* V. ſucceeded as Biſhop of *Rome*. Scarce was he warm in his Chair, when he began, to conſider, how to advance the Priviledges and Honour of his See, which by Degrees had been neglected and worn out; For this purpoſe he was earneſt with the *French* King to receive the Councel of *Trent*. He procured that in *Spain* the *Jeſuits* might be exempted from paying Tithes: At *Naples* he wrought in ſuch ſort, that the Marquis of *Morcone* was ſent to *Rome* as puniſhable in the *Inquiſition*, for having condemned to the Gallies, a Bookſeller; The *Inquiſition* pretending the Crime to belong to his Cogniſance; He offer'd to trouble the Duke of *Parma*, for laying Impoſts on his own Subjects in the abſence of the Biſhop, He fell out with the Duke of *Savoy*, 1605.

for preſenting an Abbey to Cardinal *Pio*, ſo that his Highneſs for Peace-ſake, was forced to give it to the Popes Nephew.

Thus his deſign went on to ruin the Temporal Authority. In the mean time, the Commonwealth of *Luca*, conſidering that many of their Citizens changed their Religion, and retired into the *Proteſtants* Countries, publiſh'd an *Edict* prohibiting any of their Subjects to have any Commerce with ſuch people. The Pope lik'd the Law, but would not have it made by Lay-men, ſo commanded them to raſe the *Edict* out of their *Records*, and he would publiſh another, but the ſame in Subſtance, by his Papal Authority.

At the ſame time, the Commonwealth of *Genoa* being informed, that the Governours of certain *Lay-Fraternities* (their Subjects) inſtituted by Devotion, had not faithfully diſpenſed the Revenues intruſted them, reſolved to examine their Accounts, and Commanded their Books ſhould be brought to the Duke. At the ſame time, divers Citizens, uſed to meet, as for Chriſtian Exerciſes, in the *Jeſuits* Colledg; which Club, reſolved to favour none in promotion to Offices but their Aſſociates. The *State* taking notice of it, and conſidering, what miſchief, in time, this would bring upon the Commonwealth, prohibited all ſuch Aſſemblies and Conventicles.

The Pope takes Pet at theſe honeſt Orders, affirming they were againſt the *Eccleſiaſtical Liberty*, ſo Commands the Commonwealth to revoke theſe *Edicts*, or elſe he would thunder againſt them his Cenſures of Excommunication. By which Terror, both the States of *Luca* and *Genoa*, were forced to obey his Holineſs.

Thus the Popes deſign went fairly on, nor did he doubt any place in *Italy*, unleſs the Republick of *Venice*, which uſed to act upon Principles moſt honourable and beneficial to themſelves, without any reſpect to the Intereſt or Bribery of other Potentates. The Pope had now reſident at *Venice*, as his *Nuncio*, *Horatio Matthei* Biſhop of *Gierace*, a great Stickler and Boaſter of the *Eccleſiaſtical Liberty*, as they call'd it; and in his way ſo zealous, that he thought all Chriſtian Actions and Graces were of no validity, unleſs this alſo were promoted beyond all proportion.

The Senate of *Venice*, conſidering the miſtake of Charity and Devotion, [the Zealots thinking nothing ſo holy as the multiplying of Churches, where no * need is,] made a Decree, (1603.) that, *None within the Precincts of the City ſhould build any new Church or Monaſtery, without the Senats Conſent.*——Truly thinking that they were ſtored well enough, having already within the City (where ground is ſo ſcarce) 150 Churches, Monaſteries and ſuch like places of Devotion.

——la Republique--ſe tronea contrainle d'y mettre la main—— Autrement il faſt arrivè bientoſt que toutes leurs villes n' euſſent plus eſtè qne Convens & Egliſes, et que tours leurs Revenus, qui doivent porter les charges de l'eſtat, & qui ſervent à la Nourriture des Gens Maries, les quels ſourniſſent des Soldats, des Marchande, & des Laboureurs, n' euſſent plus ſervi qu' à l'en tretien des Religieux et des Religieuſes. *Hard. de Perefixe* Ev. de *Rodez* Hiſt. du *Hen.* le Grand. part. 3. an. 1606.

The Senat alſo (agreeable to the old Statutes of their Republick *anno* 1333 and 1536.) made a *Decree* like our *Engliſh Mort-maine*, That *None ſhould ſell, give or alienate any more lands to the Clergy without the Senats Commiſſion.*

A little after the making of theſe Laws, the Troubles between them and the Pope began. The Occaſion taken thus.

One *Scipio Sarraceno*, a Canon of a Church of *Vicenza*, had with great Contempt defaced the ſeal of the Magiſtrate, which was put to, for the cuſtody of the Biſhops Court of Chancery, at the requeſt of the Chancellor, the *See* being vacant. And farther, had earneſtly endeavoured to ſeduce a young Gentlewoman his Cozin, uſing many ſolicitations to her, both

both in publick and in the Church; but not gaining his desires, according to a common kind of Revenge and Affront in *Italy*, he filthily bewray'd her door, portal, and the ring thereof, and did her some other wrongs. The young Gentlewoman upon advice, puts in her Complaint to the Senate at *Venice*, whereupon the Canon is Cited and Imprisoned.

Of this the Pope is informed, who cryeth out that the Liberties of the Church are violated, that he will not permit Ecclesiasticks in any Case to be judged by Lay-men, that Satisfaction is to be given and the Canon releas'd. The *Venetians* return, That their Republick is free, that they have the same autority with other Princes, so can take cognisance of the Crimes of their own Subjects within their own Dominions and punish them according to the fact.

Whilst this is convasing, happens another accident, The Count *Brandelino Valdemarino* Abbot of *Nervese*, being guilty of many Exorbitant Crimes, as

Cruel Tyranny over his Neighbours, by taking up their goods, at what small price he pleas'd.
Committing many Rapes and Impurities upon all sorts of Women.
Accused of Sorcery and dealing in Magick.
Practising many abominable murthers by poyson, whereby he destroy'd his Brother and his Servant, and indanger'd his own Father.
That he had for a long time lain with his Sister, and poysoned her Maid, lest she should discover it.
That he had caus'd his Enemy to be kil'd, and then poyson'd the murtherer, lest he might accuse him, and other such like Villanies.

For these and such other crimes, the *Abbot* is by Order of the *Senate* Imprison'd. At this the Pope also takes offence, denying the Temporal Authority over Priests, that the Church can only take cognisance of them, be their falts never so great or notorious. And in this humour layeth a Quarrel against the *Venetians*, unless they will satisfie him in these three things.

I.

That they null the Decree, concerning the building of any more Churches.

II.

That they also null and void the other Decree, touching the giving of lands to Ecclesiasticks.

III.

That the Abbot and the Canon be releas'd, and delivered up to his Nuntio.

A great deal of do, there was on both sides, but the Pope peremptorily informed the *Senate*, that at first, he would send an Exhortory *Breve* to them, and if he were not obey'd by such a time, he would proceed farther, *having power over all, could deprive Kings, and to this end had Legions of Angels for his aid and assistance.*

And accordingly he sent two *Breves:* The *Nuntio* delivers them to the *Senate*, but they were not open'd, because *Marini Grimani*, the Duke was then on his Death-bed, and dyed the next morning. The Pope upon notice of this, orders his *Nuntio* to protest unto the State against any new Election, as in it self to be void, by being made by men excommunicated: Thinking by this Trick to bring a Confusion amongst them. The

Nuntio, to execute this Command, with great importunity desired Audience of the *State*, but it was not granted him, it being not their Custom to admit any, during the Vacancy, unless their business be only of Condoling.

1606. Duke *Grimani* being buryed [for till the former Duke be under ground, they cannot go to the choice of another] they fell to their *Ballotation* or Lots, and the Election fell upon *Leonardo Donato*. Having thus got another *Doge* or Duke, they open the *Breves*, which they found to be one and the same in Tenor, which the Pope said was through the *Nuncio*'s mistake, in delivering two of the same, instead of two different ones.

The Pope ranted fairly against their *Decrees* about Churches and Ecclesiasticks, affirming that——*These Ordinances tended to the Damnation of Souls, to publick scandal, were of themselves void and of no value, and no man obliged to observe them. That they who had made these Statutes or any like, or who did further them, had incur'd Ecclesiastical Censures; had deprived themselves of such lands as they held of the Church; and their Estates and demains were subject to other penalties: that they could not be absolved unless they revoked the Decrees. So he admonish'd the* Republick *to consider the Danger, whereinto they had cast their souls, to seek a Remedy, and commanded them under pain of Excommunication to null the said Orders. That otherwise he would proceed farther, considering the account he was to give to God at the Day of judgment; and that he could not dissemble, when he saw the Ecclesiastical Authority so abused.*

The *Venetians* answer'd all, warily and wisely; but yeilded not a jot of their Authority. At which the Pope was incensed, saying they *were Tyrants and different from their Ancestors*; being resolved, *though he should lose his skin yet he would maintain the cause of God of his own Reputation.* And so orders his *Nuntio* to give the other *Breve*, which through mistake (as he said) he had not formerly presented. The *Nuntio* obeys, and the *Senate* opening it, found it to concern the Imprisonment of the *Abbot* and *Canon*, which the *Breve* said was *Contrary to the Holy Canons, and to Ecclesiastical Liberty, which were grounded on divine Ordinance; so commanded under pain of Excommunication, that the Canon and Abbot should speedily be delivered to his* Nuntio *and that if in the mean time the secular power had proceeded to any acts, or sentence of Condemnation or Execution, he did null them, and declare them void: Threatning if he were not speedily obey'd, he would proceed farther.*

The Senate vindicated themselves by an Answer, but nothing satisfactory to the Pope, who told their Ambassador that the *Exemption of Ecclesiasticks*, was *de jure divino*, and that *his cause was the cause of God; that he would not depart any thing from his Resolution, and he would be obeyed.* And thus resolved, calls a *Consistory* where were present XLI. Cardinals, who agree with the Pope; so a *Breve* of Excommunication or Interdict is drawn up, printed and publish'd against the Duke, Senate, and the Republick.

It contain'd,

That the Venetians *had lately made some Decrees, contrary to the Authority of the Apostolical See, the Ecclesiastical Liberty, General Councels, Sacred Canons, and the Constitutions of the Pope.*
For proof of which, he instanced their Decrees, concerning Churches, and the Clergy; with the Imprisonment of the Abbot *and* Canon.

That

That theſe Actions tended to the danger of the Souls both of Duke *and* Senate, *and the ſcandal of others.*

That the Law-makers incurr'd the Cenſures of the Church, the forfeiture of what they had, could not be abſolved but by the Pope, and the nulling of the Decrees.

That though the Decrees, were void of themſelves, yet the Pope did hereby, null them; according to the Example of his Predeceſſors.

That he doth hereby Excommunicate the Duke, Senate, *and their Partakers, if within* XXIV. *days, they do not null the Decrees, raſe them out of their Regiſters, promiſe to make none ſuch for the future: And to releaſe the* Abbot *and* Canon *to his* Nuntio.

That from this Excommunication none could abſolve them but the Pope himſelf.

That if after the XXIV. *days, the* Venetians *ſhould continue three days longer obſtinate without ſubmitting, that then he* Interdicted *all their* State *and* Dominions, *ſo that no* Maſſes *or* Divine Service *ſhould be celebrated in them, except in ſome caſes and places.*

That he deprived the Duke *and* Senate *of all priviledges they had or pretended to have from the Church:*

Commanded theſe his Bulls *to be publiſh'd through the ſaid* Dominions, *to be obſerved and obey'd by all.*

The Bull it ſelf being now not very Common, take as followeth.

PAULUS PAPA, QUINTUS

Venerabilibus Fratribus Patriarchis Archiepiſcopis et Epiſcopis, per Univerſum Dominium Republicæ *Venetorum* conſtitutis, et dilectis filiis eorum Vicariis in Spiritualibus generalibus, nec non Univerſis Abbatibus, Prioribus, Primiceriis, Præpoſitis, Archidiaconis, Archi-Presbyteris, Decanis et Plebanis et Parochialium Eccleſiarum Rectoribus, aliisque perſonis in dignitate Eccleſiaſtica conſtitutis, in eodem Dominio exiſtentibus, tam ſecularibus, quam quorumvis Ordinum et Inſtitutorum Regularibus; Salutem et Apoſtolicam Benedictionem.

SUperioribus menſibus ad noſtram, & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Audientiam pervenit, Ducem & Senatum Reip. *Venetorum*, annis elapſis in eorum Conſiliis, plura & diverſa Decreta, tum ſedis Apoſtolicæ autoritati, & Eccleſiaſticæ libertati ac immunitati contraria, tum Generalibus Conciliis, & ſacris Canonibus, nec non *Romanorum* Pontificum Conſtitutionibus repugnantia, ſtatuiſſe.

Et inter cætera, ſub die XXIII. Menſis *Maii*, anni M. DC. II. ſumpta occaſione, ex quadam lite, ſeu Controverſia inter Doctorem *Franciſcum Zabarellam* ex una, & Monachos Monaſterii de *Praglia* nuncupatos Ordini Sancti *Benedicti* Congregationis *Caſſinen*, alias Sanctæ *Juſtinæ de Padua* in Diœceſi *Paduan.* ex altera partibus vertente; in eorum Conſilio ſtatuiſſe, non ſolum ut Dicti Monachi tunc, aut deinceps ullo unquam tempore, actionem, per quam ſub quovis titulo, aut colore in bonis Eccleſiaſticis Emphiteoticis a laicis poſſeſſis præferrentur, prætendere, an etiam jure Prælationis, ſeu Coſolidationis directi cum utili Dominio, aut extinctionis lineæ in primis Inveſtituræ Comprehenſa, aut alia quavis cauſa bonorum prædictorum proprietatem ſibi vendicare minime poſſent,

ſed tantummodo jus directi Dominii illis præſervatum; verum etiam, ut id ipſum quoad cæteras omnes perſonas Eccleſiaſticas, Seculares, & Regulares, Monaſteria Monialum, Hoſpitalia, et alia loca in eorum temporali Dominio exiſtentia, declaratum & firmiter deliberatum cenſeretur.

Et ſub die decimo *Januarii* M.DC.III. ad ſuperiora quædam Conſilia ab eorum Majoribus, ut etiam aſſerebant, habita reſpicientes, quibus cavebatur, ne quiſquam, ſive ſecularis, ſive Eccleſiaſticus in Urbe *Venetiarum*, Eccleſias, Monaſteria, Hoſpitalia, atque alias Religioſas Domos, & pia loca, ſine eorum ſpeciali licentia fundaret & erigeret, in Concilio Rogatorum congregatos iterum decreviſſe, ut id eandem in Omnibus jurisdictionis eorum locis vim obtineret, & præterea Exilii ac perpetui Carceris, & publicationi fundi, venditionisque ædificii contra ſecus facientes pœnam edixiſſe.

Ulterius, eoſdem Ducem & Senatum die *XXVI. Menſis Martii* anni M.DC.V. inhærentes alteri Decreto, anno M.D.XXXVI. ab eodem Senatu facto, in quo (ut aſſerebant) erat expreſſe prohibitum, ne quis ſub certis in illo contentis pœnis in Urbe *Venetiarum*, ejuſque Ducatu bona immobilia ad pias cauſas Teſtamento ſeu Donatione inter vivos, relinqueret, aut alio quovis Titulo alienaret, ſive ad earum favorem, ultra certum tunc expreſſum tempus obligaret (quod in illum uſque diem, ut ibi etiam dicebatur, uſu receptum & obſervatum non fuerit) non modo iterum id vetuiſſe, ſed expreſſe etiam prohibuiſſe, ne bonorum ejuſmodi Immobilium alienationes in favorem perſonarum Eccleſiaſticarum, ſine Senatus prædicti licentia, fierent, ac inſuper Decretum ipſum & pœnas in eo contentas per univerſum eorum Dominium extendiſſe, & per Rectores & Poteſtates Civitatum & locorum ſui Dominii, promulgari feciſſe, atque bona Immobilia omnia, quæ contra præmiſſorum formam vendi, aut quovis modo alienari contingeret, ultra nullitatis pœnam publicari, & vendi, eorumque praticum inter Rempub. ipſam, Magiſtratum exequentem, & ejus miniſtros, ipſumque denuntiatorem dividi mandaſſe, & alias, prout in Decretis & Mandatis Ducis, & Senatus prædictorum latius dicitur, contineri.

Ac præterea eoſdem Ducem & Senatum, *Scipionem Sacracenum* Canonicum *Vicentinum*, & *Brandolinum Valdemarinum Forojulienſem* Abbatem Monaſterii, ſeu Abbatia de *Nerveſa Tarviſinæ* Diœceſis, perſonam in dignitate Eccleſiaſtica conſtitutam, ob quædam prætenſa Crimina in Civitate *Vicentina* & alibi per illos (ut dicebatur) commiſſa, Carceri mancipaſſe, & mancipatos detinuiſſe, ſub prætextu, quod eis hæc facere liceret, inter alia ob quædam ipſis Duci & Reipublicæ a quibuſdam *Romanis* Pontificibus prædeceſſoribus noſtris conceſſa (ut aſſerebant) Privilegia. Cumque præmiſſa in aliquibus Eccleſiarum jura etiam ex Contractibus initis ipſis Eccleſiis competentia auferant, ac præterea in illis, & aliis ſedis Apoſtolicæ ac Noſtræ autoritati & Eccleſiarum juribus, & perſonarum Eccleſiaſticarum privilegiis præjudicium inferant, ipſamque libertatem ac immunitatem Eccleſiaſticam tollant. Ac ea omnia in ipſorum Ducis & Senatus animorum perniciem & ſcandalum plurimorum tendant.

Et cum ij, qui ſupradicta ac ſimilia edere & promulgare, illisque uti auſi ſunt, in Cenſuras Eccleſiaſticas a ſacris Canonibus, Generalium Conciliorum Decretis, & *Romanorum* Pontificum Conſtitutionibus inflictas, necnon etiam privationis feudorum, & bonorum ſi quæ ab Eccleſiis obtinet, pœnam eo ipſo incurrerint, a quibus Cenſuris & pœnis, non niſi a Nobis & *Romano* Pont. pro tempore exiſtente, abſolvi & liberari poſſint ac præterea Inhabiles & Incapaces ſint, qui abſolutionis & liberationis beneficium conſequantur, donec editas leges novis Edictis atque

Decretis

Decretis ſubtulerint, omniaque inde ſequuta reipſa in priſtinum ſtatum reintegraverint.

Cumque etiam Dux & Senatus, prædicti, poſt plures paternas noſtras monitiones a multis menſibus citra eis factas, adhuc decreta & edicta præfata non revocaverint, ac eoſdem Canonicum *Saracenum* & Abbatem *Brandolinum* carceratos detineant, & illos Venerabili Fratri *Horatio* Epiſcopo *Hieracenſi*, noſtro & Apoſtolicæ Sedis apud eos *Nuncio*, ut debebant, non conſignaverint: Nos qui nullo pacto ferre debemus, ut Eccleſiaſtica libertas & Immunitas noſtraque & Sedis Apoſtolicæ Auctoritas violetur & contemnatur; Inhærentes plurimum Generalium Conciliorum Decretis ac Veſtigiis Re. Me. *Innocentis* III. *Honorii* III. *Gregorii* IX. *Alexandri* IV. *Clementis* IV. & *Martini* etiam IV. *Bonifacii* VII. *Bonifacii* IX. *Martini* V. *Nicolai* V. & aliorum *Romanorum* Pont. Prædeceſſorum Noſtrorum, quorum aliqui ſimilia Statuta alias contra libertatem Eccleſiaſticam edita, tanquam ipſo jure nulla, invalida & irrita revocarunt, ac nulla, invalida, & irritaeſſe decreverunt, & declararunt, & aliqui contra ſimilium edictorum Statutarios, & alios ad Excommunicationis promulgationem, necnon ad alia infra-ſcripta ſeu eorum aliqua devenerunt, habita cum venerabilibus fratribus Noſtris *S. R. E.* Cardinalibus matura Conſultatione, de ipſorum conſilio & aſſenſu, licet ſupra dicta Decreta, Edicta & Mandata ipſo jure nulla, invalida & irrita ſint, ea nihilominus ipſo jure adhuc de novo nulla, invalida, & irrita, nulliuſque roboris & momenti fuiſſe & eſſe, & neminem ad illorum obſervantiam teneri, per præſentes decernimus & declaramus.

Et inſuper auctoritate Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum *Petri* & *Pauli* Apoſtolorum ejus, ac Noſtra, niſi Dux & Senatus prædicti intra viginti quatuor Dies a Die Publicationis Præſentium in hac alma Urbe faciendæ computandos, quorum primos octo pro primo, octo pro ſecundo, & reliquos octo pro tertio & ultimo ac peremptorio termino, & pro monitione cano illis aſſignamus, prædicta Decreta omnia, & in illis contenta et inde ſequuta quæcunq; omni prorſus exceptione et excuſatione ceſſante publice revocaverint, et ex eorum Archivis ſeu Capitularibus locis aut libris, in quibus Decreta ejuſmodi annotata reperiuntur, deleri et caſſari, et in locis ejuſdem Dominii, ubi promulgata fuerunt, revocata, deleta et caſſa eſſe, neminemque ad illorum obſervantiam teneri publice nunciari, ac omnia inde ſequuta in priſtinum ſtatum reſtitui fecerint, et ulterius niſi a ſimilibus Decretis contra libertatem, Immunitatem et juriſdictionem Eccleſiaſticam ac noſtram et Sedis Apoſtolicæ auctoritatem, ut præfertur, faciendis edendis, et reſpective faciendis in poſterum cavere, et penitus abſtinere promiſerint, ac Nos de revocatione, deletione, caſſatione, nunciatione, reſtitutione, ac promiſſione prædictis certiores reddiderint; et niſi etiam prædictos *Scipionem* Canonicum et *Brandolinum* Abbatem prædicto *Horatio* Epiſcopo et Nuncio cum effectu conſignaverint, ſeu conſignari fecerint, ipſos tunc et pro tempore exiſtentem Ducem et Senatum, Reipub. *Venetorum*, ſtatutarios et eorum fautores, Conſultores, et adhærentes, et eorum quemlibet, etiamſi non ſint ſpecialiter nominati, quorum tamen ſingulorum nomina et cognomina præſentibus pro expreſſis haberi volumus, ex nunc prout ex tunc, et e contra Excommunicamus et Excommunicatos nunciamus et declaramus.

A qua Excommunicationis ſententia, præterquam in mortis articulo conſtituti, ab alio quam a nobis, et *Romano* Pont. pro tempore exiſtente etiam prætextu cujuſcunque facultatis, eis et cuilibet illorum tam in genere, quam in ſpecie pro tempore deſuper conceſſæ, ſeu concedendæ, nequeunt abſolutionis beneficium obtinere. Et ſi quempian eorum, tanquam in tali periculo conſtitutum ab ejuſmodi Excommunicationis ſententia abſolvi contige-

contigerit, qui poſtmodum convaluerit, is in eandem ſententiam reincidat eo ipſo, niſi mandatis noſtris, quantum in ſe erit, paruerit: et nihilominus, ſi obierit, poſt obtentam hujuſmodi abſolutionem, Eccleſiaſtica careat ſepultura, donec Mandatis noſtris paritum fuerit.

Et ſi dicti Dux et Senatus per tres dies, poſt lapſum dictorum viginti-quatuor dierum, Excommunicationis ſententiam animo (quod abſit) ſuſtinuerint indurato, ſententiam ipſam aggravantes, ex nunc pariter prout ex tunc, Civitatem *Venetiarum*, et alias Civitates, Terras, Oppida, Caſtra, et loca quæcunque, ac univerſum temporale Dominium dictæ Reipublicæ *Eccleſiaſtico Interdicto* ſupponimus, illamque et illud ſuppoſita eſſe nunciamus, et declaramus: quo durante, in dicta Civitate *Venetiarum* et aliis quibuſcunque dicti Dominii Civitatibus, Terris, Oppidis, Caſtris et locis, illorumque Eccleſiis ac locis, piis et Oratoriis etiam privatis & Domeſticis Capellis, nec publice nec privatim, Miſſæ tam ſolemnes, quam non ſolennes, aliaque Divina Officia celebrari poſſint, præterquam in Caſibus a jure permiſſis, et tunc in Eccleſiis tantum & non alibi, et in illis etiam januis clauſis, non pulſatis Campanis, ac Excommunicatis et Interdictis prorſus excluſis; neque aliter quæcunque indulta et Privilegia Apoſtolica, quoad hoc quibuſcumque tam Secularibus quam Regularibus Eccleſiis, etiam quamtumcunque exemptis, et Apoſtolicæ Sedi immediate ſubjectis, etiamſi de ipſorum Ducis et Senatus jure patronatus, etiam ex fundatione, et donatione, aut etiam ex privilegio Apoſtolico exiſtant, ac etiam ſi tales ſint, quæ ſub generali diſpoſitione non comprehendantur, ſed de illis ſpecialis et individua mentio habenda ſit, Monaſteriis, Ordinibus etiam Mendicantium, aut inſtitutis, Regularibus eorumque primiceriis, Prælatis, Superioribus, et aliis quibuſcunque etiam particularibus perſonis, aut piis locis et Oratoriis etiam Domeſticis, ac Capellis privatis, ut præfertur, in genere vel in ſpecie ſub quibuſcunque tenoribus, et formis hactenus conceſſa et in poſterum concedenda ullatenus ſuffragentur.

Ac ulterius eoſdem Ducem et Senatum, et quemlibet eorum, non ſolum Reipub. ſed etiam privato nomine, ſi aliqua bona Eccleſiaſtica in feudum, ſeu alias quovis modo a *Romana*, aut veſtris, ſeu aliis Eccleſiis conceſſa obtineant, illis *feudis* et bonis nec non etiam omnibus quibuſcunque Privilegiis et indultis, in genere vel in ſpecie, in quibuſdam videlicet caſibus et delictis contra Clericos procedendi, illorumque cauſas, certa forma præſcripta, cognoſcendi a *Romanis* Pontificibus Prædeceſſoribus noſtris forſan quomodolibet, ex nunc ſimiliter, prout ex tunc, et e contra privamus, ac privatos fore et eſſe, nunciamus & decernimus.

Et nihilominus, ſi ipſi Dux & Senatus in eorum contumacia diutius perſtiterint indurati, Cenſuras et pœnas Eccleſiaſticas contra illos, eisque adhærentes, et in præmiſſis quovis modo faventes, aut auxilium, conſilium et favorem præſtantes, etiam iteratis vicibus aggravandi, et reaggravandi, aliaſque etiam pœnas contra ipſos Ducem & Senatum declarandi, et ad alia opportuna remedia, juxa ſacrorum Canonum diſpoſitionem, contra eos procedendi, facultatem nobis et *Romanis* Pont. ſucceſſoribus noſtris nominatim et in ſpecie reſervamus. Non obſtantibus quibuſvis Conſtitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apoſtolicis, nec non Privilegiis, Indultis et literis Apoſtolicis eidem Duci et Senatui, aut quibuſvis aliis perſonis in genere vel in ſpecie, præſertim quod interdici, ſuſpendi vel excommunicari non poſſint per literas Apoſtolicas, non facientes plenam et expreſſam ac de verbo ad verbum de Indulto hujuſmodi mentionem, ac alias ſub quibuſcunque tenoribus et formis, et cum quibuſvis etiam derogatoriarum derogatoriis, aliisque efficacioribus et inſolitis clauſulis, ac irritan-

ritantibus, et aliis decretis, ac in ſpecie cum facultatibus abſolvendi in caſibus nobis et Apoſtolicæ ſedi reſervatis illis quovis modo per quoſcunque *Romanos* Pont. ac Nos et Sedem Apoſtolicam in contrarium præmiſſorum conceſſis, confirmatis & approbatis. Quibus omnibus et ſingulis et aliis ſupra expreſſis, eorum tenores præſentibus pro expreſſis habentes, hac vice duntaxat ſpecialiter, et expreſſe derogamus, cæterisque contrariis quibuſcunque.

Ut autem præſentes noſtræ litteræ ad omnium majorem notitiam deducantur, vobis et cuilibet veſtrum per eaſdem præſentes committimus, et in virtute Sanctæ Obedientiæ, et ſub divini interminatione judicii, nec non ſub Inderdicti ingreſſus Eccleſiæ ac ſuſpenſionis a Pontificalium exercitio, ac fructuum Menſarum Patriarchalium Archiepiſcopalium, et Epiſcopalium perceptione; quoad vos Fratres Patriarchæ, Archiepiſcopi et Epiſcopi, an etiam privationis dignitatum beneficiorum ac Officiorum Eccleſiaſticorum quorumcumque quæ obtinueritis, ac etiam vocis activæ et paſſivæ, ac inhabilitatis ad illa, et alia in poſterum obtinendi quoad vos, filii vicarii, et alii ſupradicti, eo ipſo incurrendis, aliiſque arbitrio noſtro infligendis pœnis diſtricte præcipiendo mandamus, ut per vos, vel alium ſeu alios præſentes litteras poſtquam eas receperitis, ſeu earum notitiam habueritis, in veſtris quiſque Eccleſiis, dum major in eis populi multitudo ad divina convenerint, ad majorem cautelam, ſolemniter publicetis, et ad Chriſti fidelium notitiam deducatis, nec non ad earundem Eccleſiarum veſtrarum valvas affigi et affixas dimitti faciatis.

Et ulterius volumus, ut præſentium tranſumptis etiam impreſſis, manu alicujus *Notarii Publici* ſubſcriptis, et ſigillo perſonæ in dignitate Eccleſiaſtica conſtitutæ munitis, eadem prorſus fides ubique habeatur, quæ ipſis præſentibus haberetur, ſi forent exhibitæ vel oſtenſæ; quodque eadem præſentes, ſive illarum Exempla, etiam præfertur impreſſa ad Eccleſiæ *Leteranenſis* et Baſilicæ Principis Apoſtolorum, et *Cancellariæ* noſtræ Apoſtolicæ valvas et in acie *Campi flore* ut moris eſt affixæ, et publicatæ eoſdem Ducem et Senatum, ac alios quoſcunque prædictos, voſque etiam univerſos et ſingulos, reſpective perinde afficiant, ac ſi eorum ac veſtrum cuilibet perſonaliter directæ, intimatæ et præſentatæ fuiſſent.

Datum Romæ *apud St.* Petrum, *ſub Annulo Piſcatoris*, *die* XVIII. Aprilis M. DC. VI. *Pontificatus noſtri anno Primo.*

M. VESTRIUS BARBIANUS.

Anno a Nativitate D. N. *Jeſu Chriſti* M. DC. VI. *Indictione* quarta, die vero XVII. Menſis *Aprilis*, Pontificatus Sanctiſſ. in *Chriſto* Patris, et D. N. D. *Pauli* divina providentia Papæ *Quinti*, anno ejus primo, ſupradictæ litteræ earumque exempla impreſſa, affixa, et publicata fuerunt ad valvas Eccleſiæ *Lateranenſ.* ac Baſilicæ Principis Apoſtolorum, et *Cancellariæ* Apoſtolicæ, nec non acie *Campi flore* ut moris eſt, per nos *Chriſtophorum Fundatum*, et *Joan. Domenicum de Pace*, *Apoſtolicos Curſores.*

Petrus Aloyſius Peregrinus
Curſorum Magiſter.

The *Venetians* perceiving the Popes malice and indiſcretion by this Paper *Interdiction*, firſt order'd that every one ſhould have recourſe to his prayers, then to teſtifie their ſenſibleneſs of the wrong done them, recall'd home *Duodo* their extraordinary Ambaſſador at *Rome*; but, to prevent an abſolute Rupture, they let *Nani* their Ordinary Ambaſſador ſtay. Then was command given to all Eccleſiaſtical Parſonis not to publiſh or permit to be publiſh'd or affix'd in any place, any *Bulls* or *Breves*: And by Proclamation it was commanded, that whoever had any Copy of the former *Breve* or *Interdiction* againſt the Serene Republick ſhould bring them unto the Magiſtrates: all which were obey'd, and ſuch a multitude of Copies brought in, that it was a wonder that ſo many had been printed and carefully or ſeditiouſly ſpread abroad.

The Pope informed of the *Venetian* Proclamation againſt his *Breve*, call'd home his *Nuncio*, and ſent a diſmiſſion to *Nani* their Ambaſſador at *Rome*, who accordingly return'd to *Venice*. In the mean time the Pope expected that his *Breve* or *Indiction* would do wonders for his cauſe, eſpecially he doubted not of three things.

I. That the Prieſts and ſuch like Eccleſiaſticks would forth depart from the *Venetian* Territories.

II. That the Cities and the people ſeeing themſelves thus deprived of Church Offices and ſuch like Duties and benefits, would run into Sedition, and ſo force the Senate to give the Pope ſatisfaction.

III. That the Nobility and Senators themſelves, upon this occaſion might be diſordered, and divided, by which he doubted not of a Conqueſt.

But in all theſe, he found himſelf deceived, and the Duke to prevent the worſt publiſh'd his Manifeſtoes or Letters (which you may read in * *Goldaſtus*) which he cauſed to be affix'd in publick places. In them, he

Monarch. Rom. Imper. Tom. 3.

Vindicated himſelf and the Senate *in what they had done, and in their carriage towards his Holineſs.*

Declared that the Breve *was againſt all law and equity, againſt Scriptures, Fathers, and Canons, præjudicial to Secular Authority, the liberty of the State, the peace of the people, and to the ſcandal of all the world: Therefore*

Pronounced the ſaid Breve *unjuſt, void, null, and of none effect, nor to be obey'd or obſerved by any.*

Commands all Eccleſiaſticks within theſe Dominions, to continue the celebration of Divine Service.

Now multitude of Pen-men are imploy'd of both ſides, every one writing according to his Fancy or Intereſt; but thoſe of *Rome* were the moſt violent, throwing all manner of Lyes and Slaunders upon the Republick that their malice could Invent, and in this they thought themſelves not culpable, becauſe they thought the *Venetians* now to be the moſt wretched of all people, inſomuch that Cardinal * *Baronius* looks upon them as *Pagans and Heathens without the fold of Chriſtianity*, tumbling into *manifeſt perdition*, and ſo far gone hat he cannot upon any account * *wiſh them well.*

Parænæſis ad Rempub. Venet. pag. 41. 5. Id. pag. 64.

Now

And ſo great Authority had the Papal *Interdict* with ſome of the *Religious*, That the *Jeſuits* and *Capuchins*, intended to obey it, though contrary to the Command of their Prince and Senate.

As for the *Jeſuits*, the Senate demanding their Anſwer, they return'd that *they might continue the Divine Offices, their Sermons and Confeſſions according to their Cuſtom.* For upon notice of the *Interdict*, they had ſent *Achilles Gaillardi* (a *Paduan* noted *Jeſuit* & the Author of ſome *meditations*) to repreſent unto the *Pope*, what good Services they might do his cauſe, if he would permit them to ſtay in the *Venetian* Dominions. For the *Nuncio* before his departure from *Venice*, had been very buſie with the *Jeſuits*, the chief of whom then in the City being *Poſſevino* and *Bernardin Caſtorio* noted Authors. But the Pope underſtanding the badneſs of Example, if ſuch a famous Order ſubmitted not to his *Breve*, ſent them an Expreſs to depart. Now the Term of the XXIV. days appointed in the *Monitorie* approaching, the *Jeſuits* were required to give their final Reſolution, who return'd an Expreſs refuſal to ſay *Maſſe*: which being retorted upon them as a baſe *Equivocation*, they replyed, it was not contrary to their former promiſe, becauſe the *Maſſe*, for the Excellency of it, is not comprehended under the words of *Divine Offices*. The Senate ſeeing themſelves thus abuſed by theſe people, commanded the *Jeſuits* ſpeedily to depart their Dominions; Upon this, the *Jeſuits* ſuddenly collected a great ſumm of money from their Devoted ones, ſo packing up as faſt as they could; in the Evening they departed the City, each one carrying the *Hoſt* at his neck, intimating that *Jeſus Chriſt* departed with them; as they took Bark, the people cryed out againſt them, *Go with a vengeance, and come no more hither.* Before their departure, they had hid their richeſt Ornaments, burn'd great quantity of writings, and there was found in their Colledges a good number of Cruſes to melt metals, which left ſome blot upon them, though *Poſſevino* indeavour'd to vindicate them from any deſign of gold or ſilver. At their Colledg in *Padua*, were found many Copies, of a writing, containing XVIII. Rules under this Title (being drawn up and commanded to be believed, by their Founder * *Ignatius Loyola*)

* vid. *Exercitia Spiritualia.*

Regulæ aliquot ſervandæ, ut cum Orthodoxa Eccleſia vere ſentiamus.

In the Seventh whereof, there is a Preſcription to take heed how men preſs or inculcate too much the *Grace of God.*

And in the Third, it is ordain'd——*That men muſt beleeve the Hierarchical Church, although it tell us, that that is black, which our eye judgeth to be white.*

The Senate having thus wiſely given an hint of their Reſolutions, by their dealing with the *Jeſuits*, Put forth an Order, that *all Eccleſiaſticks who would not continue Divine Services, ſhould retire out of their Dominions.* Upon this, the *Capuchins* with whom the *Nuncio* and *Jeſuits*, had tamper'd very much, reſolved alſo to depart, and intended to go (according to the *Jeſuits* Inſtructions to them) out in *Proceſſion* with the *Sacrament*, thereby to ſtir up the people to Sedition; who have moſt affection to this Order, pretending to great poverty & Innocency: But this ſolemnity was hindred by Authority: So in the morning celebrating one *Maſſe*, eating up all the *Euchariſt*, they concluded the Office, without giving *Benediction* to the people, and then departed, and ſo did the *Theatins* and the reformed *Franciſcans*. But it was obſerved that the *Capuchins* in the Territories of *Breſcia* and *Bergamo*

(where were no *Jeſuits* to ſeduce them) did not depart, but remain'd Obedient to their Governours celebrating *Divine Service*, for which honeſty and loyalty, they were bitterly perſecuted by their ſuperiors at *Rome*, with Excommunications and other Cenſures.

Now began a fierce diſpute amongſt them, *Whether all the Sacraments adminiſtred by the Prieſts that ſtaid contrary to the* Interdict, *were nullities or no? Whether it was lawful to adore the Euchariſt ſhewn by ſuch Prieſts?* And *Whether it was a Mortal or Venial Sin, to hear Maſſe celebrated by ſuch Prieſts?* Of theſe every one judged according to his Intereſt, as is uſual in ſuch caſes.

In the mean time, the *Jeſuits* by their Inſtruments, did what they could to ſtir up Sedition in the State, and ſo did other Eccleſiaſticks ingaged on the Papal faction: but the Senate, by their prudence prevented all, and being perfectly united amongſt themſelves, kept the people in a true Obedience to them.

The Quarrel growing dayly greater and greater, each party addreſſed themſelves to the reſpective Princes in Chriſtendom, to render their cauſe chear and legal; the Princes deſiring and perſwading a Reconciliation, every one of the *Romaniſts* offering to be Mediators.

The Pope troubled that the *Venetians* would not ſtoop to his humour, invented another Plot, whereby he thought to make ſome Diviſions amongſt them. And this it was. He publiſh'd a *Jubilee*, whither he invited all Chriſtians, granting Indulgences, Abſolutions, and Pardons to all, but thoſe of *Interdicted* places. By this Strategem, he fancyed, that the *Venetian* people, ſeeing themſelves thus deprived, of ſuch bleſſing and graces, would diſobey the Senate and run into Sedition. And the better to carry this on, the *Jeſuits* gave notice, that though the people were excluded in the general, yet they had power from his Holineſs, to grant it to ſuch of them as would obſerve the *Conditions* by them propounded, amongſt which were theſe, *Not to go to Maſſe, Nor to approve the reaſons and actions of the Senate.* But all theſe plots did the Pope little good. Nor did their orher lyes againſt the Republick, as if it had renounced the *Roman* Religion, and become *Lutherans* or *Proteſtants*, avail them any thing.

The Pope ſeeing the bad event of all theſe deſigns, ſends to *Philip* III. King of *Spain*, to deſire his Aſſiſtance: The King returns an Anſwer, that *he had deſired an Accommodation, but ſeeing the Honour of his* Holineſs *concerned, he would aſſiſt him with his forces, which he had alſo ſignifyed to his Miniſters in* Italy. This Letter was received at *Rome* with the greateſt joy and Triumph Imaginable; the *Spaniards* vapouring of their meritorious actions to the Pope. But others gave different Cenſures of the Letter; ſome thinking it procured by the Authority of the Duke of *Lerma*, the then great Favourite of *Spain* who ruled King and all things elſe: But others believed, that the deſign of it was not, as it appear'd, really for war; but thereby to render the *Venetians* more ſubmiſs and tractable for a peace.

However the Count *de Fuentes* the Catholick Kings Governour at *Milan* ſeem'd very forward in Preparations; upon which the *Venetians* thought it not fitting to be behind: ſo that now both parties ſeem'd running into a War: both Pope and Duke drumming up men, and making all things ready for Offence and Defence.

Whilſt theſe preparations went on, the better to diſorder and weaken the *Venetians*, the Marquis *de Santa Croce*, having received the Papal

pal Benediction by his *Nuncio*, departed from *Naples* with XXVI. *Spaniſh* Gallies, and at *Meſſina* received the addition of XIV. more, thence ſecretly ſailing along, entred the *Golf* of *Venice*, fell upon *Durazzo* a City in *Albania* belonging to the *Turks*, which he ſack'd and returned with Plunder and Priſoners. Hoping by this means, to incenſe the *Turk*, ſo to make him fall out with the *Venetians*, and invade their Territories in *Dalmatia*. But the Turk, in this more Religious than the *Spaniard*, underſtanding the baſe deſign, ſcorn'd to break with the *Venetian* in this juncture, but offer'd the Republick his Aſſiſtance.

This wicked deſign thus failing, the Partiſans of the Pope went another way to trouble the Republick, maintaining in Print, that *The Marriages made within the Interdicted Territories were invalid, the Matrimonial Conjunction Adultery, and the Children all Baſtards.* This was a cunning plot to amuſe the zealous and ſimple; but the wiſdom of the Senate, and the reaſons of their writers, daſh'd this to pieces alſo: Though the *Roman* Inquiſition was very furious in their judgments, forbidding under pain of Excommunication any of the *Venetian* Papers or Reaſons, to be intertain'd or read, as Schiſmatical and Heretical; and Cardinal *Bellarmine* was very active with his Pen againſt the Senators.

In the mean time the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *Spain*, laboured what they could for a Reconciliation, and the Emperour and Grand Duke of *Tuſcany* were not ſlack in affording their aſſiſtance to a peace. But the means ſeem'd difficult; for the Pope ſtood upon his old plea, of having the Priſoners deliver'd him, and the Decrees Cancel'd. And on the Contrary, the Duke and Senate, reſolved not to betray their Temporal Authority, and renounce their Decrees, though as for the *Abbot* and *Canon*, at the earneſt intreaty of the *French*, they were willing in a Complement to beſtow them upon King *Henry* IV. and let him do with them as pleas'd him beſt; and when the Pope would recall his Cenſures, they were willing to do the ſame with their Letters or Proteſtation againſt them; but not before, leſt they might intimate that they had been in the falt and done amiſs.

Whilſt the Treaty is thus earneſtly carryed on by ſeveral Princes and 1607.
their Ambaſſadors, the Pope erects a New Councel at *Rome* call'd *La Congregation de Guerra*, or the *Congregation of War*, conſiſting of XV. Cardinals; out of whom he cull'd IV. to be imploy'd with the *Treaſurer* and the *Commiſſaries* of the Chamber, about the means to provide money, and moſt of theſe were of the *Spaniſh* Faction; the better to ingage that King to him, if the Tryal of the cauſe ſhould once be put to the Sword.

And it was the opinion of many, that it could not end without blows, for the Pope begins the year with new Levies: and the Count *de Fuentes*, who long'd for miſchief, caus'd the Drums to beat up at *Milan* for Souldiers; ſent to *Switſerland*, to *Naples*, to *Flanders*, to *Germany*, and other places, to raiſe what Souldiers he could, getting Money and Arms from *Spain*, ſo that he doubted not, preſently to be at the Head of XXX. Thouſand men. The hopes of theſe great Preparations animated the Pope ſo much, that, in a full *Conſiſtory*, he declared, *He would have war with the Republick of* Venice.

In the Interim, the *Venetians* were not idle, haſtning their Preparations as much as in them lay, ſo that in a little while they had got together about LXXX Gallies, rais'd many Thouſand foot in their own Territories, ſent to the *Cantons* to hire more, doubted not of Aſſiſtance

from *France*, was promis'd aid from *Great Brittain* by Sr. *Henry Wotton* King *James* his Ambaſſador, by which means they had hopes from *Denmark* and *Holland*; and was promis'd ſupplyes from the *Lorreiner*, whoſe Son *viz.* the Count *de Vaudemont*, they hoped would be their General. But the Duke of *Lorraine* being aged, ſo ſuperſtitiouſly fearful of Papal Cenſures, beſide having a Son a Cardinal, who with the Pope did diſwade him, would not permit his Son to go, or any Levies to be made in his Dominions, though young Count *de Vaudemont*, was willing enough for the *Venetian*.

Whilſt *Chriſtendom* is thus troubled with rumours of warrs, and every place buſie with great Preparations, to fill *Europe* full of miſchief and blood-ſhed, and all about an idle Humour of the Popes; The Treaty goeth on apace. And though many Embaſſies and Audiences had been been imploy'd to little purpoſe; yet the *French* King, will try the other pull, and ſo reſolves to imploy Cardinal *de Joyeuſe*, in this buſineſs; who being a Churchman might be more acceptable to the Pope, yet under the Command of the Inſtructions, might no way leſſen the rights of the Republick.

Thus qualified, *Joyeuſe* arrives at *Venice*, where he falls to work vigorouſly, and willing he was to ſave the Popes Reputation and Credit: but after many Hearings and Debates, he could get only this Anſwer from the Senate, That the Cenſures being taken away, they would recall what they had done in Oppoſition to them, and ſend an Ambaſſador to *Rome*; That for the *Decrees*, they would proceed in the uſe of them, with ſuch Moderation and Piety as they and their Anceſtors uſed to do. And that upon a Peace, the Eccleſiaſticks might return, only the *Jeſuits* excepted. And with theſe Anſwers, the Cardinal departs from *Rome* to ſee what good he could do there.

At *Rome*, Cardinal *de Joyeuſe* found the Opinions divided ſome for a Peace upon any account, conſidering what a great miſchief a Rupture might bring upon Chriſtendom; others thought it not honourable for the Pope to recede from any thing he had done, till he had obtain'd what he deſired and made the Republick ſubmit. As for the Pope, though his greateſt hopes lay in the *Spaniard*, yet he could not with reaſon rely too much on him, knowing his Coffers at that time to be empty, and if he did him any good he would expect a requital of ſome Priviledges, which would not be convenient for *Rome* to yeild to, beſides he doubted to be over-power'd by the *Venetians* and their numerous Aſſiſtance; amongſt whom would be many of the *Reformed* Religion, which having once got a footing in *Italy*, might, in that juncture of time, give a blow at the very *Papacy*.

Theſe Conſiderations perſwaded or forced the Pope to a Complyance, but yet was troubled that he could not come off with Honour, ſeeing the *Venetians* Anſwers were reſolute and cunningly worded, and they would not admit of the *Jeſuits*, upon any account whatever: and thus to forſake them who had ſuffer'd for his cauſe, would betray his Baffle to the whole world.

At laſt, after ſeveral Conſultations it was agreed on, that at *Rome*, Monſieur *d' Alincourt* the *French* Ambaſſador, ſhould demand of the Pope in the Name of the Chriſtian King and of the Republique, that the Cenſures might be taken away. And alſo that Cardinal *Joyeuſe* and *d' Alincourt* ſhould give him their words in the Name of their King, that the *Decrees* ſhould remain without Execution, until the Accord might

might be effected. To this laſt clauſe the Pope would have had added, that *It was with the conſent of the Republick:* But this was not yielded to, knowing the *Venetians* would never agree to ſuch an Addition. So, as much being done at *Rome* as could be, *de Joyeuſe* returns with the Papal Inſtructions and Authority to *Venice.*

At *Venice*, the Cardinal hoping in ſome thing to uphold the Popes Honour, told the Senate, that now all the Difficulties were ſhrunk to two, *viz.* To ſend an Ambaſſador to *Rome*, before the Cenſures were removed, and to re-eſtabliſh the *Jeſuits.* But finding theſe would not be granted, he proceeds more moderately, and

Propoſeth.	*They Anſwer.*
That the Eccleſiaſticks ſhould be reſtored, and their goods redelivered.	That they conſent, provided the Pope will receive into Favour, thoſe who had writ in defence of the State. And what ever the Pope did with the writings in behalf of his cauſe, they would do the ſame with thoſe Papers in vindication of theirs.
That the Priſoners ſhould be delivered without any Proteſtations.	The Priſoners ſhould be deliver'd to the *French* Ambaſſador, but the Senate would make a Proteſtation.
That their Proteſtation againſt the *Interdict* ſhould be revoked, as alſo their Letter writ unto their Cities.	They will take away their Proteſtation or Manifeſto, when the Monitory or Interdict, (upon which it is grounded) is taken away, but the Letter need not taking notice of.

He is alſo very earneſt for the Reſtitution of the *Jeſuits*, but the Senate abſolutely * deny's it upon any account what ever, Recounting ſeveral of their Seditions and Ingratefull actions, it having been one of the firſt places that foſter'd them. At laſt, after ſeveral Reaſonings, it was concluded and agreed on.

* But upon the earneſt deſire of Pope *Alexander* VII. and the great offers of the King of *Polands* Brother (a Jeſuits himſelf) they were reſtored were reſtored. 1657. 20. *January* 30.

That the Cardinal ſhould declare in the Colledg without any other Ceremony that the Cenſures were taken away. And that at the ſame time the Duke ſhould put into his hands a Revocation of the Proteſtation.

That the Priſoners might be delivered to Fresne *the* French *Ambaſſador at* Venice, *as to the* French *King, with the Republick Proteſtation; the Pope being not ſuppoſed to be concerned in it.*

That the Religious who had retired themſelves, upon the Interdict *ſhould be reſtored, the* Jeſuits *excepted, and* XIV. *others, who had fled for certain Crimes, and not in Obedience to the Pope.*

That no mention ſhould be made of any Letter, written unto Governours, or Cities, but only a Manifeſto *publiſh'd for the revocation*

tion of the Proteſtation, which was printed.

That after the Cenſures were taken away, the Republick *ſhould name and ſend an Ambaſſador to reſide with his Holineſs, according to the common Cuſtom of Princes.*

And if there were any other particulars, that they ſhould not now be ſpoken of but ſhould be remitted to be fairly treated of with the Pope.

Before theſe were fully agreed on; there had been ſome diſpute about the manner of the Ceremony, in taking off the *Interdiction*: for the Senate had abſolutely deny'd to receive *Abſolution*, affirming they were Innocent, and had (in what they had done) committed no falt: Then the Cardinal propoſed to go to St. *Mark*'s Church with the Duke and Senate, and there to celebrate *Maſſe*, and give a *Benediction* which was enough (he ſaid) to intimate that the Cenſures were taken away.

But the Duke and Senate, jealous of their Reputation, would not allow of this; For though they confeſs'd, That the *Apoſtolick Benediction* ought not to be refuſed, when offer'd, yet at this time it might give occaſion to ſome to believe a falſity, as if they had needed it by ſome falt in this Quarrel, alledging farther the Cuſtom of the Popes, who, if Princes do ſome acts to them through Devotion or Humility, preſently eſteem it as done of Duty, or in acknowledgment of their falts. At laſt, to end this Obſtacle, it was agreed on, as aboveſaid, *That the Cardinal ſhould declare without any other Ceremony that the Cenſures were taken away.*

Now nothing remain'd undecided but the form of the *Manifeſto*, to null the Senate's Proteſtation againſt the *Monitory* or *Interdict*: but of this all was accepted, only this ſentence. *The Cenſures being taken away the Proteſtation in like manner was taken away.* The Cardinal urged, that they ought not to uſe the words *Taken away* in the Proteſtation, but *Revoked.* The Senate, though they affirm'd they could not comprehend, what ſubtilty or difference, laid in the alteration; yea for ſome time refuſed to admit of a change. But perceiving the Cardinal would have it ſo, or elſe break all, at length yielded to the Cardinals requeſt, and ſo it was concluded thus.

The Cenſures being taken away, the Proteſtation in like manner is revoked.

All Obſtacles thus removed, the Agreement was compleated with theſe Ceremonies.

The XI. according to the Engliſh Account.

The XXI. of *April* in the morning, *de Freſne* the *French* Ambaſſador being at the Cardinal *de Joyeuſe*'s Lodgings, *Marc Ottobon* the *Venetian* Secretary had the two Priſoners *Marc Antony Brandolino Valdemarino* Abbot of *Nerveſe*, and *Scipio Sarazin* Canon of *Vicenza*, carryed thither. He telling the Ambaſſador, that theſe were the Priſoners, which the Illuſtrious Prince the Duke of *Venice*, had ſent to be deliver'd to his Excellence, in gratification of the *moſt Chriſtian* King. But with *Proteſtation*, not to Prejudice hereby, the Authority the Republick hath to judg Eccleſiaſticks. The Ambaſſador anſwer'd *That ſo he received them.* Of which a publick Inſtrument being drawn, *de Freſne* went into a Gallery where the Cardinal was, ſent for the Priſoners, ſaying to the Cardinal *Theſe are the Priſoners that are to be deliver'd to the Pope*; The Cardinal pointing to one neer him, ſaid, *Give them to him*, meaning *Claudio Montano* (a Commiſſary ſent by the Pope to this effect) who touch'd them in token of Dominion and Poſſeſſion; and pray'd the *Miniſters* of

Juſtice

Juſtice who conducted them that they would be pleas'd to keep them for him.

This done, the Cardinal and Ambaſſador, went to the Colledg, where they met the Duke and Senat, and all being ſet as uſually, The Cardinal pronounced theſe words.

I rejoyce very much that this day, (ſo much deſired by me) is come, wherein I declare unto your Serenitie *that all the* Cenſures *are taken away, as indeed they are; and I take therein much pleaſure, for the benefit, which ſhall redound hereby to all* Chriſtendom *and particularly to* Italy.

This ſaid, the Duke put into his hand, the *Decree* of the *Revocation* of their *Proteſtation*, and after ſome words of Complement, they all roſe and departed; an end of this Quarrel being thus made.

That afternoon, a Rumour was ſpred about, that that mouring, at the meeting in the Colledg, the Cardinal had given an *Abſolution*. At this the *Venetians* (ſo jealous were they of their reputation) were ſomewhat troubled, and made it their buſineſs to find out the Original of ſuch a Report, which at laſt they found to be ſcatter'd by ſome *French-men*, who giving for their aſſertion, only this Reaſon, *viz.* That the Cardinal being enter'd into the Colledg, before any thing was done, made the ſign of the *Croſs* under his Hood. The idle ſtory and diſcontent vaniſh'd, the *Venetians* ſmiling to ſee, on what little things ſome fond people would build a Submiſſion or Conqueſt.

And it may be, upon this Rumour, or ſome ſuch idle Report, ſome Hiſtorians do ſay, that they did receive Abſolution. But in this Hiſtory I find moſt reaſon to rely upon the Credit of Father *Paul*. One of the moſt famous Pen-Champions that the *Venetians* imploy'd in this Quarrel, was the ſaid learned and judicious Fryer, of the Order of the *Servi* commonly known by the name of Father *Paul*, of whom a word or two by the by.

He was born at *Venice* M. D. LII. He naturally addicted himſelf to his book, whereby when young, he gain'd great Reputation, ſo that *William* the famous Duke of *Mantoua* intertain'd him as his Chaplain, in the year M.D.LXXIX. he was created *Provincial* of his Order, which he executed without partiality: he went and lived ſome time at *Rome*, where he got acquainted with the beſt, his parts making him known, to Pope and Cardinals as well as others. Being return'd to *Venice* he followed his ſtudies cloſe, and in all manner of learning was ſo excellent, that all Strangers that went to *Venice* deſired his acquaintance, upon which he was fooliſhly accuſed by the Court of *Rome* as a Company-keeper with Hereticks.

At this time, the Order of the *Servi* was in ſome trouble, by reaſon of their Protector, Cardinal *Santa Severina*, who againſt all right or reaſon, was reſolved to make one *Gabriel Colliſon* General of the *Order*, being thereto perſwaded by his Briberies: the whole *Order* oppoſed this, and herein Father *Paul* was a little ingaged, but carried himſelf with great diſcretion and moderation. But at laſt *Gabriel* was made *General*, and a ſeeming peace was made.

When the late Quarrel began between the Pope and the *Venetians*, they choſe Father *Paul*, to be one of their chief Aſſiſtants, who by his ſolid reaſons ſtaggerd the Papal Pretenſions: which ſo concern'd the Pope, that he would have had the *Father* brib'd from his Duty to the Com-

monwealth; but this failing, other designs were set on foot. *Gaspar Schoppius*, a man well known for his railing and pernicious principles of Government, freely told Father *Paul*, that the Pope had long Hands, and might reach him, but wisht rather to have him alive at *Rome*, and the Father was by several great Personages informed, that Plots were laid against his Life: but he trusting to his Innocency neglected his Security.

But this confidence might have cost him his Life, for one Evening in the Street at *Venice*, he was assaulted, received two wounds in his Neck and one in his Face, entring at his right ear and passing through the Jaw bone, and out again betwixt his Nose and his Cheek, and the *Stelletto* was left sticking in, the Villain not having strength enough to pull it out.

The number of these *Assassins* were five, who having a *Gondola* ready, got presently to the House of the Pope's *Nuncio*, then resident in *Venice*; thence in a flat Boat, with Ten Oars and well armed, prepared for the purpose, they departed that night, towards *Ravenna*. Being now in the Papal Territories, they were secure, and vapour'd of the Fact, and were nobly received at every place; at last they got to *Rome*, where they were well also entertain'd, with assignation of Entertainment. And here they staid some time, till the world cryed shame, that such abominable Villains should be sheltred and entertain'd from Justice, by his Holiness: upon which the Pope, was forced for Honour sake, to order their departure out of the City; yet had they some Allowance granted them, but so small, in respect of those Glories they expected, that they became mal-content, so that at last every one of them came to an evil end.

But to return to Father *Paul*, he was had home to his Monastery, the most famous Physicians and Chyrurgions in those parts imploy'd about him, so that after some time he perfectly recovered, to the joy of the whole Senat, who by publick *Proclamations* took order for his future Security, assigning him a Guard, increase of Stipend, with a House at St. *Mark*'s at the publick Charge. But the Father desired to be excused from all such state, cost, and trouble, resolved to continue in his Monastery amongst his Brethren of the *Order*. The Senate perceiving this to be his earnest desire, gratified him, but caused some building to be added to his Chamber, from whence by a little Gallery, he might have the Commodity to take Boat the better to avoid Treachery, in his returns sometimes by night, from the publick Service.

Seeing the Senat had thus carefully provided for his security, so that there was danger to use any more force, some other designs were set on foot, 1609. *Fra. Antonio da viterbo* who served as an *Amanuensis* to the Father, was solicited, to make him away with a Razor, which he might conveniently do, considering his intimacy, and the great trust the Father put in him, or if not this, to poyson him. *Antonio* refused to act this wickedness himself, especially to such a good Friend and Patron, but would afford his Assistance if others would be the Actors. So at last it was concluded, that he should take the Print in Wax of his Keys, which he should deliver to another Fryar *Giovar Francisco*, whom Fryar *Bernardo* (the Favourite of Cardinal *Borgheſe*, Nephew to the Pope) had imploy'd about this thing; by which means having Counterfeit Keys, they might send in some Ruffians or *Bravo*'s to murther the Father.

But

But ſome Letters of this Plot, by chance being taken, there was enough diſcovered, to have *Franciſco* and *Antonio* ſeiſed on. *Franciſco* was condemn'd to be hang'd, but had his pardon by a full diſcovery of the whole deſign, and delivering unto them all the Letters concerning this black Plot; what great Perſonages were in this action, is not known; the Councel of *Venice* thinking it beſt to conceal them, for the Honour of Religion.

To tell all the Attempts againſt him would be tedious, theſe are enough; and againſt him it was that the Court of *Rome* bent all their ſpight, he being an Enemy to the prop of all their Greatneſs, *viz.* their Uſurpations, and Authority over Temporal Princes; and his Reaſons obtain'd him the greater ill-will from that Biſhop, becauſe they ſeem'd to be favour'd by other Potentates: The Pope fearing that in time other Territories might follow the Example of the Venetians. And when his *Coercive* Authority is once deſpiſed, he will remain but a weak Governor within the narrow Limits of his Churches Patrimony; which may render him incapable of preferring his Favourites abroad; and the Intereſt thus gone, the Splendor of his Seat will fail; and the Glory of his idle and waſting Courtiers, will be eaten up, by the more thrifty Citizens. Thus their Charity to themſelves, made them the more violent againſt the Fryar *Paul* though he acted nothing, but what became the duty of a good Subject to his Prince and Country.

The Father hoped, that the malice of his Enemies would vaniſh by degrees: and when Pope *Paul* V. dyed, he expected all heart-burning to ceaſe, but here he found himſelf miſtaken, and the Quarrel and Enmity intail'd as it were upon the Pontifick Chair. For *Gregory* XV. ſucceeding, 1621, bare the ſame ill-will, looking upon the Father as the chief-Counſellor, nay and Incendiary too of the *Venetians*, inſomuch that he told their Ambaſſador, that, *there would never be a peace between the Republick and the See Apoſtolick, but ſuch an one as Father* Paul *ſhould approve of.*

The Father informed of this, was grieved beyond meaſure, that he ſhould be held a *Beautefeu*, and ſo rather than any difference ſhould ariſe about him, reſolved peaceably to retire himſelf from his own Country. To live amongſt the *Proteſtants*, might expoſe himſelf to Calumnies; to dwell where the Eccleſiaſticks might over-power him, or where the Temporality would not trouble it ſelf in his Protection, was to expoſe his Life to Poyſon and Stellettoes again. Upon this difficulty he determin'd to reſide at *Conſtantinople*, or ſome of the Eaſtern Countryes. And for this Peregrination he began to make Preparations, take advice, get ſafe-conducts, &c. But being informed that the Pope releas'd much of his diſpleaſure towards him, he was the leſs careful in haſtning.

And now he began to be ancient and feeble, and dyed in his Monaſtery at *Venice*, with great Tranquility and Settlement of mind, 1623. in the LXXI. year of his Age.

The Father was little, humble, grave, but withal chearful; of his dyet very ſparing, inſomuch, that every day with him, was almoſt a Faſt: he was merciful and good to his greateſt Enemies, begging Pardon for thoſe, who deſigned his death.

His Learning got him renown every where, being good for the *Oriental* Languages, beſides *Greek*, *Latin*, and other *Europæan*; was famous for his skill in *Mathematicks*, *Phyſick*, *Anatomy*, *Chymiſtry*, *Aſtronomy*: in all which he was a dayly Practitioner and Diſcoverer of many Ex-

cellent Rarities: Insomuch that the chiefest Artests, thought themselves happy in his advice and acquaintance. And make honourable mention of him.

He had also carefully perused all the ancient Philosophers, out of whom he had collected their different Opinions.

For Politicks, he was held not only the greatest, but the most honest Statesman in his time, admirable vers'd in the *Laws*, knowing in all Histories, and his skill in *Geography* made the world his own. Divinity was his calling, and what an excellent man he was at his Pen, may appear by his divers writings, many of which are not yet publish'd, but some remain as Rarities lockt up in the Cabinets of Princes, whilst others lurk as Secrets in the Archives of the wise *Venetian* Councel. But a Specimen of his great Abilities, may be gather'd from his *History of the Council of Trent.* where he was pleas'd to vail himself under the Title of

Pietro Soave Polana.

Which by an *Anagrammatism*, makes the Fathers Name, Sirname, and Country, thus

Paolo Sarpio, Veneto.

his Fathers name being *Francisco di Pietro Sarpio.*

There is also abroad of his *A History of the Inquisition*; a *History of the Quarrels between Pope Paul* V. *and the Venetians*, and several other things in justification of his Country in those Troubles, which with his other writings (and Commendations of him) have faln under the lash of their * *Index Expurgatorius.*

* vid. Ind. lib. Prohibit. *edit. Alexand.* VII. pag. 98. 222. 226. 227. 272

The Court of *Rome*, whilst he lived carryed the greatest bitterness against him, dayly writing Lybels and Invectives against him, stufft up with Lyes and Forgeries, insomuch that *Bellarmine*, (though his Pen was ingaged against the Father in the *Venetian* Quarrel) told the Pope that such notorious Falsities and Calumnies would bring more Scandal than Credit to his Cause.

Amongst the rest of his Enemies was *Maffeo Barbarini* Nuncio in *France* at the time of the Quarrel, and afterwards Pope *Urban* VIII. who in his Aiery and Romantick humour rais'd and invented many unworthy Stories of the Father, far unbefitting a Person of his Place and Dignity.

Nay so implacable were the *Roman* Favourites, that their Slaunders and Malice followed him to his Grave, publishing impudent and fabulous Stories concerning his death, of his dying Howling, of strange Apparitions of Black Dogs, of Terrible Noises heard in his Cell and Chambers, and several such like lying Forgeries, as those idle people used to invent upon *Luther*, *Calvin*, and others who will not truckle to the Usurpations of the *Roman* Court. But the people of *Venice*, who knew him better, accounted him a Saint, hanging up their *Votive Tablets* at his * Sepulchre, till the Senate, to satisfie Pope *Urban* VIII. forbad such Ceremonies to be used to his Monument. And so much by the bie, of the Learned and Judicious Father *Paolo Sarpi.*

* Spond. an 1623. n. 13. *Rob. Johnston* Rerum *Brit.* Hist. lib. 20. an. 1623. p. 638.

Here might I treat of some further troubles endeavour'd to be stirr'd up by *Urban* VIII. who in affront to the Republick, caus'd an Ancient Inscription, [which had been set up in the *Sala Regia* in the *Vatican*, as a Monu-

a Monument of the *Venetian* honour for reſtoring *Alexander* III. when chas'd by the Emperor *Frederick* I.] to be defaced and razed out. He alſo excommunicated the *Luqueſes*, the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, the Duke of *Parma*, and of *Modena*, and to maintain his *Cenſures* fell to the Temporal Sword. But *Parma* flew about like Lightning with 3000 Horſe, that his Holineſs and Cardinals thought it ſafeſt to retire to the Caſtle *S. Angelo*. At laſt by the Interceſſion of the *French*, a Peace is concluded, the Cenſures are taken off, the ingaged Princes have their Temporal Authority confirm'd by the Peace. And the Ancient Inſcription, in Honour and Gratitude to the *Venetian*, is to be renew'd and inſcribed in a larger Table, and ſet up in the *Vatican* as formerly. 1642 1644

Here the Pope gain'd nothing by fomenting Troubles: And in truth, the Papal Authority, by the late *Venetian* Quarrel, received a deadly blow; Princes thereby, beginning to ſee their own power and Juriſdiction, have the leſs eſteem for that pretended or uſurped by the Pope; and may in time acknowledg themſelves Supream, within their own Dominions.

CHAP. II.

Henry *the Fourth murdred by* Ravaillac.

I Have formerly related divers attempts of the *Romaniſts* to take away the Authority and Life of *Henry* IV. of *France*, which Catalogue I might augment, with the wickedneſs of four *Piedmonters*, of a *Lorrain* Lacquey, of one *Pedefer*, of one *Nicolle Mignon* a woman poor and wicked, who deſigned his murther. And to theſe I might add the attempt of one *Jean de L'Iſle*, who (as the King was returning from hunting) upon *Pont-neuſt* in *Paris*, by taking hold of his Cloak would have pull'd him off his Horſe, and endeavour'd to aſſaſſinate him with his Dagger: But the King was graciouſly pleas'd to pardon him, the fellow being found to be a meer Enthuſiaſtick Fool, declaring *himſelf to be King of the whole world, to have deſcended from Pharamond* the firſt King of the *Francks*, and affirming *Henry* to have Uſurp'd the Kingdom of *France* from him. Probably ſomewhat related to the Whimſies or Phanaticiſm of the *American* Doctor who believed he ſhould be King and Pope too, or the *Italian* Foot-boy, who fancied himſelf a Monarch, the Serving-man who thought himſelf a Pope, or the *Italian* Groom who held himſelf for Emperor, and accordingly, to his poor Capacity, would take ſuch ſtate upon him. Upon this fooliſh or madman's attempt on the Kings perſon, the Monſieurs *Motin* and *Malherbe*, then noted Poets in *France*, have compoſed ſome * Verſes.

Hiſt. de la Paix fol. 142. 143. &c. *Laur. Bouchel* Hiſt. de la juſtice Crim Tit. 4. ch. 22.

St. Lazare Hiſt. Tragiques p. 68. *Hard. de Pereſixe* Hiſt. *Hen.* le Grand.

Dr. *Mer. Caſaubon* of Enthuſiaſm ch. 3. p. 104. 105. 108. Edit. 2.

* vid. *d'eſpinelle* le Parnaſſe des Poetes Francoſes. Tom. 1. fol. 33. &c. Tom. 2. fol. 218. &c.

But paſſing by theſe, with a latter one mentioned by the careful Duke * *du Sully*, and other Contrivances to involve that Kingdom in Rebellion, I ſhall haſten to the Murther of that great Monarch which in ſhort was thus:

* Memoires. Tom. 3. pag 478.

1610.

The King in his Coach with others going to viſit his great Confident the Duke of *Sully*, then indiſpoſed in the *Arſenal*; being come to the Street *La Ferronnerie* (or Ironmongers) which was then very narrow by reaſon of the Shops built againſt the wall of *St. Innocent's* Churchyard, and a Stop being made to his Coach by two Carts, one laden with Wine, the other with Hay: At this Stop, one *Francois Ravaillac* took the opportunity to thruſt himſelf neer the Coach, and ſetting one foot upon the wheel and the other againſt a Shop-ſtall, ſo advanced himſelf, that with a knif prepared for the purpoſe, he murdred him with two or three ſtabs. before the miſchief was perceived. Of this Murther thus diſcants * *Pierre Matthieu* the Kings Hiſtoriogapher and Councellor.

Laur. Bouchel Hiſt. de la juſtice crim. tit. 11. ch. 14.

* les Trophees de *Hen.* le Grand. 103.

Il ne plus faut nommer Henrys *les Roys de* France
La Mort par deux Couſteaux & un Eſclat de Lance
A tue trois Henrys: *L'un jouſtant a Cheval,*
L'autre en ſon Cabinet, le tiers en ſon Caroſſe;
Cinq Roys du nom de Jacques *ont fait croire a l'Eſcoſſe*
Qu'il y a dans les noms quelque ſecret fatal.

Let's no more name *Henrys*, for Kings of *France*,
Since *Death* with two *Knives* and one ſhivered *Lance*

In's

Three *Henrys* kild; one Tilted through the Eye:
In's Chamber one, the laſt in's Coach did dye:
The death of * Five *Scotch James* may adviſe,
That in ſome Names, ſome Fatal Secret lyes.

Four more truly.

Who were the Contrivers of this horrid Fact, is not as yet (that I know of) fully divulged, though wiſemen ſuſpect that there was more in it, than the malicious thoughts of ſuch a Varlot, whoſe obſcurity was ſuch, that the King could not have any way offended him, any way diſingaged, or have provoked him to ſuch a miſchief, but that the Devil and a falſe zeal of Religion will inſtigate a man to any miſchief.

'Tis true, the King at this time, had an Army of above Forty Thouſand men, ready for ſome grand deſign, and he himſelf within a few days was to go and head them in his Intended Exploit; but whether this great expence of men and money, was only to regain the Beautiful Princeſſe of *Conde*, who with her Husband had privately fled into *Flanders* to avoid the Kings immoderate Love, as Cardinal * *Bentivoglio* is pleas'd to aſſert: Or to obtain the Diviſion of Chriſtendom into XV. Dominions, according to the ſtrange Model laid down by the Duke of * *Sully* and ſome others from him, I ſhall not undertake to Determine, ſeeing others will not by any means allow that the Kings Intentions, Plots, and Deſigns are yet any way * known or diſcovered.

* Hiſt. Relat. *Fland.* p. 151. &c.

* Mem. Tom. 4.

* Quo Conſilio Rex bellum ſuſcepe-

rit, quem potiſſimum finem intenderit, quam metam, quoſve limites armis propoſuerit, ut incertum eſt et incompertum hactenus, ſic inane perſcribere et lucem ex fumo et umbra captare. *Joan. de Buſſieres* Hiſt. *Franc.* vol. 4. pag. 482.

But 'tis certain the *Spaniard* was amazed at theſe great Preparations of the King, and thought it fitting to ſtrengthen himſelf in *Flanders*, and the Pope and *Spaniards* did not uſe to ſeparate Intereſts; beſides *Gregory* XV. had been very earneſt to perſwade the King from any more Arming, but to little purpoſe. And it may be here, not unworth the Obſervation, that whilſt the King was raiſing this great Army, there was a large * Book ſecretly kept in *France* by ſome Conſidering Prieſts, in which many did ſubſcribe their fidelity and Obedience to the Pope; and what elſe I cannot tell, but this we are aſſured, that the Book was half written through, and a great part of thoſe Oaths, and Signatures, ſigned and ſubſcribed in *blood*.

* *Mem.* du *Sully* Tom. 3. pag. 360. and Hiſt. de la vie de *Monay du Pleſſis* pag. 337.

As for *Ravaillac* he had formerly been a *Monk*, then throwing off his Frock, had for ſome time taught a Petty-ſchool; but it ſeemeth, Profit, not coming in faſt enough by that Trade, he threw himſelf upon the Law, turning Solicitor or Pettyfogger. He had formerly been a ſtickler in their *Solemn League and Covenant*, and as appears kept ſome of its Leven yet in his heart, and ſo a zealous Diſciple to the Pope; and this it ſeemeth was no ſmall furtherance of him: for what ever the Kings deſigns were, *Ravaillac* was fully perſwaded, that the aim of it was to ruin his Holineſs and the *Roman* Religion, boldly alledging in his Examination, this for the cauſe of the Attempt.——* *Becauſe* (ſaid he) *making war againſt the Pope, is the ſame as to make war againſt God, ſeeing the Pope was God, and God was the Pope.*

* Parceque faiſant la guerre contre le Pape, c'eſtoit la faire

contre Dieu, d'autant que le Pape eſtoit Dieu & Dieu eſtoit le Pape——Procez, *Examen, Confeſſions &c.* du Francois Ravaillac, pag. 39. Iſ. Caſaubon. Epiſt. ad *Front. Ducæum*, pag. 14. Andre Favyn Hiſt. de Navar. pag. 1292.

That

That there were more than one Contriver of this Murther needeth no doubt, ſeeing the general Bruit which fore-ran it, and the great confidence or rather certainty his Enemies had of it, of both which the Words and Teſtimony of the preſent Arch-biſhop of *Paris* are obſervable.

Hiſt. Hen. le Grand, p. 3. *His Enemies were then in a profound ſilence, which poſſibly was not cauſed, only by their Conſternation and fear of the Succeſs of his Arms: but out of the* Expectation *they had to ſee ſucceed ſome* great Blow *in which lay all their hopes.*

It muſt needs be, that there were many Conſpiracies againſt the life of this good King; ſince from Twenty places, advice was given of it; ſince by a Printed Paper both in Spain *and at* Milan *a report of his death was publiſh'd before; ſince there paſſed a Currier eight days before he was Aſſaſſinated, through the City of* Liege, *who ſaid that he carried news to the Princes of* Germany *that he was kill'd; ſince at* Montargis, *there was found a Paper upon the Altar, containing the Prediction of his approaching death, by a determinate blow; ſince in fine, the Report ran through all* France, *that he ſhould not out-live that year, and that he ſhould dye a Tragick death in the* LVII. *year of his Age*, and ſome alſo ſaid, *in a Coach*, which made him to dread and tremble when he was in one.

The *Jeſuits* were accuſed of having ſome knowledg of it, and to this purpoſe was call'd to mind the Sermon of Father *Hardy*; preached at St. *Severins* in *Paris* not two Months before the Blow; in which, amongſt other things he told his Auditors——*That Kings heaped up Treaſures to make themſelves fear'd, but yet there needed but a Blow a or Mattock to kill a King*: and 'tis known, that none was more gathering and hoarding up of Moneys in his latter days, to carry on his Armed deſign, than this King, inſomuch that they talk of Mountains of Gold that he had amaſs'd together.

'Tis alſo objected, that *Ravaillac* declared, he had inform'd Father *d' Aubigny* of this intended Murther, and ſhew'd him the Knife, but that this was told him in *Confeſſion*, and ſo not to be reveal'd: the cunning *Jeſuit*, upon Examination, proteſting, *that God had given him that Grace or Quality, that as ſoon as any thing was reveal'd to him in* Confeſſion, *he preſently forgot it.*

But however it be, the reverend *Hardovin de Pereſixe* the preſent Arch-biſhop of *Paris*, doth aſſure us, that the Conſtancy, hardineſs and unconcernedneſs of the Malefactor at his exquiſite Torments in ſuffering——*ſtrongly confirm'd the ſuſpicion had that certain* Emiſſaries *under the Mask of Religion had inſtructed and charmed him, with falſe aſſurances that he ſhould dye a* Martyr, *if he kil'd him; whom they made believe was the ſworn Enemy of the Church*——The truth is, after the Villain had given the murdring blows, he neither took care to flee, to conceal his Knife, or ſhift for himſelf: but ſtood ſtill by the Coach, as if he deſired to be taken notice of, and glorified, and prided himſelf in ſuch a noble Exploit.

And that there was ſome Secret more than ordinary diſcovered in his Examination and Confeſſion; and that thoſe who inſtigated him to that bloody action were ſuch, that it was not thought fitting (whether for the Honour of Religion, or ſome other reſpect) that they ſhould be publickly known, is more than hinted at, by the foreſaid Prelate:

For

For of these things, saith he——* *The Judges themselves who Examin'd him, durst not open their mouths, but with a Shrug or Covertly with excusing put offs.*—— And that some grand thing was here husht up, may in part be suppos'd, by the Prince of *Conde* and others, five years after, putting forth a Publick Complaint, amongst other things, that the discovery of *Henry* the *Great*'s murther was stopt and not fully prosecuted.

* les juges mesme qui l'interrogerent, n'oserent en ouurir la Bouche qu'en perlerent jamais que des Espaules. Hist. Hen. le grand, part 3.

However the Common Censure was apt to think worst of the *Jesuits*, reckning them as the chiefest Assertors and Champions of this King-killing Doctrine; insomuch that *Pierre Coton* himself fell to work, to write an Apology for his Order, which he did by way of a *Declaratory Letter* dedicated and directed to the *Queen-Regent*, where (though not long) the Reader will find more words than material, either not down right, plain and pat to the purpose, or else drawing false and fair shadows, over some black and seditious Authors: and yet these whom he mentions are but a very few.

Amongst the many others, who thought this *King-killing* Doctrine, most agreeable to the *Jesuits*, and at this time began to shew himself, both in the Pulpit and at the Press, was *Jean du Boys Olivier*, Abbot of *Beaulieu*, born at *Paris*, Preacher to the King, one held a Lover of his Prince and Country, and of an honest, free, downright disposition: The stirring of this *du Bois*, did a little vex the Fathers, his Credit and Repute having the heavier hand upon them, and therefore nothing could satisfie them but removal, upon some honourable pretence, and no place so fitting as to pack him for *Italy*. Of which take a piece of a Letter to Archbishop *Abbot*, as I transcribed it from the Original.

May it please your Grace,

Since the writing of my last to your Grace, &c. *we have freshly receiv'd the news from* Rome, *that the Abbot* du Bois, *a man very popular here in* Paris, *a Town-born Child, and famous also for his freedom both of speech and writing against the Exorbitancy of the Popes Authority, and the practises of the* Jesuits, *and in particular against* Pere Coton, *to whose* Lettre Declaratoire *publish'd presently after the Kings death, to acquit his Order of the Imputation of the Kings death) he set forth an Answer in print dedicated* Aux Bons Francois *being also cited by the* Anti-coton *as a witness* * Que sentence a este donnee contre lay a *Avignon* pour avoir engrosse une Nonnain: *That this* Abbot *I say, going lately to* Rome, *is there clapt up in the* Inquisition, *which hath occasion'd the* French *here to speak according to their manner very frankly in Commiseration of him, who was always held a good Patriot. And it is thought dishonourable to the state, in regard that he is the Queens Chaplain, and was imploy'd by her, as some say, but to* Florence, *as others to* Rome, *to thank the Pope for the Cardinals Hat which he lately bestowed upon the Queens Almoner the Bishop of* Beziers: *but however, it is agreed by all, that he carryed Letters from hence, wherewith it is said, he was purposely gratified to bring him within the compass of the snare, wherein he is caught*, &c.

* But here (it may be) *Anti-Coton* was wrong informed concerning Father Coton.

From Paris the 5*th*. of December, 1611.

Your Graces most humbly to be Commanded

J. WOODFORD.

Having thus followed him to Priſon, it is eaſie to conclude that he muſt end his days there, it being not agreeable to their cuſtom and Policy, to ſet ſuch at Liberty that can tell Tales, and that they might be no more fear'd or troubled with him, they forthwith * murther him in *Priſon* at *Rome*, his main fault being (for any that I know) *Loyalty*, which thus occaſion'd his misfortune and death, to the ſhame of his Perſecutors.

* ſed cum ſub idem tempus, Abbas *Silvius* ob paricidialem illam doctrinam eſſet in *Jeſuitas* invectus voce et ſcripto, paulò poſt *Romæ* necatus eſt in carere *Peter Molin.* de Monarchia Temporali Pont. Rom. cap. 2. pag. 22.

But that Book which then made the greateſt noiſe was call'd *Anti-Coton*, which was ſmart, and in the main ſpoke to the purpoſe, though ſome miſtakes might happen in it through too much haſte; however it put the whole *Order* of *Jeſuits* into a flame and hurry, every one endeavouring to quell this unknown enemy: But certain it is, it had been better for their Reputation, if Father *Cotton* had not given occaſion to ſuch a Reply by his Letter, which did them more hurt than good.

For thoſe *Romaniſts* who vapour with the Council of *Conſtance*, and brag that they maintain nothing contrary to it, may (like the ſhearing of hogs) make a great noiſe, but get little Wool or Reputation; for as on one hand, they may declare a Council to be above a Pope, for which his Holineſs will give them little thanks, ſo on the other, they cannot expect any Credit or Approbation from Temporal Princes, ſeeing one may be as great a Traytor as *Clement* or *Chaſtel* and yet not contradict the cry'd up *Canon* of this Council, The ſum of all this goodly Rule being only thus much. ——— *No Tyrant* (that is a * lawful King ruling Tyrannically) *ought legally to be ſlain by any one of his Subjects or Vaſſals by any clancular means, being ſworn to him, * without ſentence or Command of ſome ſome judg or his Superiors.*

* *Greg. de Valiant.* Tom. 3. diſp. 5. 9. 8. p. 3.

* Non expectata ſententia vel mandato judicis cujuſcunque.

And this is all the great buſineſs, that ſo many of them have pleaded their Loyalty with. The main of all being that they ſtick cloſe to the Council of *Conſtance*, and with it will declare, That it is lawful for a *private man* to kill a wicked King, without command from his betters, which hath ſo little Pith or Sence as to the main buſineſs *True Allegiance*, that poſſibly moſt King-judgers or killers might think they never broke ſuch a *Canon*, and ſo not condemned by ſuch a Council.

As for Father *Cotton* a French, man he was of a ſubtil Head-piece, cryed up by his Order, both for his Sanctity and Learning, but the command of his Tongue, Courtſhip, and Carriage were his beſt Friends, by which he got to be the Kings *Confeſſor*, and thus ſetled in his Favour, he knew well enough how to keep himſelf there; yet others think his writings more to conſiſt of words than matter, and that his real Sanctity (though ſome will appropriate as it were Miracles to him) was no better than his Neighbours. *Anti-Coton* accuſeth him of betraying the Kings ſecrets, and the Duke of * *Sully* proved to the King that in that he was guilty.

* Memoires Tom. 3. ch. 29 pag. 290. &c.

Pope * *Nicolas* V. gave leave to a Friend of his ſo far to conſult the Devil, that one witch might kill another, that thereby his acquaintance might obtain his former health: and it may be upon this Example, *Coton* made uſe of the Devil or *Demoniack*, to enquire concerning the life of the King and ſeveral other affairs; which may be ſeen at large in * *Thuanus* and * *Sulley*. And it was a cloſe and biting *Anagram* which was made upon this Father; and it may be reflecting upon the *Order*.

* *Sennert.* l. 6. part 9. c. 8.

* lib. 132.

* Tom. 3. p. 56, 57.

PIERRE COTON

Anagr.

PERCE TON ROI.

* *i. e.* Stab your King.

In ſhort, none was more intimate with the King than he, none had more power over him than he, none could make him do or undo ſooner than he, whether through real love or policy I know not; inſomuch that ſome Deputies of *Rochel* once preſenting a Petition to the King, his Majeſty was pleas'd to return them this Anſwer——*That he could not hear them then, for his ears were ſtopt with Cotton*———Hence it grew into a Common jeſt in *France* upon any repulſe from the King or denial of acceſs———* *The Kings ears are ſtopt with Cotton.* Upon which, and the Kings familiarity with him, uſing much his Company, and to take him into his Coach, as alſo alluding to the ſuſpition of ſome that this Father kept Correſpondency with *Spain*, revealing thither the Kings Secrets; this following *Paſquin* flew about *Paris*.

* les Oreilles du Roy ſont bouſches de *Cotton*.

Le Roy ne ſcauroit faire un pas,
Que Le Pere Cotton *l'accompagne*;
Mais le bon Prince ne ſcait pas,
Que le * *fin* Cotton *vient d'* Eſpagne.

* ſignifieth cunning, crafty, as well as fine.

The King cannot go any where
But Father *Cotton* ſticks to his ear;
Yet the good King doth not attain,
That the pure *Cotton*, comes from *Spain*.

As concerning the Kings murther, ſome of the *Leaguers*, or his Enemies thus long before it hapned wiſh'd or foretold it.

Dum ſequeris ſolium Regis fraudesque Navarre,
Te ſequitur Regis ſors violenta tui.

Since thou wilt graſp *Valois* his Crimes and Lands,
Thou ſhalt be ſlain, like him, by bloody Hands.

The *Jeſuits* (as formerly hinited) upon the attempt of *Chaſtel* had been baniſhed the Kingdom of *France*, nor might they probably have any real hopes of a Return, ſeeing the Lawyers, the Univerſities, eſpecially the *Sorbonne*, the Common-people, moſt of the Nobility, the Religious of other Orders and their Parliament had declared poſitively againſt them: Nor will ſome think, that the King himſelf had really any goodwill or affection for them, though he was willing of a Reconciliation with them, the better to ſecure himſelf, as was ſuppoſed from his Anſwer to his great Favorite *de Sully*, who perſwading him from their re-admiſſion (being as a foreſaid baniſh'd) was thus anſwered by the King———*Give me then ſecurity for my life.*

In ſhort, be the reaſon what it will, the King would by his power, maugre all Oppoſition, have them reſtored, and had; and not only made the *Arreſt* or Decree of *Parliament* againſt them, be recall'd, but to ingratiate himſelf the more, had the Marble Pillar or Pyramide (formerly

mentioned upon his wound by *Chaſtel*) pull'd down, permitted them (to the regret of the Univerſity of *Paris*) to teach again, gave them places of honour about him; and that nothing might be wanting on his part to oblige them, he built them a ſtately Colledg at *la Fleſche* in *Anjou*, in which Town ſome ſuppoſed he was firſt conceived, and laſtly to the ſaid Colledg he bequeath'd his heart; which upon his Murther the *Jeſuits* receive and carryed in great Pomp and State to the ſaid Colledg (his body was buryed at St. *Denys*). At the carrying away of his Heart, 'tis ſaid that one (ſome think the chief Preſident *de Harlay*) cunningly ask'd ſome of the Fathers——*Whether the Kings* Tooth *which* Chaſtel *ſtruck out were not likewiſe inclos'd in the Box with the* Heart *and carryed too*? However upon the *Jeſuits* having the Kings *Heart*, this following biting *Paſquin* was made, and with others flew about the world.

En fin tel quel vous le tenez
Le Cœur *du Roy, dont vous avez*
Tant de fois la mort procuree;
Lors que leſs Chiens ont attrappe,
Le Cerf qu'ils ont tant galoppe,
Du Cœur *on leur fait la Curee.*

which another made more ſhort, thus:

Ce n'eſt, qu'a vous (Trouppe Sacree)
Qu'on doit bailler le Cœur *des Roys*
Quand les grands Cerfs ſont aux abboys
On en doit aux Chiens la Curee.

'Tis You alone (you ſacred Crue)
To whom the *Hearts* of Kings are due;
For when Great *Harts* are hunted hard,
Their Entrails are the Hounds reward.

Upon this murther, the Parliament Orders, a * Book written by *Mariana* the *Spaniſh* Jeſuit to be burnt by the Hang-man, as maintaining the Lawfulneſs of King-killing, and Father *Cotton* was deſired to Anſwer that Book; but he ſlipt his Neck out of the Coller, as not willing to write plain and poſitively againſt *Mariana*. After this the Parliament alſo * condemned * *Franciſco Suarez*'s Book as containing many Seditious and Treaſonable Principles; and after this, another Jeſuit, *Antonius Santarellus* publiſhing the ſame Tenents, his Book was alſo * burned at *Paris*. Theſe things ſo nettled the Fathers of that Society, that they had no way to clear themſelves but to have ſome of their Chieftains * ſubſcribe againſt thoſe Errors; here Father *Coton* was again commanded to put pen to Paper, and to confute *Santarel*, this put him to ſuch a puſh, for he muſt either offend the Pope and the General of their Society, or the Parliament of *Paris*. If he anſwered them, he oppoſed the firſt two, if he did not; he offended the latter, and would be thought to eſpouſe thoſe Tenents; which might the more expoſe his Order in *France*, and make himſelf guilty of Treaſon; Theſe Conſiderations did ſo perplex him, that (though in perfect health before) he dyed within * Three days.

To other *Jeſuits* were alſo commanded to write againſt ſuch Tenents, but we hear nothing of their attempt in this caſe. And how unwilling

* de Rege et Regis inſtitutione.

* 1614.
* Defenſio fidei Catholicæ.
* 1626.

* 16. March.

* 19. March. 1626.

ling they were positively to give their Judgments, may somewhat appear by this following Story.

Whilst the Parliament of *Paris* was Censuring *Sanctarellus* his * Book, being printed at *Rome* by the Approbation of *Mutius Vitelleſcus*, General of their Order, as also the Master of the Sacred Palace, and others: The Parliament * sent for Father *Cotton* the Provincial of the *Jeſuits*, the Rector of *Clermont*, and others the Chieftains of their Order; to whom they proposed these following Questions, which was thus answered (in the name of all the rest of their Society) by Father *Cotton*.

* de Hæreſi, Schiſmate, &c

* 13. March.

Parl. *Is this pernicious Book of* Sanctarellus *call'd* Tractatus de Hæreſi, Schiſmate, &c. *approved of by you?*

Coton. *No, and we ſhall ſhortly publickly oppoſe it.*

Parl. *Why do you contradict that Doctrine, which the General of your Order at* Rome *approveth of?*

Coton. *We confeſs that our Society believeth ſo at* Rome, *but why ſhould the fault of the* Italians *be imputed to us, ſeeing we in* France *are of an other perſwaſion.*

Parl. *Hath not the King of* France *abſolute power over all his Subjects?*

Coton. *He hath ſo, as to Temporals.*

Parl. *Do you believe that the* Pope, *hath ſo much authority over Kings, that by his Excommunication, he can* Interdict *them, abſolve their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, depoſe them, and diſpoſe of Kingdoms?*

Coton. *Fy, Fy, what to Excommuniate the moſt Chriſtian King? who can think that the firſt-born of the Church can be an enemy to his Mother, which he always protected and defended? or that he is to be Excommunicated, who hath all along endeavoured the Extirpation of Hereſie?*

Parl. *It ſeems then you do not believe the ſame with your General at* Rome.

Coton. *Our General living at* Rome, *it is not to be ſuppoſed that he is to contradict that which is believed at* Rome.

Parl. *Well, let him believe ſo, but what do you believe?*

Coton. *Truly, the quite contrary.*

Parl. *But if you were at* Rome, *what would you believe then?*

Coton. *We would change our minds with the Country, and would believe as they did at* Rome.

Parl. *Pray Gentlemen, to the purpoſe, without any Equivocations, idle or frivolous put offs, what doth the body of your Society think of the Popes power over Kings?*

Upon this *Cotton* is at ſtand, desireth Liberty to consult with the Society.

CHAP. III.

Tir-Oen *raiſes a Rebellion in* Ireland, *incouraged by a Phœnix plume ſent him by the Pope. The* Iriſh *ſend a ſlanderous Letter to the Pope againſt Quen* Elizabeth, *Pope* Clement *the* VIIIth. *thanks the* Iriſh *for their Rebellion.* Mountjoy *Lord Deputy proclaims* Tyrone *Traytor.* Clement *the* VIIIth. *ſends another Letter to* Tyrone. *The* Iriſh *write to the King of* Spain. Don Juan de Aquila *with ſeveral Spaniſh forces land in* Ireland; *but to their own ruin.* Tyrone *ſubmits and delivers himſelf up to the* Lord Deputy. *The Divines of* Salamanca *and* Valla-dolid *declare in behalf of the* Iriſh.

IN the former Century, having ſeen part of the Rebellions of the *Iriſh* and *Tir-Oen*, we ſhall in haſte run over the reſt, not inſiſting too much upon their Warrs and Fights, but leave them to other Hiſtorians.

Upon the departure of the Earl of *Eſſex*, *Tir-Oen* renews his Rebellion, being incouraged to it, both from *Spain* and Pope; the firſt ſending as his Agent *Don Martin de la Certa*, with XXII. Thouſand Crowns, to carry on the Treaſonable cauſe; the latter, *viz.* the Biſhop of *Rome* ſending him his bleſſing by *Matheo de Oviedo* [by ſome call'd Arch-Biſhop of *Dublin*] and the better to incourage the Arch-Traytor, his Holineſs alſo ſent him (as Pope *Urban* III. ſent *Henry* II. a Crown made of Peacocks Feathers) a Fools-bable, *viz.* a * *Phœnix* Plume or Feather. But I would gladly know of the Pope how he came by ſuch a Toy. For if there be no ſuch Bird in the world as a *Phœnix* (as the learned Dr. * *Brown* and others rationally aſſert) his Infallible Holineſs muſt get this *Romantick* Rarity, from the ſame Store-houſe, that one got a * Feather out of the Arch-angels Wing, another, ſome of the Flame of *Moſes* his Buſh, and a third the Triumphant Banner wherewith Chriſt deſcended down into Hell.

* *Baron.* an. 1186. §. 16. Sir *Jo. Davies* diſcovery of *Ireland* p. 19. * *Oſullevam* Compend. Hiſt. *Ibern.* Tom. 3. l. 5. cap. 12. fol. 167. *Cambden* Annal. 1599. * Vulg. Errors lib. 3 cap. 12. * *Phil. Lonicer.* Theatr. Hiſtr. pag. 81.

1600. *Tyrone* with theſe encouragements and hopes of farther relief from *Spain*, grows bold and numerous, and having got many of the great ones to joyn with him, ſends alſo to the Lord *Barry* to perſwade him to the ſame Treaſonable actions. His Letter runs thus.

My Lord *Barry*,

YOur impiety to God, Cruelty to your Soul and Body, Tyranny and Ingratitude both to your Followers and Country are inexcuſable and intolerable. You ſeparated your ſelf from the Unity of Chriſts myſtical body, the Catholick Church. You know the ſword of Extirpation hangeth over your head, as well as ours; if things fall out otherwiſe then well: You are the Cauſe why all the Nobility of the South (from the Eaſt part to the Weſt, you being linked into each one of them, either in Affinity or Conſanguinity) are not linked together to ſhake off the Cruel Yoak of Hereſie and Tyranny, with which our Souls and Bodies are oppreſt.

All thoſe aforeſaid depending of your reſolution, and relying to your judgment in this Common Cauſe of our Religion and Country, you might forſooth with their help. (and the reſt that are combined in this holy Action) not only defend your ſelf from the Incurſion and Invaſion of the Engliſh, *but*

alſo

alſo (by Gods Aſſiſtance) who miraculouſly and above all expectation gave good ſucceſs to the cauſe principally undertaken for his Glory, exaltation of Religion, next for the reſtauration of the ruins and preſervation of the Commonwealth) expell them and deliver them and us from moſt miſerable and cruel Exaction and Subjection, enjoy your Religion, ſafety of Wife and Children, Life, Lands and Goods, which all are in hazard through your folly, and want of due Conſideration.

Enter I beſeech you into the Cloſet of your Conſcience, and like a wiſeman weigh ſeriouſly the end of your actions, and take advice of thoſe, that can inſtruct you and inform you better, than your own private judgment can lead you unto. Conſider and read with attention and ſetled mind, this Diſcourſe I ſend you, that it may pleaſe God to ſet open your eyes and grant you a better mind.

From the Camp this inſtant Tueſday *the ſixt of* March *according to the New Computation.*

I pray you ſend me the Papers I ſend you, aſſoon as your Honour ſhall read the ſame.

O Neale.

The Lord *Barry* anſwered him Nobly and Loyally, upon which they fell upon his Lands and Vaſſals, doing what miſchief they were capable of acting. And the better to credit their wicked cauſe, the chief of them wrote a Letter to Pope *Clement* VIII. ſlandering the Queen and her Government, and ſo deſired the Pope to ſend out a *Bull* or Excommunication and deprivation againſt her, as *Pius* V. and *Gregory* XIII. had done before. The Paper it ſelf runs thus.

Sanctiſſime Pater,

CUm ſuperioribus annis Dei ſummi nutu et voluntate excitati ad recuperandum hoc Regnum ab *Anglorum* graviſſimo jugo, qui et Religionem et Regionem vi et Tyrannide multis ſeculis occupavere, id nunc tandem poſt multa pericula extant lata, pro majore parte excuſſimus, ſanctitati Veſtræ exponimus, quod prima nobis et præcipua fuit cura perpetuoque erit, ſtatum Eccleſiæ, hic fere extinctum, in integrum reſtituere et collapſum redintegrare; ita apud nos judicantes noſtrarum partium eſſe, vitam ipſam omnemque ſubſtantiam noſtram in eo augendo impendere, id quod libentiori animo præſtare conamur (ut non dicamus cogimur) quia niſi tempeſtive communi malo in utroque ſtatu occurſerimus, nobiſcum deterius longe actum fuiſſet quam *Turcæ* ſolent agere, cum ſibi ſubditis *Chriſtianis* adeo ut vel fuga eſſet conſolend. vel hic mors obeunda.

Rebus itaque in anguſtias has redactis, ad quem majore ſpe jureque accedere cujuſque opem implorare poſſumus ac debemus, quam ad Te Pater Spirituum in Terris, ut filiis ſpiritualibus miſere adhuc afflictis, jugoque longe graviore & crudeliore quam *Pharaonico* attritis adſis. Quod nos ſperamus a pietate tua conſecuturos exemplo omnium afflictorum, qui ad Sedem tuam in talibus ærumnis accedentes opem atque deſideratiorem exitum fuerunt conſecuti.

Ad

At Te igitur Communem Omnium afflictorum, præſertim fidei cauſa laborantium pium & benevolum Patrem, tanquam ad unicum noſtrum Refugium & tutiſſimum Aſyſum confugimus, fuſisque lachrimis humiliter petimus, ut noſtros gemitus audiat, vota ſuſcipiat, ac poſtulatus concedat, ut eorum ora obſtruantur franganturque vires qui oderunt *Sion*, ac impediunt diruta *Jeruſalem* denuo reædificari Mænia, ubi ſi nobis credere dignetur *tua Sanctitas*, nunquam Anteceſſores noſtri ex tempore quo Regnum hoc in manus *Anglorum* devenerat, adjutores fuerant quam nos ſumus ad fidem a *noſtro Apoſtolo* Sancto *Patricio*, traditam ſuſcipiendam ad eamque (proh dolor) in his partibus fere extinctam hactenus & pene ſepultam excuſſo jam pro parte *Anglorum* jugo exſuſcitandam, promovendam, augendam & amplificandam; quia nihil aliud in his votis habemus, quam videre Dei gloriam et fidei Orthodoxæ propugnationem. Annuere itaque dignetur *veſtra Sanctitas* noſtris Petitionibus, qui pretis honoribus & commodis quibuſcunque diem ulteriorem vivere non deſideramus, quam videre Dei Eccleſiam toto Orbe florentem.

Petimus autem imprimis, ut ad majora fide incrementa illis ſedibus vacantibus in hoc Regno, ii qui vita, moribus & literatura præficiantur, quoſque nobiſcum Reverendiſſimus *Corcagenſis* ac *Cloanenſis* Epiſcopius nominavit ac commendavit tanquam Idonei Paſtores ac Dei gregem verbo & exemplo inſtruendum, ne indignis qui ſine Ordine & fortaſſe ſumma cum Authoritate & Ambitione ſeſe animarum curæ, niſi ingererent, niſi occurreretur, aditus pateat. Quod ut petamus movemur propter ſummam animarum jacturam, quam ob Paſtorum paucitatem in utraque *Monioniæ* Provincia qui undecem Epiſcopatus ſub Metropoli *Caſſilenſi* complectitur: excipimus enim Reverend. *Corcagen.* & *Claoneum* qui ſenio & labore jam pene eſt confectus, noſtri potiuntur: & hoc eo confidentius petimus, qui quod electi, conſecrati & ad nos dimiſſi fuerunt a veſtra Sacro ſancta ſede ad vacuas hiis in partibus ſedes occupandas a nobis pro viribus iiſdem Dei gratia defendantur, ut gregibus ſibi commiſſis tuto invigilare queant.

Inſuper deſideramus ut quemadmodum felicis Recordationis *Pius Quintus* Pont. Max. contra Reginam *Angliæ* ejuſque fautores *Bullam* Excommunicationis ediderat; Nec non *Gregorius* XIII. eandem continuaverat, ac vim habere in bello *Giraldinarum* indicavit: ſimilem quoque ſententiam ad hoc bellum promovendum & ad felicem exitum deducendum, *Sanctitas veſtra* emittere dignetur, ac generatim *Sanctitati veſtræ* affectu quo poſſumus maximo *Regnum hoc veſtrum a te ſolo poſt Deum dependens* noſque humiles tuos ſubditos una cum Procuratoribus præſentium latoribus quos pro nobis & noſtro nomine deputamus, quique fuſe & veraciter omnia quæ in hoc bello geſſimus adjuti eorum opera & doctrina viva voce aperient plenius, Deprecantes ut ſancta veſtra indubiam illis fidem dignetur adhibere eidem committimus & commendamus.

Datum in Caſtris noſtris Catholicis XXX° Martis M. DC.

Sanctitatis veſtræ Obedientiſſimi
filii & fideliſſimi ſubditi,

a Tir-Oen
b Ja. Fite-Thomas
c Florence Mac Carter
d Dermond Mac Owen Cartie

a *O Neale*
b *James Deſmond.*
c *Mac Cartie More.*
d *Dermond Mac Cartie, alias Mac Donogh*

Tyrone

Tyrone daily growing more powerful in *Ireland*; Queen *Elizabeth*, to ſtop his career, ſends over Sir *Charles Blunt*, Lord *Montjoy*, as Lord Deputy of that Kingdom: and the Preſidency of *Munſter* being void by the unfortunate death of Sir *Thomas Morris*, who was ſlain by the Rebels; She alſo at the ſame time ſent over Sir *George Carew*, well acquainted with the Countrey, to be Lord Preſident of the Province of *Munſter*.

Of this Sir *George Carew* by the way: He was Son to *George Carew*, Doctor in Divinity, Archdeacon of *Totneſs* in *Devonſhire*, afterwards Dean of *Windſor*, &c. Sir *George* was by Queen *Elizabeth* made Lord Preſident of *Munſter*; by King *James*, Baron of *Clopton*; and by King *Charles* I. Earl of *Totneſs*, was *Maſter* of the *Ordinance*, and *Privy-Councellor* to both the ſaid Kings. He was a faithful Subject, a valiant and prudent Commander, an honeſt Councellor, a Gentile Scholar, a lover of Antiquities, and a Patron to Learning. Beſides his Tranſlations out of *French*, he wrote a large Hiſtory of his Three years Tranſactions in *Munſter*; in which other accidents of *Ireland* are interwoven; 'tis Printed under the Title of *Pacata Hibernia:* In which, either Mr. *Stafford* the Publiſher, or the Printer, hath committed ſeveral groſs overſights both in the *Latin* and *Engliſh* Parts. Beſides theſe, he hath in four large Volumes collected ſeveral Chronologies, Charters, Letters, Deeds, Monuments, and other Materials belonging to *Ireland*. To which Manuſcript Collections having been much beholden in my *Iriſh* Narratives, I thought it fit in theſe few lines gratefully to give the World notice of it; wiſhing that others of the Nobility would (as they ought to do) follow his generous and induſtrious Example, thereby to advance the honour of their Countrey and Families; and not live like idle Heirs of their Anceſtors Titles; That the credit of Nobility may once again advance, and the Honours and Titles might not be aſhamed of the Perſons that vainly bear them. And thus much by the By, of the gallant and honourable Earl of *Totneſs*, who dyed *in the City of Weſtminſter*, without Iſſue, in the year MDCXXIX, the XXVII. of *March*.

In the mean time the Rebellion goeth on in *Ireland*; and the better to encourage their Sin and Treaſon, the Pope ſends a Letter to the *Iriſh*, commending them for their taking up Arms, or acting ſuch villanous Exploits: And to all that do any way aſſiſt the ſaid *Tir-Oen*, he gives a full pardon and remiſſion of all their ſins, meriting, forſooth, as much as if they had fought againſt the *Turk*, or endeavoured the recovery of the *Holy-Land*. The Letter it ſelf, being but ſhort, take as followeth:

Clemens PP. VIII.

UNiverſis & ſingulis Venerabilibus fratribus, Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, & Prælatis; nec non Dilectis filiis, Principibus, Comitibus, Baronibus ac populis Regni *Hiberniæ*, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem.

Cum jam diu, ſicut accepimus, vos *Romanorum* Pont. Prædeceſſorum noſtrorum, ac noſtris & Apoſtolicæ ſedis cohortationibus adducti, ad veſtram libertatem recuperandam, eamq; adverſus Hæreticos tuendam & conſervandam, bonæ memoriæ *Jacobo Giraldino* (primum qui durum ſervitutis jugum vobis ab *Anglis* Sanctæ *Romanæ* Eccleſiæ deſertoribus impoſitum,

poſitum, ſummo animi ardore depellere dum vixit pro viribus procuravit); Deinde *Johanni Giraldino* ejuſdem *Jacobi* Conſobrino; E noviſſime dilecto filio nobili viro *Hugoni* Principi *Onel* dicto Comiti *Tironenſi*, Baroni *Dungenaniæ* & Capitaneo Generali Exercitus Catholici in *Hibernia* conjunctis animis & viribus præſto fueritis, ac opem & auxilium præſtiteritis, ipſiq; Duces & eorum milites, manu Domini Exercituum illis aſſiſtente, progreſſu temporis plurima egregia facinora contra hoſtes viriliter pugnando præſtiterint, & in poſterum præſtare parati ſunt.

Nos, ut Vos, ac Dux, & Milites prædicti alacrius in expeditionem hanc contra dictos Hæreticos opem impoſterum etiam præſtare ſtudeatis, ſpiritualibus gratiis & favoribus vos proſequi volentes, eorundem Prædeceſſorum noſtrorum exemplo adducti, ac de Omnipotentis Dei miſericordia ac beatorum *Petri* & *Pauli* Apoſtolorum ejus authoritate confiſi, vobis omnibus & ſingulis qui prædictum *Hugonem* Ducem ejuſq; Exercitum Catholicæ fidei aſſertores & propugnatores ſequimini, ac illis vos adjunxeritis, aut Conſilio, Favore, Commeatibus, Armis, aliiſq; bellicis rebus ſeu quacunq; ratione eis in hac Expeditione operam dederitis, ipſiſq; *Hugoni* Duci ejuſq; exercitus militibus univerſis & ſingulis, ſi vere pœnitentes & Confeſſi, ac etiam ſi fieri poterit, ſacra Communione refecti fueritis plenariam omnium Peccatorum ſuorum veniam & remiſſionem, ac eandem quæ proficiſcentibus ad bellum contra *Turcas* & ad recuperationem *Terræ Sanctæ*, per *Romanos* Pont. concedi ſolita eſt, miſericorditer in Domino concedimus; non obſtantibus, ſi opus ſit, noſtris Decretis de non concedendis Indulgentiis ad inſtar ac in ſuſceptionis *Indulgentiarum* occaſione anni *Jubilæi* aliiſq; Conſtitutionibus & Ordinationibus Apoſtolicis ceteriſq; contrariis quibuſcunque.

Verum quia difficile foret præſentes noſtras ad omnium quorum intereſt notitiam pervenire; volumus, ut earum exemplis etiam Impreſſis manu alicujus *Notarii Publici* ſubſcriptis ac ſigillo perſonæ in dignitate Eccleſiaſtica Conſtitutæ munitis, eadem fides ubiq; habeatur quæ eiiſdem præſentibus haberetur.

Datum Romæ *apud Sanctum Petrum, ſub Annulo Piſcatoris die* XVIII° Aprilis MDC. *Pontificatus noſtri, Anno* IX.

M. Veſtrius Barbianus.

The Rebels thus fortified with the Pope's Bleſſing, never doubted but with the fame of this Benediction ſo to encreaſe their numbers, as to be able to carry all before them, and utterly free themſelves from their obedience. But herein they found themſelves deceived. For *Montjoy* the *Lord Deputy*, what with the Soldiers he found in *Ireland*, and the new Recruits from *England*, ſo followed the Rebels in *Ulſter*, and other places, that ſome of them were forced to ſubmit, and *Tyrone* was forced to ſecure himſelf in Bogs, and ſuch like Faſtneſſes. And in the Southern parts of the Kingdom in *Munſter*, Sir *George Carew* the Lord Preſident, what by his policy cheriſhing (by counterfeited Letters) diſtruſt amongſt the Rebels, ſo making diviſions amongſt themſelves; and what by his Induſtry and Valour, taking moſt of their ſtrong Holds from them, ſeveral of them were forced to lurk in corners for their ſecurity, and others content to ſubmit themſelves to the Queen's Mercy and Protection.

But moſt of theſe ſubmiſſions were but counterfeit and feigned, yeilding

ing to time and neceſſity, for which they preſently ſent to *Rome*, craving pardon for this their outward ſubmiſſion. Amongſt the chief of theſe Rebellious Diſſemblers, was * *Florence Mac Cartie*, one of the greateſt note amongſt them, who under-hand fomented and encouraged all Treaſonable practiſes, but openly ſeem'd a fair complier to the Queen and her Government; all which appears plainly by his Letters and Correſpondencies held with both parties.

The Lord *Deputy* ſeeing the wickedneſs of *Tyrone*, his reſolution not to ſubmit to the Queen, but rather to throw himſelf into the protection of her mortal Enemy the *Spaniard*, from whom he expected great aid; as an Earneſt of which, one *Spaniſh* Ship had newly come with Arms, Munition, and Moneys, to carry on the Rebellion: The Lord *Deputy*, I ſay, upon theſe conſiderations, with advice of the Council, thought fit thus to proclaim the ſaid *Tyrone* Traytor.

* *Tyrone* took upon him the Impudency and Authority to create him with the Ceremonies of the Ancient *Iriſh*, *Mac Cartie Mori*.

By the Lord Deputy and Council.

Mountjoy.

WHereas Hugh Neale, *of the ſimple and ignorant called* O Neale, *was from her Majeſties free and gracious Diſpoſition, not only innobled to the Title and Dignity of Earl of* Tyrone, *but alſo by like Grace bountifully enriched with divers large and great Authorities and Poſſeſſions, without any colour or title thereunto which by him could be made; and at no time ſo much as once touched for his apparent and known diſloyal and undutiful miſdemeanours, in hope that his amendment might have ſatisfied his puniſhment until above five years paſt: He the ſaid* Hugh *forgetting not only his duty towards God, her Majeſty, and Countrey, but alſo ſo many favours and great graces, did not only in perſon enter into moſt deteſtable and unnatural Rebellions againſt her Crown and Dignity, and endeavoured and in part performed the drawing into this Realm forreign Forces of her Majeſties profeſſed and known Enemies; with alluring, provoking, and violently urging her Majeſties ancient and dutiful Subjects to partake with him in his Confederacies and Rebellions: but alſo moſt falſly now of late ſuggeſting (to cover his canker'd and long feſtered Treaſonable diſpoſition) that he intended a defence for them againſt the ſeverity of her Majeſties Laws, made againſt their long enjoyed Religion, Reſtitution of ancient Liberties by right due unto him and them, and a purpoſe to prevent an utter extirpation and rooting out of them and their poſterities from their Countreys, Liberties, and ancient poſſeſſions, matters by himſelf meerly counterfeited and invented, himſelf well known to be irreligious, of barbarous life, a cruel oppreſſor of his Countrey people, and of worſe affection than may be recited.*

Whereas by long experience of her Majeſties mild and merciful Government, it hath appeared that ſuch Courſes never ſo much as by probable conjecture did or could enter into her Majeſties Princely Heart, *much leſs to have been by her performed. But his only true and known purpoſe being to draw their dependency, ſo as by him they might be oppreſt with bearing* Bonughes, *yeelding of intollerable payments, executions and oppreſſions (under which they have long groaned and grieved) and not return to her Majeſties merciful Government, but to continue and contain them under his Tyranny for ever.*

All which his intentions and actions well and long known unto her Majeſty, and yet by her tolerated; it pleaſed her Princely Heart out of her accuſtomed mercies, to the end the wiſer might not be excuſed by want of remembrance, nor the ſimpler to be led away by lack of knowledg, openly to proclaim the ſaid Hugh *Traytor unto her Majeſty, her Country, and Government. And yet nevertheleſs, to make her exceeding Mercies more manifeſt, was pleaſed in divers and ſundry places, to the end to reclaim him and his Adherents (ſo by his before-recited means deceived) to their ancient ſubjection, to offer unto him and them her Majeſties free pardon for their lives, lands, liberties, and poſſeſſions: which by him was as oftentimes obſtinately refuſed, as graciouſly offered.*

And now at laſt the ſaid Hugh *foreſeeing he may no longer withſtand her Majeſties forces, and failing of his long hoped forreign aſſiſtance, now intendeth to leave this poor deceived people to her Majeſties condign Juſtice by them deſerved, or to her accuſtomed* Mercy, *which ſhe never forgetteth, and ſo to retire himſelf as a* Buſh Kearne *to Wolviſh Dens and Deſert* Faſtneſs, *ſome ſmall time to eſcape his deſerved Judgment.*

Which to prevent, and to free her ſubjects of their former bondage and burthens; I the now L. Deputy, *with conſent of her Majeſties* Council *here preſent, for and in her Name and behalf, do promiſe to any perſon or perſons that ſhall deliver the Body of the ſaid* Hugh *in life, unto the ſaid* L. Deputy, 4000 *Marks; and to ſuch perſon or perſons as ſhall bring in his Head for ſufficient proof that he or they have procured and performed his death, the ſum of* 2000 Marks, *together alſo with her* Majeſties *moſt gracious and free pardon for his and their Lives, Lands, Liberties, Goods, and Poſſeſſions; the promiſe to be fully ſatisfied and performed in manner and form as aboveſaid.*

In witneſs whereof, I the L. Deputy, *and* Council *aforeſaid, have ſubſcribed our Names.*

Given at Her Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*,
the xxth of *November*, 1600.

Adam Dublin, *C.* *Thomas* Midenſis. *Richard Wingfield.*
* *George Cary.* *Robert Gardiner.* *Nich. Walſh.*
George Bourchier. *Jeffr. Tenton.*

*This was the Treaſurer, & not Sir *Geo. Carew.*

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

Will. Uſher.

This

This Proclamation was but fitting, conſidering the rebellious heart of *Tyrone*, who took all manner of courſes to withdraw Subjects from their obedience; and in this he was not wanting in a counterfeit Religion, pretending great zeal for the *Roman*-Catholick Cauſe, under the colour of which he ſolemnly took a Pilgrimage, to viſit a piece of the Croſs, which they ſay was kept in the Monaſtry of *St. Croſs*, or *Holy Croſs*, in the County of *Tipperary*. But his chief deſign was to inveigle the ſimple people to his party, by this his religious action; nor did he quite loſe his expectation.

And now the Pope *Clement* VIII. for a farther encouragement to their Villanies, ſends a particular Letter to *Tyrone*, full of many fair words and commendations, but void of all honeſty and religion, perſwading him ſtill to continue in his Rebellion. The Letter it ſelf was this:

Dilecto filio, Nobili viro, Ugoni *Principi* Nælio, *Exercitus Catholici in* Hibernia *Duci & Capitaneo Generali.*

DIlecte fili Nobilis vir, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Cognovimus ex literis Nobilitatis tuæ & ex iis quæ dilectus filius *Petrus Lombardus* Civis veſter, Præpoſitus *Cameracenſis*, nobis coram expoſuit *Sacrum fœdus* quod tu & quam plures Principes et Proceres, et Nobiles Primarii Regni iſtius, pro Dei gloria, Patriæ ſalute et Catholicæ Religionis Defenſione in iſtis, Dei benignitate, charitatis glutino colligatum conſervari et augeri, quodq; ejuſdem Domini Exercituum ope et virtute proſpere a vobis pluries pugnatum eſt adverſus *Anglos*, Eccleſiæ et fidei Deſertores magnam ex his voluptatem in Domino cepimus, ipſiq; Patri miſerecordiarum Deo gratias egimus, qui adhuc in Regno iſto reliquit ſibi multa millia Virorum qui non curvaverint genua ſua ante *Baal*, hoc eſt Impias Hæreſes, et prophanas novitates non ſunt ſequuti, imo eas deteſtati fortiter pugnant, pro hæreditate Majorum ſuorum, pro fidei ſalute integritate et unnitate cum Eccleſia retinenda quæ una eſt Catholica et Apoſtolica *extra quam non eſt ſalus.*

Laudamus egregiam pietatem et fortitudinem tuam Fili et Principum et Cœterorum omnium qui tecum juncti ac fœderati nulla pro Dei gloria pericula recuſant, ſeque Majoribus ſuis qui bellicæ virtutis et Catholicæ Religionis ſtudio ac laude imprimis floruerunt dignos Nepotes et juſtos ſucceſſores oſtendunt et palam profitentur. Conſervate filii hanc mentem, conſervate Unionem et Conſenſionem veſtram, et Deus Omnipotens, Deus Pacis et Concordiæ erit vobiſcum et pugnabit pro vobis, et quem admodum fecit proſternet inimicos ſuos ante faciem noſtram.

Nos autem qui Nobilitatem tuam et vos omnes avitæ fidei et gloriæ Imitatores paternæ, amamus et gerimus in Viſceribus *Jeſu Chriſti*, non ceſſamus Deum noſtrum Orare pro veſtra felicitate et ſalute, veſtriq; ſoliciti ſumus et erimus ſemper quantum cum Deo poterimus, atq; ubi opus fuerit ſcribemus efficaciter ad Regis et Principes Catholicos filios noſtros ut vobis et cauſæ veſtræ omni ope ſuffragentur. Cogitamus etiam propediem mittere ad vos peculiarem *Nuntium* noſtrum, et hujus ſanctæ Sedis (in qua Deo Authore meritis licet imparibus præſidemus) virum pium, prudentem zelo Dei præditum et nobis probatum, qui noſtri erga vos amoris teſtis ſit vobiſq; omnibus in rebus ubi uſus venerit adjumento ſit ad Salutarem et Neceſſariam Unionem veſtram conſervandam, ac

Catho

Catholicam fidem propagandam, ac omnia denique pro ſui muneris Officio, officienda, quibus Dei honor et cultus in Regno iſto augeatur.

Interea placuit has noſtras Literas ad vos præmittere teſtes amoris noſtri, in vos & Regnum iſtud, et ut vos omnes tanquam filios noſtros in Chriſto dilectos paterno affectu conſolaremur, ipſum vero *Petrum Lombardum* quem Nobilitas ſua Oratorem et Negotiorum geſtorem conſtituit apud nos, et jam libenter audivimus, & deinceps audiemus. Tibi vero et cæteris qui tibi unanimes pro fidei Catholicæ propugnatione adhærent, noſtram et Apoſtolicam benedictionem benigne impartimur, Deumq; precamur ut Angelos emittat in circuitu veſtro, et pios conatus veſtros ſua cœleſti gratia dirigat, voſq; dextra ſuæ potentiæ perpetuo tueatur.

Datum Romæ *apud Sanctum* Petrum, *ſub annulo Piſcatoris die* xx. Januarij, *Anno Pontificatus noſtri* ix. 1601.

Silvius Antonianus Cardinalis.

Beſides this, *Mateo de Oviedo*, who had the confidence upon the Popes account, to call himſelf Arch-biſhop of *Dublin*; being now in *Ireland* to carry on the Rebellion, writ to *James Fitz Thomas*, who call'd himſelf Earl of *Deſmond*, this following encouraging Letter.

My moſt honourable good Lord:

* Viz. *John Fitz Thomas*, Brother to *James* the titular Earl of *Deſmond*.

HAving long deſired a fit opportunity to write unto you, the ſame is now offered by Mr. * John, *whereof I am very glad, that by ſuch a moſt ſure and faithful Meſſenger I might open my mind to your Lordſhip, as alſo to ſhew, that moſt certain and undoubted hope of aid is ſhortly to come.*

I would moſt willingly have come unto your Lordſhips preſence, which lately I have eſſayed, and doubtleſs would have done, unleſs I had been hindred by thoſe Lords, which told me, that preſent and imminent dangers were to be fear'd in my journey, unleſs I had an Army of Soldiers to conduct me; and now (but that there is a neceſſity of my returning into Spain) *I would have come to you in company of Maſter* John: *But I hope that moſt ſpeedily and moſt fortunately I ſhall return unto you again.*

In the mean time I have pretermitted nothing which might tend to your profit, as well to Our *Catholique Maſter, as any other whatſoever, which now alſo in* Spain *I will perform: I would therefore entreat your Excellency, That you would be of good courage, together with all other of your Faction; and that you would fight conſtantly and valiantly for the faith and liberty of your Countrey; knowing, and firmly hoping, that the help of my Lord the Catholique King, is now coming; which when it cometh, all things ſhall be proſperous, and will place you in your former liberty and ſecurity, that ye may poſſeſs your deſigned peace and tranquillity. The Almighty conſerve your Lordſhip in ſafety long to continue.*

From *Donegall* the xiiith of *January*, 1601.

Theſe

These Benedictions, and the assured hopes that the Rebels had of the hastning of the *Spanish* Succours, made them grow more bold and daring; insomuch that many hundreds of the *Conaght* and *Ulster*-Traytors hurried themselves into a Body, thinking to invade *Munster*; but *Carew* by his vigilancy and policy quite frustrated their design by the loss of some hundreds of such desperate Vagabonds.

Yet their plottings go on; and at the desire of *Florence, Mac Cartie, Donoghe Mac Cormock* (who call'd himself also *Cartie*) sent this Letter to the King of *Spain.*

HAving received direction from the Earl of Clan-care, *I would not omit this opportunity, at the departure of the* * *Arch-bishop of* Dublin, *and* Don Martin de la Cerda, *to make known to your* Majesty *how the said Earl hath written to your* Majesty *by two or three ways; but understanding that these Letters came not to your Royal hands, he hath now again written by me to your* Majesty, *making offer as well of his person and lands, as of his Vassals and Subjects, to your Royal Service, humbly beseeching your* Majesty *to receive, favour, and aid him with your Power and liberal Hand, seeing there is no other that can and will assist us better against the Hereticks in this* Holy Enterprise.

* *Matth. de Oviedo.*

From *Donegall* the vth of *January*, 1601.

Your Majesties *Loyal Vassal, to kiss your Royal Hand,*

Donoghe Cartie.

At *Dongall* was the chief Rendezvous of *Tyrone*, and the great ones of his Party in the North; where they made a *Solemn League* or *Covenant*; for the better strengthning of which, they all received the Sacrament: and afterwards *Tir-Oen* wrote this Letter to *Florence Mac Cartie.*

OUR Commendations to you Mac Cartie More: *I send shortly to you, according to our Trust of you, that you will do a stout and hopeful thing against the* Pagan Beast; *and thereupon our* * *Army is to go into* Munster, *and with the will of God we consent unto you, and will that you believe not any word from us for ever, before we write again unto you: For you shalt see* * *trouble enough in* England *by* English-men *it self; so as there shall be easiness of suffering their warrs by* May *next, in respect of that it is now. And since this Cause of* Munster *was left to you (next under God), let no weakness or imbecillity be found in you, and the time of help is near you, and all the rest.*

* *Viz.* That mentioned before, which was ruined and lost.

* I believe he relates to the Earl of *Essex* his business, in which he was also concern'd.

From *Dungannon* the viith of *February*, 1601.

O NEALE.

Rumors

Rumors being ſpread abroad of divers Informations brought in, of Inſurrections and *Spaniſh* Invaſions, Her Majeſties Governours thought it was their duty to look about them: So Sir *George Carew* gets *James Fitz-Thomas*, the Titular Earl of *Deſmond*, to be ſurpriſed as he lurked in a filthy Cave; and alſo ſecured *Florence* Mac *Cartie*, who for all his under-hand Treaſons and Conſpiracies, outwardly yet carried a ſhew of Loyalty. Both which were ſent into *England*, and clapt up in the Tower of *London*; and ſome others alſo were ſeiſed on, and kept in hold.

Whilſt they were thus buſie in conſulting the ſafety of the Kingdom, the *Spaniards* [of which Invaſion the Biſhops of *Clonford* and *Killaloe*, *Archer* the *Jeſuit*, and others, were great Inſtigators] landed with a great Fleet at *Kingſale* in the County of *Cork* in *Munſter*; which Town they began to fortifie, and ſent notice of their abode to *Tyrone* and *O Donnel*, deſiring them to haſte to them with all their Powers.

The Lord *Deputy*, informed of the *Spaniſh* arrival, ſets out a *Proclamation* at *Cork*, forbidding any to aſſiſt them; declaring alſo upon what unjuſt grounds the Pope and King of *Spain* had undertook that Invaſion, and commanding all people to live in obedience to their true Soveraign Queen *Elizabeth*. In anſwer to which, *Don Juan de Aquila*, General of the *Spaniſh* Forces, ſets out this following *Declaration*; which is pat to our buſineſs, and worth the peruſal, the better to diſcover the true *Roman-Catholique Doctrine*.

This is in *Latin*, MS. F. 97 Cant. in Bib. *Bodl. Oxon.* & thus in *Engliſh*, in *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 200, 201, 202.

DON Juan de Aquila, *General of the Warr, and the Catholique King of* Spain*'s Chief Commander in Gods Warr which is made in* Ireland *for the defence of the Faith. To all the* Iriſh *Catholiques living in* Kingſale, *the City of* Cork, *and in all other Villages, Cities, and Caſtles, wiſheth health in Him who is the true Happineſs.*

There is come unto our ears a Proclamation, *or certain Libel, made in the City of* Cork, *in the Name of the* Deputy; *which becauſe it containeth many untruths, and ſuch things as offend the ears of honeſt men, leſt they may lead and ſeduce the minds of ſimple men into errors, and turn them from the truth; I am compell'd to ſhew their falſhood, to lay open the truth, and in few words to ſignifie the pretence and intention of our moſt Excellent King* Philip *in this Warr, which is with the Apoſtolique Authority to be adminiſtred by us: And (to ſpeak the truth) I could very eaſily retort upon them thoſe reproaches which they object to us, and make them loſe the pleaſure which they have taken in ill-ſpeaking, by hearing the like. Notwithſtanding we will not (like unto weak and unarmed women) go to reproachings; but ſetting theſe things aſide, anſwer to thoſe that are objected, with ſound truth, and Chriſtian modeſty.*

Firſt of all, Ye fain that we would lead away the pretended Subjects of the Queen of England *from their obedience, to bring them under Our yoak, which is a very untruth: for we endeavour not to perſwade any body that he ſhould deny due obedience (according to the Word of God) to his Prince. But ye know well, that for many years ſince,* Elizabeth was deprived of her Kingdom, and all her Subjects abſolved from their fidelity, by the Pope; *unto whom he that reigneth in the Heavens, the King of Kings, hath committed all power, that he ſhould* Root up, Deſtroy, Plant, and Build *in ſuch ſort, that he may puniſh temporal Kings (if it ſhould be good for the ſpiritual Building) even to their depoſing; which thing hath been done in the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland, *by many Popes*, viz. *by*

Pope

Pope Pius Quintus, Gregory *the Thirteenth, and now by* Clement *the eighth, as it is well known, whoſe* Bulls *are extant amongſt us: I ſpeak to Catholicks, not to froward Hereticks, who have fallen from the faith of the* Roman *Church, ſeeing they are blind leaders of the blind, and ſuch as know not the grounds of the truth, it is no marvel that they do alſo diſagree from us in this thing. But our Brethren the Catholiques, walking in the pureneſs of the faith, and yeelding to the Catholique Church (which is the very Pillar of the Truth) will eaſily underſtand all thoſe things. Therefore it remaineth that the* Iriſh *(which adhere to us) do work with us nothing that is againſt Gods Laws, or their due obedience; nay that which they do, is according to Gods word, and the obedience which they owe the Pope.*

Secondly, *Ye affirm, That we* Spaniards *go about to win the* Iriſh *with allurements and feigned flatteries (which is a thing far from our natures) and that we do it but for a while; that after we have drawn the minds of ſimple men unto us, we might afterwards (exerciſing our Cruelty towards them) ſhew our bloody nature.*

O the Immortal God! Who doth not wonder at your bitter and unexpreſſible cruelty, and your boldneſs ſhewed in theſe words? For, Who is he that doth not know the great Cruelty which you Engliſh *have exerciſed, and ceaſe not to exerciſe towards the miſerable* Iriſh? *You, I ſay, go about to take from their ſouls the Catholique Faith which their Fathers held, in which conſiſts eternal life: Truly you are far more cruel than Bears and Lions, which take away the temporal life; for you would deprive them of the eternal and ſpiritual life. Who is it that hath demoliſhed all the Temporalities of this moſt flouriſhing Kingdom, except the* Engliſh? *Look upon this, and be aſhamed.*

Whereas on the other ſide, We, commiſerating the condition of the Catholiques here, have left our moſt ſweet and happy Countrey, Spain, *that is repleniſhed with all good things, and being ſtirr'd with their Cries which pierce the Heavens, having reached the ears of the Pope, and our King* Philip; *They have (being moved with pity) at laſt reſolved to ſend unto you, Soldiers, Silver, Gold, and Arms, with a moſt liberal hand; not to the end they might (according as they feign) exerciſe Cruelty towards you,* O Iriſh Catholiques; *but that you may be happily reduced (being ſnatched out of the* Jaws of the Devil, *and free from their Tyranny) unto your own priſtine Ingenuity, and that you may freely profeſs the Catholique Faith.*

Therefore my moſt beloved, ſeeing that which you have ſo many years before deſired and begged for, with prayers and tears; and that now, even now, the Pope, Chriſt's Vicar on Earth, doth command you to take Arms *for the defence of your Faith; I admoniſh, exhort, and beſeech you all, all I ſay, unto whom theſe Letters ſhall come, That as ſoon as poſſibly you can, you come to us, with your Friends and Weapons. Whoſoever ſhall do this, ſhall find us prepared, and we will communicate unto them thoſe things which we poſſeſs; and whoſoever ſhall (deſpiſing our wholſome Counſel) do otherwiſe, and remain in the obedience of the* Engliſh, *we will proſecute him as an Heretick, and a hateful Enemy of the Church, even unto Death.*

Don Juan de Aguila.

The Lord *Deputy* laid ſiege to *Kingſale*, which continued long; in which time, both he received ſupplies from *England*, and *Don Juan* from *Spain*; both parties ſtanding ſufficiently in need of ſuch. As for the *Iriſh*, many of them who had formerly promiſed obedience to the Queen, now revolted, delivering themſelves and Caſtles up to the protection of the *Dons*. Amongſt the reſt, *Donnel Oſulevan Beare* freely gave up to the *Spaniard* his ſtrong Caſtle of *Dunboy*, which coſt the *Engliſh* much coſt and time in re-taking. Of which he writ this Letter to the King of *Spain*.

IT hath been ever, moſt Mighty and Renowned Prince, and moſt Gracious and Catholick King, from time to time manifeſtly proved by daily experience among us Iriſh, *That there is nothing worketh more forcibly in our hearts, to win and to draw our love and affection, than natural inclination to our Progeny and Off-ſpring, and the memorial of the Friendſhip which ſticketh ſtill in our minds; chiefly the ſame renewed, cheriſhed, and kept in uſe by mutual affection, and by ſhewing like friendſhip to us alſo.*

We the meer Iriſh, *long ſithence deriving our Root and Original from the famous and moſt noble Race of the* Spaniards, *viz. from* Milecius *ſon to* Bile, *ſon to* Breogwin; *and from* Lwighe, *ſon to* Lythy, *ſon to* Breogwin, *by the Teſtimony of our old ancient Books of Antiquities, our Pedigrees, our Hiſtories, and our Chronicles. Though there were no other matter, we came not as natural branches of the famous Tree, whereof we grew, but bear an hearty love, and a natural affection, and intire inclination of our hearts and minds, to our ancient moſt loving Kinsfolks, and the moſt noble Race, whereof we deſcended.*

Beſides this (my Soveraign) ſuch is the abundance of your goodneſs, and the bounty or greatneſs of your liberality, now every way undeſerved of our parts, as tokens of love and affection by your Majeſty ſhewed unto us, that it is not fit nor ſeemly for us, but to beſtow our perſons, our men, and our goods, in the ſervice of a Prince, that dealeth ſo graciouſly with us, that ſendeth Forces of men, great Treaſure, Victuals, and Munition for our aid, againſt our Enemies, that ſeek to overwhelm and extinguiſh the Catholique Faith diabolically, put to death our Chieftains tyrannouſly, coveting our Lands and Livings unlawfully.

For the aforeſaid Conſiderations, and for many other commendable cauſes me moving, I bequeath and offer in humbleneſs of mind, and with all my heart, my own perſon, with all my forces, perpetually to ſerve your Majeſty not only in Ireland, *but in any other place where it ſhall pleaſe your Highneſs: I commit alſo my Wife, my Children, my* Mannors, *Towns, Countrey, and Lands, and my Haven of* Dunboy, *called* Biara Haven, *(next under God) to the protection, keeping, and defence, or Commerick of your Majeſty, to be and remain in your hands, and at your diſpoſition. Alſo at your pleaſure be it (my Liege Lord) to ſend defence and ſtrong keeping of the Haven of* Dunboy, *firſt for your ſelf (my Soveraign) to receive your Ships, and for me alſo as your loving Servant, ſo that the Queen of* England's *Ships may not poſſeſs the ſame before you, while I follow the Warrs in your Highneſs behalf.*

I pray

I pray Almighty God to give your Majeſty a long life, and health of Body and Soul, with encreaſe of Grace and Proſperity. So I betake you to the keeping of God.

From the Camp near *Kingſale* the xxixth of *December*, 1601. *Stylo Novo.*

Your moſt dutiful loving Servant,

Donnel Oſulevan Beare.

With an intent to raiſe the Siege, *Tyrone*, *O Donnel*, *Mac Guire*, *Mac Maghon*, *Burk*, *Tirrell* (the beſt Soldier amongſt the Rebels), and other *Iriſh*, haſted towards *Kingſale*, and in their March joined with *Alonſo de O Campo*, and his *Spaniſh* recruits newly landed; all which joined together, made up towards VII Thouſand.

The Lord *Deputy* for all this continueth the ſiege; *Tir-Oen* and the reſt of his Relief approach, come within two miles of the Town; but is fought and beat, his followers quite diſperſed: *Tyrone* runs into his hiding-holes in *Ulſter*. *O-Donnell* and others eſcape into *Spain*, and the reſt where they thought moſt convenient. And this Battel may be ſaid to confirm the Queen in *Ireland*, and to ſecure the *Proteſtants* there, who had been * ſlaughter'd by the *Iriſh*, had the *Spaniards* here prevailed.

* Dr. *Nic. Bernards* life of Arch-biſhop *Uſher* pag. 30.

Don Juan de Aguila ſeeing the *Iriſh* thus routed, and his own Forces much impaired both in health and number, fell to a Capitulation, upon which he yeelded the Town: He and his *Spaniards* were to be ſent home; and what other places they had in the Kingdom under their protection, were likewiſe to be delivered up to the *Engliſh*, and amongſt the reſt was *Dunboy*.

Which place being naturally ſtrong, and pretty well fortified, *Oſulevan Beare*, a man given over to Miſchief and Rebellion, was reſolved not to part with it ſo: Whereupon one night he ſurpriſeth it, but let the *Spaniards* return to their own Countrey; only the Cannoniers he detain'd, the better to ſerve him in the defence of the place againſt the *Engliſh* and his Queen; concerning which he writes this Letter to the King of *Spain*. 1602.

My Lord and my King,

OUT *of his love to your Kingly Greatneſs, your humble ſtedfaſt Servant*, Donnel O Sulevan Beare, *enforced through peril and conſtraint, doth make bold to inform unto your Greatneſs, That upon the landing in* Caſtle-Haven, *in the Weſt of* Ireland, *your General* Pedro Zubiar, *and* Pedro Lopez de Soto, *with a Fleet and Men from your Greatneſs, according to the inward conceit of mind I always held, which I manifeſted in my young years, and would have ſtill followed, unleſs diſability had conſtrained me to the contrary; finding a happy and good Opportunity (as I imagined) I came to their preſence, tendring my Obeyſance to them in the Name of your Highneſs, and being with 400 men at my own coſt towards your ſervice, I yeelded out of my meer love and good will, without compulſion or compoſition, into their hands in the Name of your Majeſty, not only my Caſtle and Haven called* Beer Haven, *but alſo my Wife, my Children, my Coun-*

Countrey, Lordſhips, and all my Poſſeſſions, for ever to be diſpoſed of at your pleaſure. They received me in that manner, and promiſed (as from your Highneſs) to keep and ſave the ſaid Caſtle and Haven, during the ſervice of your Grace.

Notwithſtanding, my Gracious Lord, Concluſions of Peace were aſſuredly agreed upon betwixt Don Juan de Aguila, *and the* Engliſh; *a fact pitiful, and (according to my judgment) againſt all Right, and Humane Conſcience. Among other places, whereof your Greatneſs was diſpoſſeſt in that manner (which were neither yeelded nor taken, to the end they ſhould be delivered to the* Engliſh) Don Juan *tied himſelf to deliver my Caſtle and Haven (the only Key of mine Inheritance, whereupon the living of many thouſand perſons doth reſt, that live ſome twenty Leagues upon the Sea-coaſts) into the hands of my Cruel, Curſed, Miſ-believing Enemies; a thing I fear, in reſpect of the execrableneſs, inhumanity, and ingratefulneſs of the Fact, if it take effect as it was plotted, that will give cauſe to other men not to truſt any* Spaniard *hereafter with their Bodies or Goods, upon theſe Cauſes.*

My Lord, in that I judg this diſhonourable act to be againſt your Honour and Pleaſure (as I underſtand by your laſt Letters that came into Ireland) *conſidering the harm that might enſue to the ſervice of your Majeſty, and the everlaſting Overthrow that might happen to me and poor people, ſuch as might eſcape the Sword of our Enemy (if any ſhould) I have taken upon me (with the help of God) to offer to keep my Caſtle and Haven from the hands of mine Enemies, until further News and Order come from your Highneſſe.*

I have ſent my Son and Heir (being of the age of five years) as a pledg for accompliſhing your will in this behalf, and for the performing of my promiſe paſt unto your Greatneſs. I would not omit my ſelf in perſon to come and viſit your Highneſs, but that I fear our Warrs here would grow weak in reſpect of my abſence; for which cauſe my ſelf, and the reſt of our men of worth, have ſent in haſte with Intelligence unto your Greatneſs our loving Friend Dermond Odriſchall *(in reſpect of our confidence in him, our knowledg of him, and the continual endeavour we ſee in him towards this Catholick Warr) as from us all.*

And for as much as we could not conveniently write all that we wiſh unto you, we humbly beſeech, That he may be heard as from us all, as if our ſelves were preſent, and to haſten helping-News, that ſhall rejoice us and our people; and afterwards to ſpeed your gracious help unto us: for the ſooner the better, whilſt our Enemies are not in readineſs. And until the coming of News from your Grace unto us, I will have in a readineſs, where the Service ſhall require, the number of One thouſand men; and I will upon my knees pray the merciful God, to give unto your Grace long life, with health of Body and Soul, and all happineſs; and ſo do commit you to the ſafeguard of the Omnipotent.

Dunboy, *viz.* Beer-Haven, *the* xx*th of* February, 1602.

Donnell Oſulevan Beare.

Other

Other two Letters he wrote alſo to the ſame purpoſe, one to the Earl of *Carazena*, Governour of *Gallicia*; and the other to *Don Pedro Zubiar*; in which he gave this notable boaſt, *viz.* That his *Anceſtors maintained the Credit and Calling of good Gentlemen theſe Two thouſand and ſix hundred years ſithence their firſt coming out of* Spain.

And to keep *Dunboy* he reſolves; nor did he want encouragements, the *Spaniard* ſending to the *Iriſh* relief Twelve thouſand pounds, and Ammunition and other Neceſſaries; and *O-Donnel* writes this Letter to *O Connor Kerry*.

WHat News are here, the Doctor, and Dermond Odriſchal, *may largely report unto you: but of this one thing you may be fully aſſured*, That the King will not omit the winning of *Ireland*, if it coſt him the moſt part of *Spain*. *His Majeſty doth ſend you Money and Munition. I pray let our information of you be found true, and your ſervice encourage* Our King *to further merit you.*

I pray you ſend me the relation of the News of our Country in ſuch ſort, as if there be any bad, it be concealed from the Spaniards, *and known to me; Where the* Deputy *with the Queen's Forces are occupied, or where they are in Garriſon.*

At the *Groyne* xxiv. of *May*, 1602.

Your loving Friend,

Hugh O-Donnel.

And *Owen Mac Eggan*, the Popes Apoſtolical Vicar in *Ireland*, thus writes to *Richard Mac Goghagan*, in *Dunboy*. This *Mac Eggan* was newly return'd out of *Spain*, and came along with the *Spaniſh* Supplies. He was by the Pope made now Biſhop of *Roſſe*.

Maſter *Richard*,

I Commend me unto you, being very glad of the good report I hear of you, whereby I cannot but expect much (with God his aſſiſtance) in that lawful and godly Cauſe, of you. I am ſorry, but it was not my luck to conferr with you, and with the reſt of your Company, and inform you of all the ſtate of the matters of *Spain*. But upon my Credit and Conſcience, there is no greater piece of Service now in hand in all Chriſtendome for the King of *Spain*, than the ſame that ye have. How great it is to God, and neceſſary for our Countrey-affairs, ye know.

Moreover, within few days you ſhall have relief of men come to help you thither out of *Spain*. The great Army of Fourteen thouſand men, are forth-coming; you ſhall all be as well recompenced both by God, and by the King's Majeſty, as any Ward that is in all the World again. Have me, I pray, commended to all, and eſpecially to Father *Dominick*, and bid him be of good Courage. There comes with the Army a *Father* of the *Company*, an *Italian*, for the Pope his *Nuncius*, in whoſe company I came from *Rome* to the Court of *Spain*, and there

he expects the Army's coming hither. He ſhall give all a *Benediction*, yea, I hope within your Caſtle there, ſpite of all the Devils in Hell.

From the Catholique Camp this preſent Wedneſday, 1602. *Your aſſured Friend*,

Owen Hegaine.

In my Sacrifice and poor Prayers, I will not fail, but commend you and your good Cauſe to God Our Ship did arrive three days agon, and our Letters are come to the King by this time. *Niſi Dominus cuſtodierit Civitatem*, &c.

In the mean time, Sir *George Carew* layeth ſiege to *Dunboy*, which was held out very deſperately; yet at laſt it was ſtormed, and all kill'd or executed, except Sixteen, Twelve of which were chief followers of *Tirrell*, and for whom he bare a great reſpect, upon which account they were ſaved ſome days.

For *Tirrell* offered to do any ſervice that lay in his power to purchaſe their Lives and Liberties. 'Tis accepted; a ſtratagem is propounded, in effecting of which, he alſo ſhould be pardoned. But this he refuſed, offering to redeem them with Money: *But to be falſe to his Maſter the King of* Spain, *or to betray the Catholique Cauſe, he never would*, as he ſaid. Upon which, ſeeing no good to be done on him, his Twelve men were alſo executed.

Yet for all theſe great and noble Succeſſes of the Loyalliſts, the Rebels would not abſolutely give over their wickedneſs, though their main ſecurity were ſome beggarly lurking-places in Boggs and Woods. But that which render'd them ſo ſtubborn, was the great confidence they had in the *Spaniſh* Army, which indeed had come to their relief, if the loſs of *Dunboy* had not ſo much diſcouraged the Catholique King, who upon notice of its taking, ſent into *Gallicia* to *Carrazena* Governour of *Corunna*, to ſtop the Army and other Neceſſaries for *Ireland*, conſidering the place where he expected to land them, was taken.

One of the chief Incendiaries among them at this time, was their Biſhop of *Roſs*, *Owen* Mac *Eggan*, or as ſome call him, *Eugenius O-Hegan*, who by his pretended Dignity, as *Vicarius Apoſtolicus*, his favour and credit with the King of *Spain*, his Intereſt with their Clergy, being impower'd by the Pope to diſpoſe of all the Eccleſiaſtical Livings in *Munſter*, and other Favours he enjoyed, carryed a great ſtroke amongſt the people, commanding and ruling all as he pleaſed: and ſuch was his malice againſt obedient Subjects (were they *Iriſh* or *Romaniſts*) that all that he could any ways ſeize on, he would in piety (as he pretended) firſt have them confeſſed and abſolved, and then preſently in his own ſight murdered; and this he eſteemed a notable ſign of Catholique Sanctity.

At laſt it was the fortune of the Loyalliſts to meet with a Party of the Rebels, in which Conflict this furious Mac *Hegan* commanded an hundred Horſe, himſelf leading them on with his Sword drawn in one hand, and his *Breviary* and *Beads* in the other, where he was ſlain, and the Rebels routed.

January 1602

In

In ſhort, ſuch was the proſperity of the Loyaliſts, that the Traytors ſeeing no ſafety for them either in Rebellion, or *Spaniard*, began by degrees to crave pardon, and ſubmit; and *Tir-Oen* himſelf ſent ſeveral Letters to the Queen, acknowledging his offence, and begging her mercy; and at laſt thus ſubmitted himſelf to *Montjoy*.

The ſaid Lord *Deputy* being at *Mellifont*, not far from *Drogheda*, thither comes *Tyrone* only with one or two in company. Being admitted to the *Preſence Chamber* (the L. *Deputy* ſitting in the Chair of State) he fell on his knees at the very Threſhold. Having laid proſtrate a while, the Lord Deputy beckon'd unto him to come nearer. Then approaching ſome ſteps, he proſtrated himſelf again on his knees, ſaying, March 30. 1603. *Speed.*

"In the Royal Clemency of my dread Soveraign, and moſt gracious "Queen, I do only lay the hope and reſt of my remaining Eſtate, unto "whoſe pleaſure I abſolutely remit my Life, and whole Revenues; and "do moſt ſubmiſſively deplore mine own miſery; Beſeeching again her "Mercy, whoſe bountiful Favours I have heretofore, and mighty Pow"ers now of late both felt and found; and well hope, that the Foun"tain of her everlaſting Graces are not drawn dry. Let me, I pray, be "the Subject whereon her Mercy may work; and an enſample for ever "of her mild Clemency, both to divulge her Princely Lenity, and to "redeem in ſome part the Honour I have loſt.

"For Age I am not ſo unſerviceable, nor of Body ſo unable, neither "in Courage ſo dejected, but that my faithful Service in her behalf may "expiate and make ſome meaſure of ſatisfaction for theſe my many and "diſloyal Rebellions.

"And yet I may juſtly complain, That through the malicious Envy "of ſome, I have been hardly and unfriendly dealt with, which may "ſomewhat extenuate my Crime and Offence: For——

He was proceeding to offer ſome Excuſes for his faults; but the Lord Deputy interrupted him, ſaying, *That ſo great a Crime was not to be colour'd with any excuſe.* Then after ſome few words pronounced Majeſteriouſly Conqueror-like, he commanded him to depart aſide. And the next day *Tir-Oen* ſigned this following ſubmiſſion with his own hand, and delivered it up to the Lord Deputy. March 31. *Tho. Bown's* Appendix to his Tranſlation of *Cambden's Elizab.*

"I *Hugh O-Neale*, by the Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, her "moſt gracious favour created Earl of *Tir-Oen*, do with all true and "humble Penitency proſtrate my ſelf at her Royal Feet, and abſolutely "ſubmit my ſelf unto her Mercy, moſt ſorrowfully imploring her graci"ous Commiſeration, and appealing only to her Princely Clemency, "without preſuming to juſtifie my unloyal proceedings againſt her Sacred "Majeſty; only moſt ſorrowfully and earneſtly deſiring, that it may pleaſe "her Majeſty rather in ſome meaſure to mitigate her juſt Indignation "againſt me, in that I do religiouſly vow, That the firſt Motives of my "moſt unnatural Rebellion, were neither Practice, Malice, or Ambition; "but that I was induced firſt by fear of my Life (which I conceived was "ſought by mine Enemies practiſe) to ſtand upon my guard, and after"wards moſt unhappily led to make good that Fault with more hainous "offences, which in themſelves I do acknowledg deſerve no forgiveneſs; "and that it is impoſſible for me, in reſpect of their greatneſs, in any pro"portion, even with my Life to make ſatisfaction. I do moſt humbly de-

"fire

" ſire her Majeſty to pardon them; that as I have already been a ſuffici-
" ent Argument of her Royal Power, having little left but my Life to
" preſerve it ſelf; ſo that it may now pleaſe her Majeſty to make me an
" Example of her Princely Clemency, the chiefeſt Ornament of her
" High Dignity.

" And that I may be the better able hereafter, with the uttermoſt
" ſervice of my Life, to redeem the foulneſs of my Faults; I do moſt
" humbly ſue unto her Majeſty, That ſhe will vouchſafe to reſtore me
" to my former Dignity and Living; in which eſtate of a Subject, I do
" moſt religiouſly vow to continue for ever hereafter Loyal in all true
" obedience to her Royal Perſon, Crown, Prerogative, and Laws; and
" to be in all things as far and as dutiful conformable thereunto, as I or
" any other Noble-man of this Realm is bound by the duty of a Sub-
" ject to his Soveraign, or by the Laws of this Realm. Utterly renoun-
" cing and abjuring the Name and Title of *O-Neale*, or any other Au-
" thority or Claim which hath not been granted or confirmed unto me
" by her Majeſty, and that otherwiſe by the Laws of this Realm I may
" not pretend juſt intereſt unto. And I do religiouſly ſwear to perform
" ſo much as is above-mentioned, and the reſt of theſe Articles ſub-
" ſcribed by mine own hand, as far as ſhall any way be in my power;
" and to deliver ſuch Pledges for the performance thereof, as ſhall be
" nominated unto me by the Lord Deputy.

" I do renounce and abjure all Forreign Power whatſoever, and all
" kind of dependency upon any other Potentate but her Majeſty the
" Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*; and do vow to ſerve her
" faithfully againſt any Forreign Power invading her Kingdoms; and
" to diſcover truly any Practiſes that I do or ſhall know againſt her
" Royal Perſon or Crowns. And namely and eſpecially, I do abjure
" and renounce all manner of dependency upon the King or State of
" *Spain*, or treaty with him, or any of his Forces or Confederates; and
" ſhall be ready with the uttermoſt of my ability to ſerve her Majeſty
" againſt him, or any of his Forces or Confederates.

" I do abſolutely renounce all Challenge or Intermedling with the
" *Vriaghts*, or Foſtering with them, or other Neighbour-Lords or Gen-
" tlemen out of my Countrey, or exacting any Black-rents of any *V-*
" *riaghts*, or bordering-Lords.

" I do reſign all Claim and Title to any Lands, but ſuch as ſhall now
" be granted unto me by her Majeſties Letter Patents.

" Laſtly, As the only being a Subject doth include all the Duties of
" a Subject; ſo will I be content to be informed here, and adviſed by
" her Magiſtrates, and will be conformable and aſſiſting unto them in
" any thing that may tend to the advancement of her Service, and the
" peaceable Government of this Kingdom; as namely, for the abo-
" liſhing of all barbarous Cuſtoms, contrary to the Laws, being the
" Seeds of all Incivility; and for the clearing of all difficult Paſſages
" and Places which are the Nurſeries of Rebellion; wherein I will em-
" ploy the labours of the people of my Countrey in ſuch ſort, and in
" ſuch places as I ſhall be directed by her Majeſty, or the Lord Deputy,
" or Council in her Name: and will endeavour for my ſelf, and the peo-
" ple of my Countrey, to erect civil Habitations, and ſuch as ſhall be of
" great effect to preſerve us againſt Thieves and any Force but the Power
" of the State, by which we muſt reſt aſſured to be preſerved as long as
" we continue in our Duty.

And

And now, to ſee whether theſe Rebellions agree or no with the *Roman-Catholique* Doctrine, I ſhall afford you the Opinions and Commendations of ſome of their *Univerſities*, of theſe very Treaſonable Actions.

In Dei Nomine Amen.

ILluſtriſſimus Princeps *Hugo Onellus*, bellum gerit cum *Angliæ* Regina & *Anglis*, ob Catholicam Religionem tuendam, ut *ſcilicet* liceat illi & *Ibernis* libere Catholicam Religionem profiteri, quam libertatem vi & armis *Angliæ* Regina conatur eripere.

Duo nunc circa hoc bellum in dubium revocantur.

I. Alterum eſt, *An liceat Catholicis Ibernis prædicto Principi* Hugoni *in eo bello favere armis & quibuſcunque aliis modis?*

II. Alterum, *An iiſdem Catholicis liceat pugnare contra præfatum Principem citra mortale peccatum*, & Anglis *in eo bello favere armis aut alia quavis ratione?*

Præſertim, cum ſi *Anglis* hoc auxilii genus negant, manifeſto vitæ periculo aut amittendi bona temporalia ſeſe exponunt. Et præterea, cum ipſis Catholicis *Iberniæ* a ſummo Pont. ſit permiſſum, ut poſſint prædictæ Reginæ *Angliæ* obedire, ac ut legitimam Reginam, Tributa illi ſolvendo, recognoſcere, videtur enim id præſtare poſſe, quod Subditorum eſt, pugnare *ſcilicet* adverſus Reginæ Rebelles, qui debitam ei Obedientiam negant, & terram illius ditioni ſubjectam uſurpare videntur.

In the Name of God Amen.

THE moſt Renowned Prince *Hugh O-Neil*, doth make warr for the defence of the Catholique Faith with the Queen of *England*, and the *Engliſh* people, *viz.* That it may be lawful for him and the *Iriſh* freely to profeſs the Catholique Religion; which liberty the Queen of *England* doth endeavour to take from them by force and arms.

There are two matters now in queſtion about this Warr.

I. The one is, *Whether it be lawful for the* Iriſh *Catholiques to favour the foreſaid Prince* Hugh *with Arms and all other means in this Warr?*

II. The other is, *Whether it be lawful for the ſame Catholiques to fight againſt the foreſaid Prince, without deadly ſin, and to favour the* Engliſh *in this Warr, by Arms, or by any other means whatſoever?*

Eſpecially, when the caſe ſo ſtands, that if they deny this kind of help unto the *Engliſh*, they expoſe themſelves to a manifeſt danger of their lives, or the loſing of their Temporal goods. And furthermore, ſince it is permitted by the Pope, that they may obey the foreſaid Queen of *England*, and acknowledg her as their lawful Queen, by paying Tribute unto her: for it ſeemeth that, that may be performed what belongeth unto Subjects to do, *viz.* To fight againſt the Queen's Rebels, who deny their due obedience to her, and ſeem to uſurp the Land which is ſubject to her dominion.

Ut utrique Queſtioni ſatisfiat, Tanquam certum eſt accipiendum Poſſe *Romanum* Pont. Fidei deſertores, & eos qui Catholicam Religionem oppugnant, Armis compellere ac coercere, cum alia Ratio non ſuppetat tanto malo occurrendi.

Eſt præterea ut firmum conſtituendum *Angliæ* Reginam Catholicam Religionem oppugnare, nec permittere *Ibernos* Catholicam fidem, publice colere, eademq; de Cauſa prædictum Principem, & ante eum alios (quos Apoſtolicæ literæ *Clementis* VIII. commemorant) bellum adverſus illam ſuſcepiſſe. His ita conſtitutis facile prima Quæſtio expeditur.

Citra quæſtionem namq; eſt, Poſſe quoſcunq; Catholicos dicto Principi *Hugoni O-Neil* in prædicto bello favere, idque magno cum merito & ſpe maxima Retributionis æternæ: Cum enim prædictus Princeps bellum gerit authoritate Summi Pont. ob tuendam Religionem Catholicam, ad idq; eum & omnes Chriſti fideles, Pontifex per ſuas literas adhortetur (ut ex ejus literis conſtat). Atq; Principi in eo bello faventes multis gratiis proſequatur, ac ſi bellum contra *Turcas* gererent; nemo jure dubitaverit, & ſuſceptum bellum juſtum eſſe & magni eſſe meriti pro Catholica Religione (quæ omnium maximum bonum eſt) tuenda pugnare.

Eſt etiam de ſecunda Quæſtione omnino certum, Eos omnes Catholicos peccare mortaliter, qui *Anglorum* Caſtra contra prædictum Principem *O-Neil* ſequuntur: nec poſſe illos æternam ſalutem conſequi, nec ab ullo Sacerdote a ſuis peccatis abſolvi, niſi prius reſipiſcant, ac Caſtra *Anglorum* deſerant. Idemq; de illis cenſendum eſt, qui Armis

That both theſe Queſtions may be decided, we muſt hold as for certain, That the Pope hath power to bridle and ſuppreſs thoſe who forſake the Faith, and thoſe who fight againſt the Catholick Faith; when by no other means ſo great a miſchief can be hindred.

And furthermore, it muſt be poſitively concluded, That the Queen of *England* doth oppugn the Catholique Religion, and doth hinder the *Iriſh* from the publick enjoyment of the Catholique Faith; And that for this cauſe, the foreſaid Prince *O-Neal*, and others before him (mentioned in the Apoſtolical Letters of *Clement* VIII.) undertook the Warr againſt her. Theſe things thus laid down, the firſt Queſtion is eaſily reſolved.

For without doubt, any Catholick whatſoever may favour the ſaid Prince *Hugh O-Neil* in the foreſaid warr, and this with great merit, and certain hopes of an Eternal Reward: For ſeeing that the ſaid Prince doth make Warr by the Pope's Authority for the defence of Catholique Religion, and that the Pope doth exhort all the faithful by his Letters thereunto (as is manifeſt by his Letters), and that he will extend his graces upon the favourers of the Prince in that Warr, in as ample manner as if they make warr againſt the *Turks*. No man in juſtice can doubt, but that the preſent Warr is lawful, and alſo that to fight for the Catholique Religion (which is the greateſt good of all others) is a matter of great merit.

And concerning the ſecond queſtion, it is moſt certain, that all thoſe Catholiques do ſin mortally, that take part with the *Engliſh* againſt the foreſaid Prince *O-Neil*. Neither can they obtain Eternal Salvation, nor be abſolved from their ſins by any Prieſt, unleſs they firſt repent and forſake the *Engliſh* Army. And the ſame is to be cen-

&

& Commeatibus in eo bello *Anglis* favent, vel quod ſimile tribuunt præter ea Tributa Conſueta, quæ (ex ſummi Pont. Indulgentia & permiſſione) eis licet * *Angliæ Regibus florente in ea Religione Catholica, aut eorum Exactoribus ſolvere.*

* So ſome Copies have it; but *O-ſullevan* reads it thus: ---*eis licet Reginæ* Angliæ *aut ejus Exactoribus ſolvere*

Hæc Aſſertio hac apertiſſima Ratione confirmatur.

Quoniam per literas ſummi Pont. ſatis eſt compertum *Angliæ* Reginam & ejus Duces Bellum gerere injuſtum contra prædictum Principem *O-Neil* & eos qui illi favent.

Cum enim Pontifex declarat *Anglos* adverſus Catholicam Religionem pugnare, eoſq; non minus ac *Turcas* oppugnari debere, eiſdemque Gratiis eos oppugnantes proſequatur, quibus contra *Turcas* pugnantes proſequitur: Quis dubitet, bellum ab *Anglis* adverſus Exercitum Catholicum omnino iniquum geri? At nemini licet iniquo bello favere, aut illi adeſſe, ſub pœna æternæ Damnationis.

Peccant ergo graviſſime Catholici, qui in Caſtris Hæreticorum contra prædictum Principem pugnant in bello aperte iniquo & injuſto, & omnes qui eidem bello favent Armis aut Commeatibus, aut quacunq; alia ratione, quæ per ſe belli progreſſum juvent, nec poſſint rationem inire indifferentis obſequii.

Nec eos quicquam juvat *Apoſtolicas Literas* Surreptionis notare: Surreptio enim intervenire non poteſt, ubi nulla narratur Petitio eorum, in quorum favorem expe-

ſured of thoſe, who in this War favour the *Engliſh* either by Arms, or any other means; or ſhall give them any thing of like Condition, beſides thoſe accuſtomed Tributes, which is lawful for them (by virtue of the Pope's Indulgence and Permiſſion) to pay unto the Kings of *England*, or their Officers, the Catholick Religion flouriſhing and being amongſt them.

This Aſſertion is confirm'd by this moſt manifeſt Reaſon

Becauſe it is ſufficiently proved by the Pope's Letters, That the Queen of *England* and her Forces, make unjuſt Warr againſt the ſaid Prince *O-Neal*, and thoſe who favour him.

For ſeeing that the Pope doth declare, That the *Engliſh* do fight againſt the Catholique Religion, and that therefore the ſaid *Engliſh* ſhould be reſiſted as much as if they were *Turks*; and that he doth beſtow the ſame Graces and Bleſſings upon thoſe who reſiſt the ſaid *Engliſh*, as he doth upon thoſe who fight againſt the *Turks*: Who doubteth but that the Warr waged by the *Engliſh* againſt the Catholique Army, is altogether unjuſt? But it is not lawful for any to favour an unjuſt Warr, or to be preſent thereat, under the pain of Eternal Damnation.

Thoſe Catholiques do therefore moſt grievouſly offend, who bear Arms with the Hereticks againſt the foreſaid Prince, in a Warr ſo apparently impious and unjuſt. And ſo do all thoſe who aſſiſt them in the ſaid Warr with Arms, Victuals, or by any other means, which of themſelves do further the proceedings of the Warr, and cannot give account of their indifferent obedience.

Neither doth it any thing avail them to ſcandal the *Apoſtolical Letters* of Surreption, or of ſome underhand procuring. For *Surreption* cannot happen, where no Petition ditur.

ditur. At ſummus Pont. aperte in illis Literis docet, Se & Anteceſſores ſuos ſponte exhortatos fuiſſe ad illud bellum gerendum *Hibernos* Principes ac Fideles omnes: & ad eos magis provocandos, magnis eos Gratiis ac Indulgentiis donat. Qui ergo fieri poteſt ut Surreptitiæ ſint literæ, quæ ſolam Exhortationem gratiis erga aſſiſtentes cumulatam continent?

Nec poſſunt ergo Catholici *Anglis* faventes, rationibus in ſecunda Quæſtione adductis ſe tueri: Nullum enim peccatum mortale committendum eſt, etiam ſi vita aut res familiaris amittenda ſit: ea vero quæ bellum injuſtum per ſe promovent ac juvant exercere, aperte peccatum eſt mortale.

Permiſſum eſt etiam Catholicis Hæreticæ Reginæ id genus obſequii præſtare, quod Catholicam Religionem non oppugnat. Non fuit unquam nec potuit eſſe Pontificis mens, ea Obſequia circa Reginam eis permittere, quæ aperte cum fine & ſcopo ipſius Pont. de promovenda in *Hibernia* Catholica fide ac Religione pugnant. Hanc autem ejus eſſe mentem & ſcopum, Literæ ipſæ apertiſſime declarant.

Ex quibus omnibus ſatis manifeſtum relinquitur, illuſtriſſimum Principem *Hugonem O-Nellum*, & alios Catholicos *Hiberniæ* bellum gerentes adverſus Reginam Hæreticam, Orthodoxam Fidem oppugnantem, nullo modo Rebelles eſſe, neq; debitam Obedientiam negare aut Terras Reginæ injuſte uſurpare, quin potius illos juſtiſſimo bello ſe terramq; ſuam ab iniqua

of them is declared, in whoſe favour they were diſpatched. But the Pope doth plainly declare in thoſe Letters, that he and his Predeceſſors had voluntarily exhorted the *Iriſh* Princes, and all others of the Faithful, to undertake this Warr. And, the better to incite them to it, doth enrich them with great Favours, Bleſſings, and Indulgences. How can it then be ſuppoſed, that theſe Letters were ſurreptitious, which only contain an Exhortation ſtrengthned with many Favours for ſuch as did fulfil them.

Neither therefore can the Catholiques who aſſiſt the *Engliſh*, defend themſelves by the Reaſons alledged in the ſecond Queſtion: For no mortal ſin is to be committed, although thereby Life or Goods might be ſaved: but theſe things which further and help to execute an unjuſt Warr, are manifeſtly deadly ſins.

It is permitted likewiſe to the Catholiques, to perform ſuch kind of Obedience to this Hæretical Queen, as doth not oppugn the Catholique Religion. Neither ever was it, or could it be the meaning of the Pope, to allow them to uſe that Obedience towards the Queen, which doth manifeſtly contradict and oppoſe the end and ſcope which he had to promote the Catholick Faith and Religion in *Ireland*. But that this was his meaning and ſcope, his own Letters or *Breves* do manifeſtly declare.

From all which it remaineth ſufficiently apparent, that the moſt famous Prince *Hugh O-Neil*, and other Catholiques in *Ireland*, making warr againſt an Heretical Queen (who oppoſeth her ſelf againſt the True Faith) are by no means Rebels, neither do they deny due obedience, or unjuſtly uſurp any of the Queens Dominions. But on the contrary, they do rather

& impia Tyrannide vindicare, ſacramq; Orthodoxam fidem (ut Chriſtianos & Catholicos decet) pro viribus tueri atq; defendere.

rather vindicate themſelves and their Countrey from an impious and wicked Tyranny, by a moſt juſt Warr; and do defend and maintain the holy and Orthodox Faith with all their power, as becometh all Chriſtians and Catholicks ſo to do.

Quæ omnia & ſingula, nos infra-ſcripti, ut certiſſima ac veriſſima judicamus & approbamus.

All and every of which, we whoſe Names are under-written, do judg and approve as moſt certain and true.

Datum *Salamantic* VII. die *Martii*, An. D. 1602.

Salananca VII. of *March*, 1602.

Sic ego Johannez de Seguenſa, *Profeſſor Theologiæ in Collegio Societatis* Jeſu, *hujus Almæ* Salmanticenſis *cenſeo.*

I *Juan de Ziguenza* Profeſſor of Divinity of the Colledg of the Society of Jeſus of this famous City of *Salamanca*, do ſo judg.

Idem Cenſeo ego, Emanuel de Royas, *Profeſſor Theologiæ in eodem Collegio Societatis* Jeſu.

I *Manuel de Rojas*, Profeſſor of Divinity of the ſaid Colledg, do agree in the ſame.

Horum Patrum Sententiæ tanquam omnino certæ aſſentior et ego Gaſpar de Mena, *Theologiæ & S. Scripturæ in eodem Coll. Profeſſor.*

I *Gaſpar de Mena*, Profeſſor of Divinity and Holy Scripture in the ſaid Colledg, do aſſent to the ſaid Opinions of theſe Fathers as altogether true.

In eadem ſum prorſum cum Prædictis Pp. Sententia Petrus Oſorio *in eodem Coll. Societatis* Jeſu *pro Sacris Canonibus.*

I *Piedro Oſorio*, Expounder of the Sacred Canons in the ſame Colledg of the Society of Jeſus, am altogether of the ſame Opinions with the foreſaid Fathers.

The ſame *Cenſure* or *Declaration* I find the very next year after, thus dated and ſubſcribed:

——*Datum* Salmanticæ, *ſecundo Februarii, Anno Domini Milleſimo Sexcenteſimo Tertio.*

Doctores *Salmanticenſes.*

Fra. *Franciſcus Zumel* Decanus *Salmant.*
Mag. *Alphonſus de Curiel* Sacræ Theologiæ Primarius Profeſſor.
Fr. *Petrus de Herrera.*
Mag. Doctor *Franciſcus Sancius.*
Fr. *Dionyſius Juberus.*
Mag. *Andreas de Leon.*
Fr. *Petrus de Ledeſma.*
Fr. *Martinus de Paraza.*

Doctores Theologi *Valliſoſelani.*

D. *Franciſcus Sobrino Decanus.*
D. *Alfonſus Vacca de Santiago.*
D. *Johannes Garcia de Coronel.*
Mag. Fr. *Johannes Nigron.*
D. Torre.
Fr. *Joſephus de Luxan.*

Valliſoleti, Octavo *Martii*, Anno Milleſimo ſexcenteſimo tertio.

Hiſt. Cathol. *Ibern.* Compend. Tom. 3. lib. 8. cap. 7. fol. 204.

Philip Oſullevan thinks this *Declaration* enough to convert all good *Romaniſts* to Rebellion, and is not a little proud of its Authority; and thus cockered up in his uſual vanity, he accuſeth all of folly and ignorance, who ſided with the Queen and her Loyalliſts; and to think otherwiſe, he ſaith is a *mad and poyſonous Doctrine.*

Tir-Oen (as aforeſaid) having ſubmitted himſelf, the Lord Deputy carried him the next day to *Dublin*, intending to convey him into *England*; and thither he carried him, King *James* being proclaimed and received as the undoubted King, who alſo pardoned *Tir-Oen*, received him honourably at Court, and by Proclamation forbidding any to ſhew him the leaſt diſreſpect.

*Three Converſ. of *Eng.* part 1. an Addition to the Epiſt. Dedicat

Fynes Moryſons Itinerary, p. 285, 286, &c.

But the *Romaniſts* in *Ireland* ſhew themſelves of another temper: for hearing of Queen *Elizabeth's* death (a great comfort to * *Parſons*) and that *James* was King of *England*, they rejoyce at the one, and deſpiſe the other. The Citizens of *Lymrick*, with their Prieſts, ſeized upon all the Churches in the City, erecting their *Altars*, reſolving to re-ſettle their Religion again. At *Wexford* they gave out, that King *James* was a *Romaniſt*, the better to embolden their Aſſociates. Thoſe of *Waterford* ſecured the Cathedral Church to themſelves, defaced the *Seſſion-Houſe* at *Black-Fryers*, by breaking the Doors, pulling down the Benches and Seats of Juſtice, ordering *Maſſes* to be celebrated publikely.

But thoſe of *Cork* went farther, refuſing to proclaim the King, ran to their Arms, forbad the Commiſſioners to proclaim him; upon which the Loyalliſts and the ſaid Commiſſioners were forced to proclaim him upon an Hill near the Town. They entertained one amongſt them, who call'd himſelf a *Legat* from the Pope, went with them in Solemn Proceſſion, new hallowed their Churches, kept ſtrong Guards, took the Sacrament to ſpend their Lives and Goods in the defence of the *Roman* Religion; fell upon the Kings Forces, encouraged a Prieſt to hearten the people on, by preaching to them, That *James* could not be a lawful King, becauſe he was not appointed by the Pope, and ſworn to maintain the *Roman* Religion. They write alſo to all Towns and Cities, to aſſiſt them in defence of the Catholick Faith; and the better to carry on their Deſigns, ſeized upon the King's Munition.

And as for *Tir-Oen*, having ſtaid a little time in *England*, with leave and Reward he return'd for *Ireland*; where after ſo many Promiſes and

and Obligations, it was expected he would have lived civilly and obedient. But here, according to his old wont, he falleth a plotting and contriving miſchief again, but with a great deal of ſecreſie. In the mean time *Montgomery* Lord Biſhop of *Derry* (and afterwards of *Meath*) enters into ſuit againſt *Tir Oen*, for wrongfully keeping ſome of his Epiſcopal Lands (a great ſin, but too much in faſhion to cheat the Church); upon this *Tir Oen* is ſummon'd to appear at an appointed time, to expect the iſſue of the Tryal. The Earl, conſcious of his late deſigns againſt the State, and fearing that his Plots had been diſcovered, prompted by his guilty Conſcience, he and his Family ſlipt privately into * *Normandy*, thence to *Flanders* (where he was entertain'd by Father * *Muſket* with a Panegyrick Oration): upon which King *James* puts forth a Proclamation againſt him, not a little to the diſguſt of zealous * *de Sponde*. From *Flanders* he goeth to *Rome*, where he lived upon the Pope's Allowance, became blind for ſome years, and ſo * dyed. And his Son ended his days miſerably in *Bruxels*, being found ſtrangled in his own Chamber; but whether by himſelf or others, as it is not certainly known, ſo is it nothing to my purpoſe.

Bp. *Carlton's* Thankful Remembrance, cap. 14. p. 168.

* 1607.

* Jo. Gee's *Foot out of the Snare*, p. 103.

* *An.* 1608

* 1616.

And thus much concerning theſe Troubles in *Ireland*, whoſe effects were ſo lamentable, that beſides the Miſeries and Depopulations by Warr, the extremity of *Famine* grew ſo great, that the very * Women in ſome places, by the way-ſide, would ſurpriſe the men riding by, to feed themſelves with the fleſh of their Horſes. And ſooner might theſe Troubles have had an end, if it had not been by the inſtigation of their zealous Prieſts and *Jeſuits*, though born Subjects; ſuch as were Father *Archer*, *White*, *Rector*, *Mulrony*, *Leinagh*, &c. *Mahonne O Dullany* a Prieſt, *Edward Raghter* a *Dominican*.

* Arch-biſhop *Vſhers* Speech at *Dublin*, *April* 30. 1627. *Vid.* his life by Dr. *Bernard*, p. 67.

A CON-

A Continuation OF THE HISTORY OF THE Romiſh Treaſons AND USURPATIONS.

Book X.

Chap. I.

Divers Plots againſt Queen Elizabeth *and King* James. Rawleigh's *Deſigns againſt King* James. *The Life of Father* Parſons.

THIS Century might afford us ſeveral diſmall Contrivances againſt the Crown and Proſperity of *Great Britain*; but of ſome I ſhall but ſlightly touch, as being commonly known; and in others I muſt not be too critical and open, leſt I ſhould offend againſt Sir *Walter Rawleigh*'s Prudential Rule, *Not to follow Truth too near the heels, leſt ſhe ſhould kick back, and ſtrike out my Teeth.*

And here I might ſpeak at large of the ſeveral Deſigns as well of *Puritan* as *Papiſt*, to hinder King *James* from his true ſucceſſion to the Crown of *England*; as ſometimes endeavouring to make him odious to Queen *Elizabeth*, to prevent her declaring for him; as by telling her
1599. of the King's intimacy with *Clement* VIII. which they endeavoured to make out to her by a Letter of his to the ſaid Biſhop; a thing, had it been true, might not have deſerved ſuch a Cenſure as Deprivation, ſeeing the Pope may be as civilly treated with, as other Potentates; a thing not to be denied by any but an Impertinent *Puritan*, or an Irrational *Enthuſiaſtick*: But they hoped, that her Jealouſie of Religion, augmented by her Age, and ſome Expreſſions in the Letter, might perſwade her to make Mountains of Mole-hills, and in ſuch a pet to declare ſome other to the Crown; which, as ſome hoped, might have brought ſuch troubles upon the Kingdom, that in the hurry a *Romaniſt* might have ſlipt himſelf into the Throne, to which ſo many pretended.

But ſhe was too wiſe to be cheated by ſuch Toys; preſently ſhe perceiving the drift, ſhe ſuſpected the cheat. And a meer forgery it was in reſpect of King *James*; though his knaviſh Secretary, *Balmerinoch*, * one warping towards Popery, had given ſome ground for ſuch a ſtory: For he, by the Inſtigation of his Kinſman, Sir *Edward Drummond*, a *Romaniſt*, had penn'd a Letter to the ſaid *Clement* VIII. in favour of the Biſhop of *Vaiſon*, a *Scotch*-man; for his preferment to a Cardinal-ſhip, which by ſhuffling in among other Letters to be ſigned, the King had haſtily (a dangerous overſight, where are knaviſh Secretaries) ſet his hand to, the other ſealing it with the Royal Signet, entruſted to him by his Office.

* Propenderet animo ad Religionem Romanam. *Rob. Johnſton* Hiſt. Rerum *Brit.* p. 448.

Queen *Elizabeth* by the by challenged King *James* with this. But he proteſted his Innocency, by denying any ſuch thing; ſo did *James Elphingſton* Lord *Balmerinoch*, who alſo got *Drummond* to forſwear it. *Raleigh*, and other Enemies to the *Scotch* Title, could then proceed no farther, though they had uſed ſuch Intereſt at *Rome*, as to get a Copy of it, which they ſhew'd to the Queen as the Original, and ſhe to Mr. *David Foulis* the King's Agent; who ſatisfied her Majeſty, by proving to her, by the Teſtimony of her Stationers, that the *Date* of the Letter was older than the ſtamp or mark of the Paper; whereby it could not be the Original, and ſo might be a Cheat as well as a Copy. But afterwards * *Bellarmine* retorting this Letter to the King, *Balmerinoch* was farther examined and tried, who confeſt all, was condemned of Treaſon, and as a Traytor to be beheaded; but by Queen *Ann's* Interceſion was pardoned. A man he was of good Parts; but eſpecially knew how to filch, pilfer, and embezel Church-Lands; and if it ſhould be poſſible for a covetous man (as he was) to be honeſt, yet 'tis certain, that he who robs God and the Church, can never be a Friend to the King, but for his own Intereſt.

* *Mat. Tort.* pag. 47. 1608, 1609.

Queen *Elizabeth* is now old and weak, cannot live long; ſo 'tis needleſs to attempt any more againſt her Perſon, whoſe death they daily expected, and it might anticipate their quickeſt Deſigns. No man's right and ſucceſsion to the Crown is ſo much fear'd as that of King *James*; and therefore to prevent Him, muſt be the main Care and Contrivance.

There was one *Francis Mawbray*, Son to the Laird of *Barnebowgall*, who had lived ſome while in the *Infanta's* Court at *Bruxels*; he, they
1601. ſay, undertook to take this rub out out of the way, by killing the King;

to

to which purpoſe he intends for *Scotland*, but taketh *England* in his way. At *London* one *Daniel* an *Italian* Fencing-Maſter, diſcovers the Plot to the Queen; ſhe for a further trial hath them both ſeiz'd on and ſent into *Scotland*: *Mawbry*, ſuppoſed guilty, is caſt into *Edenburgh* Caſtle, whence thinking one night to eſcape out of a Window, by his Bed-ſheets, which proving too ſhort, he fell upon the Rocks, and ſo dyed; his Body was hang'd for ſome time, then quartered, and fixt upon the Gates, and ſeveral places of the City.

This failing, another Deſign is in hand: In *Italy*, *Ferdinando* I. the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, by the intercepting of ſome Letters, diſcovereth a Plot to take away King *James* his Life by Poyſon. The Duke, who had formerly been a Cardinal, moved with the Fame of the King's Learning and Virtue, and it may be had ſome hopes of his Converſion, upon the former falſe Letters, reſolved to diſcover and prevent it. At this time Mr. *Henry Wotton* ſojourned in *Florence*, and was well acquainted with Signior *Vietta*, the Duke's Secretary; upon whoſe Commendations *Wotton* is pitched on to be the Meſſenger. The Letters and excellent Antidotes againſt Poyſon (ſuch as were not then known in *Scotland*) were delivered to him, who diſguiſed under an *Italian* Garb and Name of *Octavio Baldi*, haſteth to *Scotland*, cometh to the King, diſcovereth himſelf and the Conſpiracy, and after ſome ſtay returneth to *Florence*. He was afterwards Knighted by King *James*, and famous for his Learning, Languages, and Embaſſies. 1602.

In theſe Deſigns againſt the King's right to the Throne, Pope *Clement* VIII. was not wanting, who intended the Crown for ſome of his Friends. And perceiving that ſome in *England* were tampering to promote the Intereſt of the Lady *Arabella*, in this caſe he thought it beſt to deal warily: He had a mind that the Duke of *Parma* ſhould enjoy the Crown; but this upon better thoughts he ſuppoſed would not be feaſible, by reaſon that *Arabella*'s Intereſt might be too ſtrong. And therefore *Parma* being married, he caſts another way about, and thinks upon Cardinal *Farneſe*, younger Brother to *Parma*; who being unmarried, might be wedded to *Arabella*, and ſo did not queſtion by their joint Forces and Intereſts to carry the Crown. To carry on this buſineſs, nothing was thought more convenient, than to unite all the *Romaniſts* in *England*, that their Cauſe might not ſuffer by any diſſentions amongſt themſelves about this Succeſſion. And ſeeing Experience had told them, That their Clergy had a great awe and authority over the Laity, ſo it was beſt then to have all their Clergy to be of the ſame mind, and to proſecute the ſame Ends, and they hoped that their Laity would not then be divided. To which purpoſe they conclude of an *Arch-Prieſt*, who ſhould have a Juriſdiction over the reſt, who were to act according to his Rules and Inſtructions. And in theſe Deſigns, Father *Parſons* was a main Stickler and Contriver; the Pope alſo had drawn up ſome *Bulls*, and ſent to his *Nuncio* in the *Netherlands* to divulge and ſpread them abroad at convenient time; wherein he declared, That not any, though never ſo near in * blood, ſhould after Q. *Elizabeths* death be admitted to the Crown, but ſuch an one as wou'd not only tolerate the *Roman* Religion, but would ſwear to promote and reſettle it; and, that in the mean time Cardinal *Farneſe* might in this *Iſland* have the greater Vogue, the Pope made him *Protector* of *England*, as he was of other Countreys: Nay, rather than fail, the ſame Pope had * formerly exhorted the *French* and *Spaniard* to unite, invade *England*, and divide

Card. *D'Oſſat* Let. 191. 268. 272.

* --Quantum cunq; propinquitate ſanguinis nitentur, niſi ejuſmodi eſſent qui fidem Catholicam non modo tolerarent, ſed omni ope ac ſtudio promoverent, & more Majorum jure jurando ſe id præſtituros ſuſciperent, &c. *Bull. Clement* VIII.

* 1597. *D'Oſſat* Let. 87.

it between them: Nor did they neglect to inſtigate the Family of the *Pools* to have a right.

Yet for all theſe Attempts, and other Endeavours of the *Jeſuits*, *Winter*, *Deſmond*, and ſuch like, who plotted His Excluſion; upon the death of the Virgin Queen *Elizabeth*, he was proclaimed and received as the undoubted King *James* I. of *England*, but of *Scotland* VI. However, no ſooner is he ſet in the Throne, but an odd medley-Plot is agitated againſt him, compoſed of ſuch variety of Religions and Intereſts, that it ſeemed to puzzel the World that ſuch a wiſe man as *Raleigh* ſhould be in it; but that they knew, Diſcontent would thruſt a daring Spirit upon any thing to ſatisfie it ſelf.

The main Ingredients of this Conſpiracy were,

Henry Brook Lord *Cobham*, *George Brook* his Brother } ſeem'd to be *Proteſtants*.

Thomas Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, a Rank *Puritan*.

William Watſon, the Author of the *Quodlibets*, where he rants dapperly againſt the *Jeſuits* for their Treaſons and Plots. *William Clark*, who had writ againſt Father *Parſons* for the ſame Crimes. } *Romiſh* Prieſts.

Sir *Griffin Markham*, a Zealous *Romaniſt*.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a States-man and Soldier; and troubled with no more Religion than would ſerve his Intereſt and turn.

Count *Arembergh*, Ambaſſador from the Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*. *Matthew de Lawrencie*, a Merchant, but an Inſtrument employed by *Arembergh*. } Zealous *Romaniſts*.

And ſome other ſuch like. Their Deſigns were,

To ſet the Crown on the Lady Arabella, *or to ſeize on the King, and make him grant their deſires, and a Pardon.*
To have a Toleration of Religion.
To procure Aid and Aſſiſtance from Forreign Princes.
To turn out of the Court ſuch as they diſliked, and place themſelves in Offices.
Watſon *to be Lord Chancellor.*
George Brook, *Lord Treaſurer.*
Sir Griffin Markham, *Secretary of State.*
Lord Gray, *Maſter of the Horſe, and Earl-Marſhal of* England.

For more ſecurity, *Watſon* draweth up an Oath of Secrecy. But all is diſcovered; they are ſeiz'd on, examined and tryed. The two Prieſts plead

plead *James* is not King, becauſe not then Crown'd. But that excuſe is declared idle: moſt of them are found guilty, and condemned. *Watſon*, *Clark*, and *George Brook*, were executed; the reſt reprieved. *Gray* dyed in the Tower the laſt of his Line. *Raleigh* was beheaded 1618. the reſt diſcharged of Impriſonment, but dyed miſerably poor. *Markham* and ſome others abroad; but *Cobham* (as we are * told) in a Room aſcended by a Ladder at a poor Womans Houſe in the *Minories* (formerly his Landreſs) dyed rather of Hunger, than a natural Diſeaſe.

* *Oſborn's* Traditional Memoires of K. *James*, p. 13

I need not here ſpeak how their * Prieſts endeavoured to amuſe the people with what Troubles there would be at the death of *Elizabeth*; nor how, to alienate the Crown, they publiſhed (to ſtir up many Titles and Pretenders) divers Pamphlets, as *Leſley*, *Heghington*, *Creſwell*, *Crag* (a *Scotch* Jeſuit, but his Book was burnt, and never printed). And we are told, That the Jeſuits were entreated to * aſſiſt in this *Plot*; but they deſired to be excuſed, as having another Deſign in their thoughts, which ſome think was meant of the Gun-powder-Treaſon. And to all theſe Contrivances Father *Parſons* was no bad wiſher.

* *Reſponſ. ad Edictum Reg.* 16. Card. *Allen's* Anſwer to the Execut. of Juſtice, p. 185.

* *Is. Caſaubon* Epiſt. ad *Front Ducaum.*

§ II.

OF this *Parſons*, ſeeing he then made ſuch a noiſe in the world (and is by thoſe of his Order commended as one of the moſt holy men of his time, whilſt others, though *Romaniſts*, will look upon him no otherwiſe than the greateſt Villain then living in the world), I ſhall ſay ſomething here, the better to inform Poſterity.

'Tis true, the Induſtrious Dr. *Thomas James*, almoſt LX. years ago, undertook to write his Life, and therein to ſet down nothing but what the Prieſts and *Romaniſts* themſelves writ of him; which accordingly he did: but it containing more of Satyre than Hiſtory, I ſhall make little or no uſe of that Collection, now ſo rarely to be met with, for they were all bought up by the *Jeſuits* themſelves; it is call'd, THE JESUITS DOWNFALL.

Some *Romaniſts* have boldly aſſerted *Parſons* to have been a Baſtard, begotten by the Parſon of the Town *Stockgurſee* in *Somerſetſhire*, and therefore call'd *Parſons*, though they ſay his right name was * *Cowback*; and this hath been in a manner generally believed. But to do him what right I can, I ſhall not be unwilling to allow here ſome miſtakes as to the place; and though, upon enquiry, I am informed, that thoſe Pariſh-Records are now loſt, whereby I cannot ſatisfie my ſelf as well as I would; yet I ſhall in part be guided herein by himſelf, and other Enquiries.

* Or *Cubback*. A. P. A Reply to a Libel call'd *A brief Apol.* p. 324.

Manifeſtation of folly, f. 89

He was born at *Nether-Stowey* in *Somerſetſhire*, a Vicarage, in the year 1546. His Father (a Blackſmith) was once an Enemy to *Rome*; but was (as they ſay) reconciled to that Church by *Alexander Briant*, who was executed; and his Mother dyed at *London* in the ſame perſwaſion. They had XI. Children, this Father *Parſons* being the middlemoſt. He was inſtructed in the *Latin* Tongue by *John Hayward*, or *Haywood*, once a Monk or *Canon-Regular* of the Abbey of *Torr*, who came out of *Devonſhire* to be Vicar of *Stowey*; he was held a notable Twinger, and ſuſpected as kind enough with *Parſons* Mother, lying at her Houſe.

Dr. *Sutcliff's* Bleſſing on *Mount Gerizzin*, p. 220, 288.

Thus fitted for the Univerſity, thither was he ſent, and entred into *Baliol Colledg* in *Oxford*; but in what year, I cannot tell. In 1564, I meet * with three *Parſons* in that Colledg, two of them *Batchelors* of

* *Libb. Matric. Antiq.* Oxon.

Arts, and one an *Undergraduat*, who (comparing the time with the Cuſtoms of that Colledg) muſt be this ſame *Parſons*. In the year 1568, he was admitted *Socius Sacerdos*, commonly call'd *Chaplain-Fellow*; and ſo went into *Holy Orders*, though but *Batchelor* of *Arts*. In the year 1573, he took his Degree of *Maſter of Arts*; and in the next year, *viz.* the 13 of *February*, 157⅘ he reſigned or quitted the Colledg.

But the manner how he left that place, hath not hitherto been agreed to on all hands; * himſelf, to keep up his credit, will tell a fair Tale, and endeavour to lay ſome blots upon Dr. *Bagſhaw*: on the other ſide the * Doctor, though a great *Romaniſt*, undertakes to clear himſelf, to confute *Parſons* his ſtory, and to render him faulty enough. Seeing theſe were both then Fellows of that Colledg, and both afterwards turn'd zealous *Romaniſts*, yet Enemies, and could underſtand this ſtory beſt; yet finding them in different Tales, and ſo not willing more to believe than to diſ-believe either; I ſhall take the ſtory from a third hand, who was alſo Fellow of this Colledg, and afterwards Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*; but when he wrote this following Letter (which I tranſcrib'd from the Original) was *Maſter* or Head of Univerſity Colledg.

* A brief Apology, fol. 193, 194, &c.
* Anſwer to the *brief Apol.* p. 32, 33, &c.

To my worſhipful loving Friend, Mr. Dr. *Huſſye*, at Mr. *Haiden*'s Houſe, who dwelleth at the Sign of the *Tunn* in *Watling-Street*; Give theſe.

YOU write unto me to know what is in record any way againſt Mr. Parſons; *and I return you here incloſed word for word ſo much as is in the Regiſter of* Baliol *Colledg. In the* Reſignation, *as you may ſee, he had written* Sponte & coactus, *but now it is* Sponte non coactus, [&] *being blotted out, and* [non] *being ſet* * *over. Which I am deceived if it be not alter'd by ſome body elſe of late, in as much as I am verily perſwaded, that ſince my coming to the Colledg I have ſeen it* Sponte & coactus; *which although it carry a contradiction, yet intimateth that he reſigned againſt his will. The particular reaſons whereof, no man can tell better than Dr.* Turner, *now dwelling in* Fetter-lane; *or Dr.* * Hide *of* Saſum; *for as I take it, they were both preſent at his Removing.*

The cauſes and manner of his giving over, as far as I could ever comprehend, were theſe: * Bagſhaw, *being a ſmart young man, and one who thought his penny good Silver, after that he had his* Grace *to be* Batchelor *of* Arts; *was with ſome deſpight ſwindged by* Parſons, *being* Dean *of the Colledg*; Hoc manet alta mente repoſtum: *And* Bagſhaw *afterward coming to be* Fellow, *was moſt hot in proſecution againſt* Parſons. *It was the more forwarded by Dr.* Squire's *diſpleaſure, who was then* Maſter *of* Baliol *Colledg, and thought himſelf to have been much bitten by vile Libels, the Author whereof he conceived* Parſons *to be; who in truth was a man at that time wonderfully given to ſcoffing, and that with bitterneſs, which alſo was the cauſe that none of the Company loved him.*

* Non } et
* Thus }
* In the *Proctor*'s Book I find one *Tho. Hyde* proceeded Maſter of Arts the ſame year with *Rob. Parſons*, viz. 1573.

* *Chriſtopher Bagſhaw* admitted Fellow 1572, left the Colledg 1582, was made Prieſt in *France*, lived a while in the *Engliſh* Colledg at *Rome*; proceeded Doctor, ſome ſay, at *Padua* [A. P. Reply, p. 156.]; others at *Paris*; and was one of the Faculty at *Sorbonne*. He was active againſt the Arch-Prieſt in the ſtirrs at *Wiſbich*: He lived to be very old.

Now

Now Dr. Squire *and* Bagſhaw *being deſirous of ſome occaſion to trim him, this fell out: In the year* 1572. Parſons *had been* Bourſer; *and being joyn'd in Office with one* Stanclit, *a very ſimple Fellow, he took the advantage of the weakneſs of his Colleague, and falſified the Reckonings much to the damage of the Colledg; as alſo deeply polling the* Commoners *Names, whereof there was ſtore in the Colledg; and withall, not ſparing his own Scholars: By all which means it was thought, that he had purloin'd One hundred Marks.*

His Office expiring at St. Luke's *Tide, there were ſome that between that and* February 1573. *ſcanned over the Books, being moved thereto by the ſecret Complaints of ſome of the* Commoners *their Scholars; and finding it apparent, as alſo being now certified, that he was a* Baſtard; *whereas it is the firſt quality there required by* Statute, *That every* Fellow *ſhould be* Legitimo Thoro natus; *they proceeded to have his Expulſion ſolemnly. Where by the way you may add, that* Parſons *was not of the beſt fame concerning* * *Incontinency, as I have heard ſome ſay who lived in* Oxon *at that time: but whether that were then objected againſt him, I have not heard.*

* Dr. *Sutclyf's* Bleſſings on Mount *Gerizim*, pag. 288.

Parſons *being put to this puſh in the Colledg* Chappel, *and ways ſufficient concurring to* expel *him, and in truth no man ſtanding for him, maketh humble requeſt, That he might be ſuffered to reſign; which with ſome a-do was yeelded to him; and then he wrote as you have here incloſed.*

Afterwards, before the Aſſembly broke up, he entreated that his giving over might be conceal'd, by reaſon that it would be diſgraceful unto him with all men, but eſpecially with his Scholars and their Friends; and for theſe cauſes humbly prayed, *That he might keep his Scholars, Chamber,* &c. *and be reputed as a* Fellow *in the* Houſe, *the matter being concealed from all the Boys and the younger ſort in the Houſe; which then in words was yeelded unto, and that other* Decree *which now you ſee* razed, *was enacted for the time, but afterward was ſoon croſſed, as you may behold.*

And ſoon after their coming out of the Chappel, by Bagſhaw's *means a Peal of Bells was rung at* Magdalen *Pariſh-Church, being the Pariſh wherein* Balliol *Colledg ſtandeth; the reaſon of which ringing, as it was imparted to ſome few, to be to ring out Mr.* Parſons, *ſo generally it was not known to the world, or in the Colledg, which gave occaſion to this farther jeſt:*

When Parſons *was* expell'd, *he was one of the* Deans *of the Colledg, and ſo by his Place was to keep* Corrections *in the* Hall *on the* Saturdays. *The next time therefore of* Corrections, *which was the day of* Parſons *his* Expulſion, *or ſoon after, Dr.* Squire *cauſeth* Parſons *to go into the* Hall *as* Dean, *and to call the* Book *and* Roll, *&c. and then cometh Dr.* Squire *himſelf in, and as if it had been in kindneſs to countenance him (but in truth more profoundly to deride him) he calleth him at every word Mr.* Dean, *and deſireth him often to have a ſtrict care to the good government of the Youth; and not only for a fit, but all the time of his year that he was to continue in Office.*

Some of the Commoners *knew all this Pageant, and laught the more ſweetly; and* Parſons *in the end ſpying how he was ſcorned, and nothing concealed; nay, underſtanding all his Knell which was rung out for him, for very ſhame got him away to* London; *and there not knowing what courſe at firſt to take, at length reſolved to try his fortune beyond Sea, purpoſing, as it ſhould ſeem at his departure, to ſtudy* Phyſick; *but afterward when he came into* Italy, *reſolving rather to ſtudy the* Civil Law; *which he did for a time at* Bononia, *as himſelf in that place told Mr.* Da-

vers,

vers, *Brother to the late Sir* John Davers, *as the ſaid Mr.* Davers *hath himſelf told me; but afterwards be-like wanting means of Continuance, he turn'd to be a* Jeſuit.

Preſently upon his departure out of England, *he ſent a Letter, or rather a notable* Libel *to Dr.* Squire; *and he had ſo ordered the matter, that many Copies of the Letter were taken and abroad in the hands of others, before the Letter came to the* Doctor; *which was the true cauſe that many very lewd things were falſly reported of Dr.* Squire, *although in truth he was ſuch a man as wanted no faults,* &c.

February 1. 1601,
At *Univerſity-Colledg.*

Your very loving Friend,
GEORGE ABBOT.

The incloſed *Reſignation* mentioned in the Letter, runs thus:

Ego Robertus Parſons *Socius Collegii de* Balliolo, *Reſigno omne meum jus & clameum, quem habeo vel habere potero Societatis meæ in dicto Collegio, quod quidem facio ſponte* * *non* *a* *coactus, die decimo tertio menſis* Februarii Anno Dom. 1573.

* Here & is daſh'd out, and *non* written over it.

Per me Rob. Parſons.

The incloſed Decree mentioned in the Letter, take thus:

Eodem tempore Decretum eſt unanimi conſenſu M^ri & Reliquorum Sociorum, ut Magiſter Robertus Parſons *nuperrime Socius retineat ſibi ſua Cubicula & Scholares quoſq; voluerit, & Communia ſua de Collegio habeat uſq; ad Feſtum Paſchatis immediate ſequentis.*

But this laſt Decree was preſently after cancell'd or croſs'd, and ſo remains in their Regiſter-Book.

Being in *Italy*, he went to *Rome*, and there turned *Jeſuit*; thence came again into *England* with *Campian*, but made what haſte he could out again: ſometimes living in *Spain*, inſtigating that King to invade *England*; other times living at *Rome*, where he was *Rector* of the *Engliſh* Colledg; was, as they ſay, in ſome probability of a Cardinal's Cap.

We have formerly told you of his pernicious Principles, taken out of his own Writings; maintaining, That the * *Pope hath power and authority to depoſe Kings:* That * *Subjects of themſelves may depoſe their Kings:* Nor will he deny, but that *Kings may lawfully be* * *kill'd by their people*, and ſuch like. And now the better to underſtand the man, take a few Inſtances of his behaviour towards his Queen and Countrey; as they are delivered to us by the *Romaniſts* themſelves: and here I ſhall only ſet down that which carrieth the greateſt probability. *William Clark* the Prieſt ſaith thus of him:

* See backward, l. 2. c. 1. p. 76, 77.
* L. 2. c. 3. p. 93
* L. 2. c. 4. p. 101.

"As

"As touching the Colledges and Penſions that are maintain'd and gi-
"ven by the *Spaniard* (which he ſo often inculcateth) we no whit
"thank him for them, as things are handled, and occaſions thereby mi-
"niſtred, of our greater perſecution at home, by reaſon of Fa. *Parſons*
"treacherous practiſes, thereby to promote the *Spaniſh Title* to our
"Countrey, and his hateful Stratagems with ſuch Scholars as are there
"brought up, enforcing them to ſubſcribe to *Blanks*, and by publick
"Orations to fortifie the ſaid wreſted Title of the *Infanta*, meaning *Iſa-*
"*bella Clara Eugenia*, Daughter to *Philip* II. of *Spain*, whoſe Right to
"the *Engliſh* Crown was maintain'd in a Book by this *Parſons* made, but
"publiſhed by him under the falſe Name of *Dolman*: 'Twas call'd, *A*
"*Conference about the next Succeſſion of the Crown of* England. Of this
Book thus ſaith the former Prieſt.

———"Concerning his propoſing the *Book* of *Titles* to be read in Id. fol. 89.
"the *Refectory* in *Rome*, inſtead of a Spiritual Lecture uſed to be read
"at ſuch times: There be divers yet that will depoſe the ſame againſt
"him; and Mr. *Lawbery*, now a Reverend Prieſt, was the man ſhould
"have read the ſame; but he rejected it.

Another tells us thus of Father *Parſons*:

———"It is well known, that Fa. *Parſons* in *Spain* cauſed many, as well A. P. Reply to
"others as Prieſts, to ſubſcribe (as Prieſts) to the *Title* of the *Infanta*, a Libel. pag.
"now Ducheſs of *Burgundy*. Fa. *Fancard* alſo hath made many to ſet 81, 82.
"their hands to three Blanks, although ſome refuſed to do it, as they
"have themſelves reported at their coming into *England*.

"I have moreover underſtood, that Fa. *Parſons* was a chief dealer in
"ſending of thoſe *Armado's* which the *Spaniards* have ſet out for the
"Invaſion of our Countrey; and them of *England* with whom he dealt
"moſt earneſtly to go into the Navy which was ſet out in the year 1596,
"who refuſing to be employed in any action againſt their Countrey,
"were for that cauſe ſent away from the Colledg, and told that it was
"not convenient that they ſhould ſtay in the Colledg, where they had
"given example of ſuch repugnance.

"There is moreover ſufficient proof, that after the evil ſucceſs of
"the *Spaniſh* attempts, Fa. *Parſons* carried a Youth to the King of *Spain*,
"who pronounced a certain Speech for the purpoſe; which being end-
"ed, Fa. *Parſons* began to urge the King to give one attempt more; af-
"firming, that he would write his Letters into *England*; and nothing
"doubted to effect what ſhould be the great furtherance of ſuch a jour-
"ney, *&c.*

"Certain other Letters alſo have been ſeen of Fa. *Parſons* to his fel-
"low-Jeſuits in *England*, wherein he hath wiſhed that the Catholicks
"would unite themſelves together, and ſet up a King of *England*. And
"in his Letters of the xxiv. of *January* 1600, to the Earl of *Anguſſe*,
"he confeſſeth that he dealt in ſuch matters for eight or ten years.

Watſon the Prieſt tells us thus: "——Did he not earneſtly move our W. W. a Dia-
"young Students in *Spain* to ſet their hands to a Schedule, That they logue, p. 92.
"would accept the Lady *Infanta* for Queen of *England*, after the de-
"ceaſe of her * Majeſty that now is; yea, and finding them altogether * Q. Eliz.
"unwilling to intermeddle with theſe State-Affairs, belonging nothing
"unto them, and moſt hurtful to both their Cauſe and Perſons: uſed

"he not this cunning shift to draw on the innocent and simple youths, to "pretend (forsooth) to them of *Valladolid*, that the Students in *Sevil* "had done it already; no remedy then but they must follow. And "having thus craftily gotten their Names, he shew'd them to the Stu- "dents in *Sevil* for an example of their fact and forwardness, which "he required them to imitate; that it would be well taken that they "all did thus shew themselves desirous of the *Lady Infanta* for their "Queen.

'Tis known well enough, that there hath been an old Saying or Prophecy (the *English* People doting most on such whimsies) running thus:

There shall be seen upon a day
Between the *Bungh*, and the *May*,
The black Fleet of *Norway*.

When that is come and gone,
England build Houses of Lime and Stone;
For after, Warrs shall you have none.

* Essayes, Ess. 35. of Prophecies. * Challenge, chap. 6. pag. 177, 178.

And this, as the Lord * *Bacon* saith, was commonly understood of the *Spanish* Invasion in 1588, the King of *Spain*'s Sirname being (as they say) *Norway*. But Dr. * *Sutclyff*, the Dean of *Exeter*, tells us, That *Parsons* made another Interpretation of it, to wit, some after-Invasion, yet by the *Spaniards*; though the words of the Prophesies do somewhat differ, yet of these Toys are we told that *Parsons* made use of, to instigate the King of *Spain* to another Invasion, in which his Majesty need not doubt of Success, and a Conquest, as he said, seeing his Majesties Name was *Philip Norway*, of whom the *English* had an old Prophecy:

Between *Bostons* Bay
And the Pile of *Foudray*,
Shall be seen the black Navy of *Norway*.

And that nothing might be left undone to advantage the *Spanish* Cause and Title, the chiefest about the Queen were sollicited to assist that Interest; *Watson* the Priest telling us ——— * *That Father* Parsons *sent a Jesuit-Priest to the Earl of* Essex, *to have had him to take a Pension of the King of* Spain *privately, for the advancement of his designments.* and with others also they were not wanting.

* Quodlibets pag. 150. 189. 51. 126. 132.

And of this the Learned * *Cambden* will give us some farther light, telling us, That the Earl of *Essex* affirmed, that *Anthony Rolston* an *English* Fugitive, was by the *Spanish* Agitators sent into *England*, *Creswell* the *Jesuit* assisting in it, as if the business were only to get a peace betwixt the two Crowns, but in truth (as *Rolston* himself confessed) to discover what preparations the *English* had for warr; to animate and confirm the *Romanists*, and by bribes and large promises to corrupt some great Lords about the Queen; in particular, the Earl of *Essex*.

* Eliz. An. 1598.

Neither was *Parsons* less active and zealous (when he saw that ill success had render'd the *Spaniard* more cold in the business) for the Pope's Designs upon *England*, whether it were for the Duke of *Parma*, or his younger Brother Cardinal *Fernese*, as the wise Cardinal *D'Ossat* doth in several places discover, and for which *Pasquin* at *Rome* gave him

him a rub; for proof of this, we need go no further than his own Countrey-man *John Colleton*, born in *Somerſetſhire*, of *Lincoln* Colledg in *Oxford*, and (as *Pits* thinks) once Fellow of it; a great *Romaniſt*, for which for ſome years he under-went impriſonment, was one of the greateſt eſteem amongſt them, having been not only an Aſſiſtant to two of their Arch-Prieſts, but in the vacancy ſupplied the place it ſelf, and by them called Arch-Deacon of *London*: This man, of ſuch credit and repute, tells us thus of Father *Parſons*.

——* *The Magiſtrates have in their hands, and* de facto *have ſhewed to ſome Priſoners at the time of their Examinations (for proof, and to exaggerate the Diſloyalties and Treaſons objected), one or more Letters, which they affirm to be Father* Parſons, *wherein his concurrence and furtherance to an Invaſion were expreſſed. Then the man's reſtleſs tampering in State-matters, being reported to have proffered and re-proffered the Crown of our Countrey to ſeveral Princes, now to one, now to another, as the meeting of matters and opportunities could moſt recommend and credit his words, and entertain the Perſonage with hopes thereof*, &c. * Juſt Defence, pag. 240, 241.

Neither is Father Parſons *holden only of our Magiſtrates for a Statiſt or Merchandizer of the Crown and Diadem (though this were enough to eſtrange and divorce us from having any connexion or partaking in ought with him): but his Travels and* Negotiations *this way, are become ſo notoriouſly known, that even* Paſquine *in* Rome *(as Intelligence is ſent us) ſpeaketh in this manner of him:*

> If there be any man that will buy the Kingdom of *England*, let him repair to a Merchant in a black ſquare Cap in the City, and he ſhall have a very good Penniworth thereof.

That this is the true Copy word for word, I cannot ſay; but rather the ſubſtance of it, or elſe only a Tranſlation, the Original of it being either in *Italian* or *Latin*, becauſe hung upon *Paſquin's* Buttock in the night time, by a *Roman* Gentleman, as * one telleth us, who giveth us another rendring of it, thus: * A.C. a Letter to his diſ-Jeſuited Kinſman, pag. 43.

> If there be any Citizen here in *Rome*, that is minded to purchaſe the Realm of *England*, let him repair to the *Rector* of the *Engliſh* Colledg here within the City, and he in *Jeſus* Name will afford him a good Penniworth.

Which of theſe two is the trueſt Tranſlation, I cannot tell; 'tis certain the ſenſe is the ſame: and it cannot be denied but that he was the moſt active man in carrying on the deſigns againſt *England*, for which he was in great repute and authority both with Pope and *Spaniard*; whereupon there were ſome thoughts of a *Cardinal's* Cap for him: To which purpoſe they tell us, that his Friends, *Holt* the Jeſuit, and Dr. *Thomas Worthington* (who alſo became a Jeſuit), drew up a formal Letter ſupplicative in the Name of the people of *England*, to the King of *Spain*, humbly beſeeching his Majeſty, that for the good of *England* he would earneſtly deal with the Pope that Father *Parſons* might be a *Cardinal*; affirming that to be the only means to unite the *Engliſh* hearts to his Majeſties Service and Intereſt. A little after, 1597, *Parſons* gets from *Spain* to *Rome*; where he is no ſooner arrived, but Cardinal *Baronius*, and another *Spaniſh* Cardinal, viſit him; and it is talked about, that *Parſons* is to be a Cardinal too. Of which they tell one ſtory: how he being adviſed by his Phyſicians to keep his ſtomach warm, ſent his Brother *George* for ſome Scarlet, intending to make it a Stomacher; his Brother's head being poſſeſt with *Robert's* advancement, went to the Merchants, and had carried into the Colledg a great deal of divers pieces of Scarlet, for the making of his Brothers Cardinals Robes; for ſo he gave out to all his acquaintants he met. Father *Parſons* wondring at the reaſon of ſo much Scarlet, but underſtanding the miſtake, was not a little vext and troubled, knowing what ſport would be made with it; ſo the better to conceal it, he diſmiſt the Merchants ſecretly out at a Back-door.

Goodlibets, p. 120, 121. The Diſcovery, pag. 61. A Copy of certain Diſcourſes, p. 127

Many more Stories might be told of Father *Parſons*, ſome accuſing him of Forgery, Cheating, Cozenage, Corrupting of Regiſters and Records, Robbing of Libraries, and many other ſuch like Crimes, which may be found in the Writings of the *Romiſh* Prieſts themſelves.

Dr. *James* his Jeſuits downfall.

Beſides thoſe Books mentioned by *Pits*, *Ribadeneira*, or *Alegambe*, he hath writ ſeveral others; as,

Leiceſter's Commonwealth, which was then by ſome jeeringly call'd *Green-Coat*, becauſe it was then commonly ſpread abroad in *Green* Covers. It was a Book full of railing: yet the Earl was bad enough.

A Memorial for Reformation; or a *Memorial* or *Remembrance for them that ſhall live when Catholique Religion ſhall be reſtored into* England. And this is its true Title, though ſome do commonly call it *The High Council of Reformation for* England, &c. It is a Book that *Parſons* ſaith he was almoſt twenty years in compiling. It was never printed, *Parſons* being very cautious of having of it ſeen; the deſign of it was, to find fault with former Laws and Governments, all which he undertook to alter and mend. Some *Romaniſts* have found fault with him, as if in it he deſigned to run down all other Orders, and to advance the *Jeſuits*. But *Parſons* undertakes to vindicate himſelf. In ſhort, ſomewhat to underſtand the Deſign, take the Diviſion of the Book thus:

Manifeſtation of folly, cap. 5.

This

This Book had Three Parts:

1. The whole Body of the Realm jointly, which conſiſteth of Ten Chapters.
2. The Clergy: containing
   - The Clergy in general. Then Biſhops, Prieſts, Religious men, Churches, Schools, and Univerſities particularly: having Seven Chapters.
3. The Temporality, or Laity, containing
   - Prince, with his Council.
   - Nobility and Gentry.
   - Commons, all of inferiot rank, as Husbandmen, Servants, *&c.*
   - Inns of Court, Law: containing Five Chapters.

He wrote it in the * *Engliſh* Tongue, as one ſaith; and if any where to be ſeen, probably in the *Engliſh* Colledg at *Rome*. And I ſuppoſe it is the ſame which * himſelf once quoteth with his *Latin* Title---*De Reformatione Eccleſiæ* Anglicanæ *per aliquot Capita*. He * ſeveral times mentions his Writings in *Certamen Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*; by which Book is meant *Concertatio Eccleſiæ Catholicæ in* Anglia: in which he concludes the Firſt Part: The Second Part was for the moſt part writ by *Gibbons* and *Fenn*; which was gathered together and publiſhed by *John Bridgman* a Jeſuit.

* *Lor. di Bazzo Bizzatrie Politiche*, pag. 27, 28.
* *Parſon's* Three Converſions of *Engl.* Part 3 Vol. 2. pag. 396.
* *Id.* Part. 3. Vol. 1. pag. 321, 351, 369

There is in *Baliol* Colledg-Library a thick Quarto Manuſcript, call'd,

Controverſiæ noſtri Temporis in Epitomen reductæ.

It was given to that Colledg by *John Bayly*, Doctor in Divinity, formerly Fellow of *Exeter* Colledg. There was alſo one *John Bayly* who ſucceeded *Chriſtopher Bagſhaw*, in his *Fellowſhip* of *Baliol* Colledg, 1582: but whether related to the former *Bayly*, I know not.

This Dr. *Bayly* was eldeſt Son to *Lewis Bayly*, Lord Biſhop of *Bangor*; ſthe Book, as much as I can gather by comparing, is all writ with *Parons* his own hand; and the Learned * Dr. *John Reynolds* ſaith *Parſons* was the Author of it.

* Cenſura lib. Apocryp. Prælect. 2, Coll. 22.

I have heard it alſo ſaid, that he wrote a little Book *De Sacra Scriptura*; and that it was in the foreſaid *Library*; but upon ſearch I find no ſuch thing there, and may ſuppoſe it a miſtake, the former *Manuſcript* at the beginning treating of that Subject.

He ſcarce put his Name to any of his Books, but for the moſt part inſignificant and impertinent Letters; ſometimes falſe Names, as

* W.C. Reply fol. 73. a.
* *Rob. Abbot* Antilog. fol. 14. a.

John Howlet, * *Perneus*, *Doleman*, and such like. And thus much for *Parsons*, whom (as good * Authority tells us) Pope *Clement* VIII. call'd *Knave*; the Jesuit *Fitzherbert*, looked upon as an *Exact Hypocrite*; the Secular Priests as the worst of *Villains*; and whose Doctrine and Actions against his own Soveraign and Countrey, were notoriously bad. In short,

He was born	1546 or 1547
Admitted Fellow of *Baliol* Colledg	1568
Was Master of Arts	1573
Left the Colledg	157½
Studied Law and Physick in *Italy*	1574
Admitted Jesuit at *Rome*	1575
Return'd into *England* with *Campion* but made haste out again	1580
Made Rector of the *English* Colledg at *Rome*	1587
Return'd from *Spain* to *Rome*, some say in hopes of a Cardinal's Cap	1597
Dyed at *Rome*, and is honour'd in the Cell with a long and noble Epitaph	1610

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

I. *The Gunpowder-Treason.*
II. *The Life of Father* Garnet; *with the story of his Straw.*

THE Narrative of this Conspiracy, commonly call'd the *Gunpowder-Treason*, being generally known, and related at large, as well by Forreigners, as Natives; I shall be the shorter in it. 1605.
The sum of it take thus:

A Club of *Romanists*, vext that a Toleration was not granted, resolved to resettle their Religion by the ruin of the King and Kingdom. To this end many Plots had been contrived against Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*. But they failing, a more desperate is pitch'd on, and this was, With one Blow to destroy King, Queen, Princes, Bishops, Nobles, and Commons, who were not of their Perswasion.

This is concluded feasible, by blowing up the *Parliament-House*, where they or their Representees meet. To this purpose *Piercy* hireth an House adjoining, intending by that means to undermine it; which Mine being stuft with Gunpowder and other Materials, would not fail of Execution. But first, they take an Oath of Secrecy in an House behind St. *Clements* Church without *Temple-Barr*.

The OATH.

You shall swear by the Blessed Trinity, and by the Sacrament you now purpose to receive, Never to disclose directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret, nor desist from the Execution thereof, until the rest shall give you leave.

This done, they went into a more private Chamber, heard *Mass*, and received the Sacrament from one *William Gerard*.

In short, To work they fall, and in some time had wrought under a little Entry to the Wall of the *Parliament-House*, under-propping it with Wood as they proceeded. But at last, occasion offering it self, they hired a *Convenient Cellar* just under the House, into which they conveyed Thirty six Barrels of Powder, over which they laid a Thousand Billets, and Five hundred Fagots, with some Stones and Iron Barrs.

Things thus fitted, they expect the day of the *Parliaments* sitting, which from time to time had been put off till the Fifth of *November*: In the mean time they consult how to seise on the Prince (*Henry*) if he should not be at the House. As for *Charles* Duke of *York* (after King *Charles* the Martyr) *Piercy* undertook to surprise him, whom with his Brother *Henry* they resolve to dispatch out of the World; yet the better to bring their Ends about, they thought good to center their hopes

hopes in one of the Royal Blood; and this must be the Lady *Elizabeth* (afterwards married to the *Palsgrave*), whom they would bring up, and marry according to their Interests; thinking thereby also to oblige many of the Nobility to their Cause, upon hopes of having her to Wife, and with her the Crown. She was now at *Comb*, the Lord *Harrington*'s House in *Warwick-shire*; where to secure her, they contrived a great Hunting-Match to be the Sixth of *November* on *Dunsmore-Heath*; under which pretence many *Romanists* would meet well Appointed, and surprise her by force.

As for a present supply of Moneys, Sir *Everard Digby* promised Fifteen hundred pounds, Mr. *Francis Tresham* Two thousand pounds, and *Piercy* all that he could get of the Earl of *Northumberland* (his Kinsman) his Rents, which was about Four thousand pounds. They also contrived how to keep the Slander of such a Villany from themselves and Religion; so determined to throw the Crime upon the *Puritans* (a sort of people bad enough of themselves, that we need not load them with other mens Faults) by declaring them to be the Traytors who blew up the Parliament.

To carry on which false report, they had framed a *Proclamation*, which they had got printed, and ready for publishing upon the Sign given, which they suppress, and burnt upon the discovery, though some of them by chance came to view, and were seen and read by Dr. *Parker* Dean of *Lincoln*, Sir *W. Ellis* Recorder of the said City, and other persons. And the better also to get the same Credit with the people, *Keys* (Brother-in-law to Mr. *Pickering*) had a few days before either borrowed or bought the swift Horse (well known in *London*, and thereabouts) of Mr. *Pickering* of *Tichmarch-grove* in *Northampton-shire* (a noted *Puritan*, whom they also designed to kill), upon which *Faux* (having fired the Match and Touchwood leading to the Train) was to escape, as they bore him in hand; but their design was to kill him at his taking Horse, for *Pickering*'s Man; which the people would easily believe, seeing the Horse, so well known to them; and the multitude once perswaded of this, would be more facil to joyn with them, under notion of doing Justice upon such supposed Traytors and Wretches.

They also consult how to keep the *Romish* Lords from going that day to Parliament, the better to strengthen their Cause by their preservation. But in the height of all their hopes and expectations, a discovery is made thus:

Some of them (supposed by *Monteagle* to be *Piercy*, but Bishop *Goodman* saith it was *Tresham* who wrote the Letter) having a great affection to the said Lord *Monteagle* (Son and Heir to the Lord *Morley*) had a mind to preserve him also from the intended slaughter. So one Evening a Letter sealed is delivered in the Street (the *Strand*) by an unknown Fellow, to one of the Lord's Foot-men, charging him to deliver it with care to his Lord. *Monteagle* opens it, finds it without Date or Subscription, writ with a very bad hand, and in a stile he knew not what to make of, thus:

* Anſ. to Sir *Ant. Weldons* Court of K. *James*, pag. 73 M.S.

My

My Lord,

OUT *of the love I bear to ſome of your Friends, I have a care of your* Preſervation; *therefore I would adviſe you, as you* tender *your* life, *to deviſe ſome excuſe to ſhift off your* attendance *this* Parliament. *For God and man have concurred to* puniſh *the wickedneſs of this time.*

And think not ſlightly of this Advertiſement, but retire *your ſelf into* your Countrey, *where you may* expect *the* Event *in* ſafety: *For though there be no* appearance *of any ſtir, yet, I ſay, they ſhall* receive *a* Terrible blow this Parliament, *and yet they ſhall not* ſee *who* hurts *them.*

This Counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the Danger *is* paſt, *as* ſoon *as you have* burn'd *this Letter; and I hope God will give you the Grace to make good uſe of it: To whoſe holy Protection I commend you.*

Monteagle wondred at the Letter and its delivery; and thinking it might relate to ſome miſchief, thought it his duty to make it known: ſo away he goeth to *White-Hall*, ſhews it to the Earl of *Salisbury*, then Secretary of State, who tells ſome other of the Privy-Council of it; and the King being returned from his Hunting at *Royſton*, they deliver it to Him.

His Majeſty, having ſeriouſly conſidered it, and all other circumſtances; concluded, that it might relate to ſome Deſign to blow up the Parliament; and in this jealouſie ordered the Rooms and Vaults about the Houſe to be ſearched; which was done the night before the Seſſions; when in the foreſaid *Cellar* under the *Lords-Houſe*, were found the Barrels of Powder, and at the door ſtanding *Guido Faux* booted and ſpurr'd, with a large *Dark-Lanthorn* (now to be ſeen in *Oxford* Library) with Matches, Tinder-Box, and other Materials for his Deſign.

Faux was preſently carried to Court and examined, where he appeared ſturdy and ſcornful, maintaining the Deſign to be lawful; That *James* was not his King, becauſe an Heretick; was ſorry that the Plot fail'd, and that he had not blown up the Houſe, with himſelf, and thoſe who were ſent to ſearch; affirming, That God would have had the Plot conceal'd, but it was the Devil who reveal'd it. At laſt, *Faux* himſelf confeſt all that he knew of the Treaſon. Thus far diſcovered, the King ſuſpecting ſome Commotions or Riſings, ſent with all ſpeed to prevent them by timely notice by *Lepton* and others. This was that Mr. *John Lepton* of *York-ſhire*, who rid ſo often betwixt *London* and *York* in one Week, *viz.* in *May* 1606; who though he won his Wager, yet was a Loſer, never getting his winnings.

Piercy, *Wright*, &c. who now lurked about *London* to expect the fatal Blow, informed of the diſcovery, take Horſe, making what haſte they can to their Companions, appointed to be at the Rendezvous on *Dunſmore*. In brief, according to their abilities they run into open Rebellion, but to their own Deſtruction. The High-Sheriffs, with other Magiſtrates and Loyal Subjects, ſo hunting them, that they were either all diſperſed, ſlain, or taken, and the chief of them afterwards condemned and executed.

Mr. *Osborn* (whoſe Obſervations and Principles are not always approvable) tells us, that *his Catholique Majeſty ſent an* Agent *on purpoſe* Memoires of K. James, pag. 38.

to congratulate King James *his great preſervation: A flattery ſo palpable, as the Pope could not refrain* laughing *in the face of Cardinal* D'Oſſat, *when he firſt told it him.* Thus he.

This Agent was *Don Juan de Mendoza*, who brought very rich Preſents with him. Whether it was *Flattery*, or Hypocriſie, or no, is no great matter; it being the cuſtom of Princes, though Enemies, to uſe ſuch Ceremonies. And I can tell him farther, That a little after the Plot, a ſudden report being ſpread that King *James* was kill'd; and Sir *Lewis Lewkenor*, then *Maſter* of the *Ceremonies*, being ſent by the Council to certifie the Forreign Miniſter, of the King's ſafety and health, *Don Pedro de Cunigo*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *London*, ſeemed almoſt mad for joy; and for the good News, preſented Sir *Lewis* with a great Gold Chain.

The *Legendiaries* will tell us of ſeveral men ſpeaking after their heads were cut off; and *Turrianus* the Jeſuit will make *Clemens*, ſeveral years after he knew that St *James* was dead, yet to write an Epiſtle of Inſtructions to the ſaid St. *James:* And *Osborn* here doth much follow the ſame wonders, by telling us that this ſtory is teſtified by Cardinal *D'oſſat*, whereas that Cardinal was dead above a year before the Powder-Plot hapned. Another miſtake he hath, ſaying, That the Pope *laught* at the *Flattery*; whereas Cardinal * *Perron* (who was the man that told the Pope of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſy for *England*) ſaith, his Holineſs was diſpleaſed at the Hypocriſie.

* Les Ambaſſades & Negotiations, par *Caſar Ligny*, l. 3. p. 450

But to return: What was the extent of this Treaſon, and how many were aſſiſtants to it, is difficult to diſcover. Certain it is, that ſome of the Nobility were ſuſpected, impriſoned, or fined, or call'd in queſtion for not coming up at that time to Parliament.

About this time they ſent over Sir *Edmond Baynham* to Pope *Pius* V. And Father *Parſons* Rector of the *Engliſh* Colledg there, orders the Students to pray---*For the Intention of their Father Rector*; which made ſome of them wonder what could be the meaning of ſuch an unuſual Prayer, not knowing what his Intention was. But being afterwards informed of the diſcovery of the Plot, Sixteen of them (abhorring ſuch jugling and bloody Deſigns) forſook the Colledg, ſlipt into *France*, ſome of them turning to the Church of *England*, whither they came.

Guido Faux himſelf had been alſo with the Pope, and conſulted with the aforeſaid *Parſons*; and it is affirmed by the voluntary Confeſſion of a Jeſuit, That at this time there were three Bulls procured from the Pope, and ready upon this occaſion; and ſhould have been publiſhed, had the Powder done the intended Execution; but that failing, they were ſuppreſt.

Vid. Bp. *Andrews* Reſponſ. ad Apol. *Bellarmini*, c. 5. pag. 113.

In the *Netherlands*, *Hugh Owen* (an *Engliſh* Traitor) was made acquainted with it, highly commending the Contrivance; and ſo did *William Baldwin*, the Legier Jeſuit in *Flanders*, who ſome years afterwards was apprehended at *Baſil*, in *Switzerland*, as he was in diſguiſe ſtealing into *Italy*. He was ſent into *England*, where he laid ſome years in the Tower, and at laſt was delivered at the deſire of *Gondemar* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, whoſe Cunning did ſometimes out-maſter the Court-Policy. As for *Baldwin*, he dyed at *Omers* in *September*, 1632.

About this time in *Spain*, lived as Legier for their Cauſe, *Arthur Creſwell*; who after his turning Jeſuit, call'd himſelf *Joſeph Creſwell*, the only man, as Sir *Edward Coke* ſaid, he ever heard of to change his Chriſtian

Christian Name: he was informed of the Powder-Plot, and liked it so well, that he came into * *England* at this time to act (as 'tis said) his part in this glorious Action; but he was so wise as to haste back again for his own safety; and dyed afterwards in grief and discontent, at *Gant*, 1623; having for many years endeavoured the disturbance of the Kingdom.

* *Tho. Spencer's* Hist. of the Gunpowder Treason, p. 72, 73.

As for *Portugal*, *Thomas Robinson* (who belonged to the *English* Covent at *Lisbon*) affords us this Observation. ——*Henry Flood*, a Jesuit, who afterwards lurked in *England* as chief Agent for the transporting of *Nunns* to *Bruxels*, *Graveling*, *Lisbon*, or any other place--- *This* Flood *caused the Jesuits at* Lisbon *to spend a great deal of Money on Powder on a Festival-day, a little before the* Powder-Treason *in* England *should have been effected, thereby to make experience of the force thereof; and also perswaded one* John Haw *(a Merchant, whom he had perverted) and divers other Catholicks, to go over into* England, *and to expect their Redemption there (as he calls it) a while.*

Anatomy of the *Eng.* Nun. at *Lisb.* p. 3. Margin.

How long this Conspiracy had been on the Anvil, is hard to say. Mr. *Cambden* layeth the foundation of it on the Popes *Breves* (1600) that were sent over to exclude King *James*, or any other that should not maintain the *Roman* Religion. And *Catesby* himself laid the greatest force and confirmation upon them. For when in conference Father *Garnet* seem'd to desire that the Pope's consent might be obtain'd; *Catesby* answered, That he took that as granted by the Pope in his *Bulls* or *Breves* before: *for* (said he) *if it were not lawful to receive or repell him, the said* Bulls *or* Breves *do import; then is it lawful also to expel or cast him out.*

And it appears by the Confessions of *Faux* and *Thomas Winter*, that in the first year of King *James*, 1603, the Plot was more fully agreed on, and the blowing up of the Parliament-House by Powder, concluded; from which time, till its discovery, they continually had their Agitators and Councils to promote the Cause, and carry on the Work, with all vigour and secresie.

What number of them were engaged in it in *England*, I know not; nor did there appear above an hundred in a Body: but that others had some hints or notice of it, is more than probable. And it was observed, that that very morning (viz. *November* V.) the *Romanists* at *Rowington* went to *Warwick* and rang the Bells. And the same Night *Grant*, with some others, went to the Stable of *Warwick*-Castle, took away the Horses thence, rid two miles off to *Norbrook* (*Grant's* House) where *Rockwood's* Wife, *Morgan's* Wife, with some others of the same stamp met, to rejoyce with them for the downfall of Heresie; encouraging their Husbands to go on, encrease their Forces, and fight it out to the last.

Nor need we suppose, that their Priests and Jesuits in *England* were idle in this grand Affair, which had been so long in hammering amongst them. We meet with *Hammond* the Jesuit very active, not only encouraging them to Cruelty, but also after it was discovered to confess and absolve at one time about Twenty of the Rebels at *Robert Winter's* House.

Greenwell (alias *Tesmond*) another Jesuit, was so zealous in this holy Cause, that when he knew the Plot was known, he call'd Father *Hall* a *Flegmatick Fellow*, because he thought him not active enough to advance the Rebellion; and in this fury hurried himself down into

Lancaſhire, to ſee what troubles he would raiſe there, by falſly declaing as he went along, That there was a deſign to cut all the throats of the *Romaniſts*.

Yet was the ſaid Father *Hall* (alias *Oldcorne*) a Jeſuit eager enough for the Plot, encouraging Mr. *Littleton* with the juſtneſs of the Deſign, however the Event was: Inſtancing, how the *Turks* ſometimes beat the *Chriſtians*; and that the Eleven Tribes of *Iſrael* were twice overcome, though God himſelf had commanded them to go and fight againſt *Benjamin*. What need we trouble our ſelves with Father *Thomſon* the Jeſuit, who uſed to vapour to his Scholars at *Rome*, how oft his ſhirt had been wet with digging under the Parliament-Houſe; and other ſuch like ſtories, which might be endleſs?

Rich. Carpenter's Sermon, Novemb. 5. 1662, pag. 11

However, there are ſome *Romaniſts* would gladly have the world believe all this to be but a meer cheat, only to be a Trick of *Salisbury* the then Secretary; and for proof, I have had the patience and pleaſure to hear a ſtory very gravely told, How one lurking under the Council-Table, (and upon what jealouſie came he there?) conceal'd by the long Carpet, heard much of the Contrivance. A Tale ſo ridiculous, that to endeavour its confutation, would argue one more impertinent than the Tale-teller.

But, though this ſtory might be falſe, yet will they have *Cecyl* to be the Plotter, and to draw theſe *Romaniſts* into it; as if (ſuppoſing this were true) they were not guilty, and Traytors. Can you deny but that they themſelves thought the Plot lawful and juſt? That accordingly they really intended it? And would have done it, if not prevented? If *Cecyl* occaſioned it, he muſt uſe ſome Means and Inſtruments; and who and what they were, is a wonder that they were not diſcovered and known before now: Thoſe who were Executed, accuſed no body; and as the Poet ſaith well,

Hudibras, part 2. Cant. 1.

——He that hangs, or beats out's Brains,
The Devil's in him if he feigns.

If this were a Cheat, and known ſo to be, would not Father *Parſons* and others have vapoured with it all the World over? Would they have been ſilent in the matter? Or would they have concealed any thing that would have vindicated themſelves, and expoſed and ſhamed the Church of *England*? Were they ſuch Friends to us, and ſuch Enemies to their own Credit, Cauſe, and Reputation?

But on the contrary, Why doth * *Parſons*, as if aſhamed at it, ſeem troubled at the very naming of it, as it were, deſiring to hear no more of it? Why doth *Will. Warmington*, an honeſt Prieſt, confeſs, That * *none therein were culpable, but only Jeſuits and Catholicks.*

* Judgment of a Cath. concerning the Oath of Alleg. Parag. 1. §. 10.
* A Moderate Defence, p. 7.

If the Plot was laid and known before, Why doth *Spondanus* ſay, That the King's Preſervation was * *miraculous*? And why doth a great Jeſuit now confeſs, That the diſcovery of the Plot was very [a] *wonderful.*

* An. 1605, §. 8. *Diviniſus evaſit.*
[a] *Patefactis mirabeliter eorum Conſiliis.* Briet. *An.* 1605.

But laſtly, Why do ſeveral of them juſtifie the Powder-Plot? [b] *Coquæus* is ſo favourble to the Plotters, that he alloweth them a good place in Heaven; and yet we muſt not queſtion but that King *James* is tormented in Hell? Hath there not been publikely printed Apologies for the Fact, and thoſe who ſuffered in it, declared [c] *Martyrs*? Did not

[b] *Examen. Præfat.* p. 43.
[c] *Iſ. Caſaubon* Epiſt. 619.

not **John Grant*, one of the Traytors, declare at his Execution, That he thought the Fact was so far from being sinful, that he rather judged it to be meritorious, and enough to blot out or satisfie for all his former offences?

* *Id.* Epist. 624. *Front. Ducæo.*

But enough of this; only by the by we are told, That the Heads of *Catesby* and *Piercy* were set over the *House of Lords*, but were afterward (as 'tis said) removed, and others set in their places. And a Learned and Honest Pen tells us thus ——— **I cannot leave unobserved, That in the height of the late Tyranny, two Heads of the Gunpowder-Traytors that were set up upon the* House of Lords, *were taken down, not by the high Winds, but by the same Zeal which plotted that Treason, and with the* leave *of Traytors of another Feather. We may hear in time, that those holy Reliques are shrined up in Gold, and are working Miracles.* To this may be added, That the * *Romanists* confess themselves, that *Catesby*, *Tresham*, *T. Winter*, the two *Wrights*, and *Grant*, were in *Essex* his Rebellion. That *Piercy* gave the Pistol to his Master the old Earl of *Northumberland* in the *Tower*; as also, that when they drew up a *Petition* to the *Parliament* for Favour, or a Toleration, Who should be the * Presenters of it, but Sir *Francis Hastings*, and Sir *Richard Knightly*, two noted *Puritans*? Whereby it seems, that these two Enemies can joyn together against the Church of *England*. But now it is not amiss to say something concerning Father *Garnet*, who made the greatest noise in this Plot.

Osborn's Mem. of K. *James*, p. 31.

* *Peter du Moulin*, Vindication of the sincerity of the Protestant Relig. pag. 64.

* Their Protestants Plea and Petition for Priests and Papists, p. 58.

* *Id.* pag. 70.

Sect. II.

The Life of Father Garnet; *with the ſtory of his Straw.*

Henry Garnet was born in *Nottinghamſhire*, 1555, of Gentile Parents; was ſent to *Wincheſter* School, where he was under the Tuition of the Learned *Thomas Bilſon*, then School-Maſter there, and afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

In his Youth he was as bad as his Neighbours, yet not behind in Learning; was one of the chief *Præpoſitors* of the School; in which place he began to be a young Conſpirator, having framed a cruel Plot to fall upon the School-Maſter, and cut off his right hand. To which might be added his filthy *Sodomy*, with which he baſely abuſed five or ſix of the handſomeſt Scholars. And perceiving that theſe his Crimes would hinder his promotion to *New-Colledg* in *Oxford* (from which School that Noble Foundation is ſupplied) he went to *London*, and obtained to be Corrector of the *Common-Law* Preſs, under Mr. *Tottle* the Printer.

Vid. *Rob. Abbot* (Biſhop of *Salisbury*) Antilog. in Epiſt. ad Lectorem.

Here he ſtaid not long, going to *Rome*, where he turn'd Jeſuit 1575. In this having employed himſelf ſome years, he return'd to *England* 1586, where he was very active againſt his Queen and Countrey, as in the *Spaniſh* Invaſion, and other ſuch like Conſpiracies; and the better to ſecure himſelf, alter'd his Name as opportunity ſerved, ſometimes lurking under theſe ſeveral Names:

Walley. Darcy. Roberts. Farmer. Philips.

Very zealous he was in hindring the coming of King *James* to the *Engliſh* Crown; and his Example was a great encouragement to the *Romaniſts*, he being the Provincial or Head of the Jeſuits in *England*. The better to prevent King *James* his Succeſſion, he had two *Bulls* or *Breves* lying by him from the Pope, to publiſh as occaſion ſerved. And for a farther aſſiſtance, he ſent *Thomas Winter* into *Spain*, 1601; with whom went alſo *Greenwell*, alias *Teſmond* the Jeſuit. Theſe, according to their Inſtructions, reſort to Father *Creſwell*, the Legier Jeſuit there, who conducted them to *Don Pedro Franceſe*, Secretary of State; and alſo to the Duke of *Lerma*, the chief Favourite; where they deſire, that a *Spaniſh* Army might preſently be ſent into *England*, and they ſhould not want aid from the *Romaniſts* in that Iſland. The Requeſt is conſented to, the King promiſing to employ in it 100000 Crowns; wiſhing them in the mean time to give him notice of the Queen's death when it ſhould happen.

Whilſt theſe Deſigns are carrying on, Queen *Elizabeth* dyed, and King *James* ſucceeded in the Throne, who granted a general and full pardon for all former Treaſons, to all who would take them out under the

the Great Seal; and amongſt the reſt *Garnet* alſo took out one under the Name of

Henry Garnet of *London*, Gentleman.

He, *Catesby*, and *Treſham*, had a little before employed *Chriſtopher Wright* into *Spain*, to give advertiſement of the Queen's death, and to continue their former Negotiation with *Winter*. But now perceiving the *Spaniſh* King cold in the buſineſs [he well conſidering the peaceable entrance of King *James*, how firmly he was ſetled in the Throne, how often he had undertaken againſt *England*, but without ſucceſs; and now how his Treaſures were much exhauſted] *Catesby* therefore thinks nothing like ſome luſty Plot at home; and at laſt this Gunpowder-Treaſon is concluded on, which if it took effect, might raiſe ſuch Troubles and Garboils in *England*, that amongſt the ſeveral Intereſts, the *Romaniſts* (who would ſtick together) might play their own Games well, and by aſſiſtance from beyond Seas, ſecure their Cauſe, if not command the Crown.

In this, one ſcruple ſeem'd to ſtick by *Catesby*; for conſidering that at this general blowing up, ſome *Romaniſts* could not be kept from that ſlaughter; it being impoſſible to keep all they wiſh'd well to, from going to the Parliament-Houſe, without probability of a diſcovery. Upon this doubt, *Catesby* repaireth to *Garnet*, propounds unto him the caſe, asking, Whether for the good and promotion of the Catholique Cauſe againſt Hereticks (the neceſſity of time, and occaſion ſo requiring it) it be lawful or no amongſt many *Nocents* to deſtroy and take away ſome *Innocents* alſo?

To this *Garnet* anſwers affirmatively; declaring, That if the advantage were greater to the Catholick part, by taking away ſome *Innocents* together with many *Nocents*, then doubtleſs it ſhould be lawful to kill and deſtroy them all; as we muſt not forbear the ſtorming of a Town, though ſome Friends be in it, who with the Enemy might be ſlain.

Now they are of opinion, That the Deſign is ſo ſecret, that there is no probability of its diſcovery; yet *Garnet* ſeem'd to wiſh, that the Pope's Conſent were had; but *Catesby* is of opinion, that the will of the Pope is ſufficiently manifeſt by his former *Bulls* poſitively againſt King *James* his Government or Rule.

In *May* 1605, fell out certain Broils in *Wales* by the *Romaniſts*.

In *June* doth *Greenwell* the Jeſuit conſult at large with *Garnet* about the Treaſon; but this, as he pleaded, was under the diſguiſe of *Confeſſion*. Now alſo was held a great Conſultation or Conference between *Garnet*, *Catesby*, and *Treſham*, concerning the ſtrength of the *Romaniſts* in *England*, that they might inform the Pope of it.

In *Auguſt*, *Garnet* ſent Sir *Edmund Baynam* to the Pope (whom he * acquainted with the Powder-Plot) under the vizard of deſiring his Holineſs to command all *Engliſh Romaniſts* (as they ſay) to ceaſe from any farther Commotions (as they * gave out in *Babington's* Treaſon), knowing that ſuch little troubles or endeavours would but hinder their Deſign, now wholly truſting to the Powder-Blow, which would be paſt before *Baynham* could end his buſineſs at *Rome*, and return the Pope's Anſwer; and if diſcovered, this might beſpeak *Garnet* of a a peaceable humour.

* *Abbot* Antilog. fol. 176. b

* *Camden E.* liz. An. 1586.

In

In *September*, Pilgrimages and Devotions are appointed to be at Saint *Winifrides* Well in *Flintſhire* in *Wales*; under which pretence their Prayers, Meetings, and Conſultations, might advance the Cauſe.

In *October* doth *Garnet* meet the reſt of the Plotters in *Warwick-ſhire* at *Coughton*, bordering upon *Worceſter-ſhire*; to which place they reſorted from all Counties.

In *November* the firſt, *Garnet* prayed openly for good ſucceſs; and, amongſt other Expreſſions, uſed this part of an Hymn:

Gentem auferte perfidam
Credentium de finibus;
Ut Chriſto *laudes debitas*
Perſolvamus alacriter.

From us, this Faithleſs people, Lord, deſtroy;
That we due praiſe may give to Thee with joy.

* L. 10. §. 55. * Pag. 13. *Speed**, and from him * *Spencer*, tell us, That theſe Verſes were made by *Garnet*; but by a great miſtake; for they are part of an old Hymn formerly uſed ſometimes in the Church on *All-Saints* day; but then eſpecially aiming at the * *Turks* and *Saracens*; but here we need not queſtion, ſtrongly deſigned againſt the Church of *England*; which it may be was the occaſion that *Garnet* did afterwards upon more ſerious thoughts fear, that this *Hymn* would be objected againſt him. But of this I make no great matter, ſeeing he prayed but according to his Church, and may carry a good, as well as a bad ſenſe; yet beſides this, he exhorted them to, and pray'd for a good ſucceſs.

* Jud. Clichton, *Elucidatorium, Eccleſ.* l. 1. fol. 72, 73.

Others of them were taught thus to pray for the downfall of Hereſie, and the proſperity of their Deſigns, alluding to the working in the *Myne*, and the *blowing* up of the Houſe:

Proſper, Lord, their pains that labour in thy Cauſe day and night; Let Hereſie vaniſh like ſmoak: Let the memory of it periſh with a Crack, like the ruin and fall of a broken Houſe.

On the ſixth of *November*, early in the morning, *Catesby* and his Confederates being met together, and perceiving all diſcovered, reſolved to make the beſt of a bad Market, ſent a Letter to *Garnet*, (then ready at *Coulton* near unto them) earneſtly entreating his help and aſſiſtance for the riſing of *Wales*, and the perſwading as many as he could into Arms. *Greenwell* the Jeſuit was with him; and ſo valiant for the Cauſe, that he poſted down into *Lancaſhire*, to ſtir up as many as he could. But *Garnet* ſeeing all diſcovered, his heart now fail'd him, and ſo conſults his own ſecurity.

But a little after, *Garnet*, and *Oldcorn* the Jeſuit, were apprehended in Mr. *Abington*'s Houſe at *Henlip* in *Worceſter-ſhire*, being immured and cloſed up in a ſtack of Chimneys: the way or paſſage into the Cave or Vault where they lay, was an upper Room, by taking up the half-pace before the Hearth, whoſe wooden border was made like a Trap-door, to pluck up and down, and then the Bricks were laid in their Courſes and Order again.

* 28. *March*, 1606. * 3. of *May*. *Garnet* was* Tryed, Condemned at *Guild-Hall* in *London*, and executed * at the weſt end of St. *Paul*'s Church-yard; where he appeared in

in a Troubled and an Amazed Condition, ſtill prying and peeping about for a Pardon; though *Henry Mountague*, Recorder of the City, pitying his perplexedneſs, aſſured him there would be none granted. And thus dyed *Henry Garnet*, Provincial of the Jeſuits; for whoſe Life * one tells us, that the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador offered Thirty thouſand *Florences*.

* *Gualt.* Chronicorum. Vol. 4. pag. 1190.

The Jeſuits have taken a great deal of pains and confidence in behalf of this their Brother *Garnet*, whom they will have to dye a Saint and Martyr, what ever come of it; for they will not allow of one bad man to have been of their Order: I think *Alegambe* commendeth all his Bead-Roll (but Intereſt hath made it a duty for ſuch Catalogue-Makers to flatter and applaud the moſt wicked); but be as bad as they will, they tell us, that it is impoſſible for a * Jeſuit to be an Heretick.

* ---Jungantur in unum, dies cum nocte, tenebræ cum Luce, calidum cum frigido, ſanitas cum morbo, vita cum morte & erit tum ſpes aliqua, poſſe in caput Jeſuitæ Hæreſin cadere. Vid. Epiſt. *Iſ. Caſaubon*, viz. Epiſt. 624. ad *Front. Duc.*

Amongſt the reſt of the Learned Pen-men who undertook to teſtifie to the world the Treaſons of *Garnet* and his Accomplices, was the famed *French-man*, *Iſaac Caſaubon*, more eſpecially in an * *Epiſtle*, or rather Book, to *Fronton Le Duc*, a Jeſuit, and his old Friend; for the better accompliſhing his Deſign, he had delivered to him all the * Original Writing, Tryals, and Letters of *Garnet*. This action of *Caſaubon* ſo netled that Order, that they drew their whole force of Invention and Malice againſt him; endeavouring by their lyes and ſlanders not only to render him odious to the whole world, but his Father and whole Family (we may except his Son *John*, becauſe he turn'd a *Capuchin*): nay, ſo zealouſly indiſcreet were ſome againſt him, that they * declared him to be no Scholar, a Fellow of no Judgment; that he could not write *Latin*, or ſcarce underſtand it; which was enough to teſtifie the truth of all the reſt: yet with ſuch Indignities *Iſaac* would ſometimes be forced to a paſſion.

* Epiſt. 624.

* Epiſt. 620.

* Epiſt. 645, 679.

Thoſe who have undertaken the juſtification of this *Garnet*, have thought to arm themſelves, and ſecure him with the power and virtue of theſe following Arguments:

1. His Denials.
2. The Honeſty of Æquivocation.
3. The Bond of Auricular Confeſſion.
4. His Sanctity, or Saintſhip, which is confirm'd by
5. His Miracle of the *Straw*.

As for his *Denials*, they are ſo far from quitting him from the crime, that they rather render him the greater Maletactor, it profeſt Lyes and Perjury can advance a man's guilt. 'Tis true, he was bold to a wonder, in proteſting and calling Heaven and Earth to witneſs his Innocency; but at laſt when he ſaw ſuch exact Proof and Teſtimony againſt him, he confeſt his *Diſſimulation*; pleading, That he thought they could not have produced ſuch clear proofs againſt him.

The Jeſuits being not a little offended that he ſhould any way confeſs himſelf guilty, which with ſome might be a blot both to himſelf, and their Order; *Garnet*, to vindicate himſelf to them, and to ſhew the folly of denying any longer, thus writes to them———

——*What ſhould I do? Firſt, all the reſt of the Confederates have accuſed me. Secondly,* Catesby *always made uſe of my Authority amongſt them, whereby moſt of them were perſwaded to have a good opinion of the Interpriſe; ſo that all knew I was in it. Thirdly, Two (ſet on purpoſe) heard me diſcourſe the whole buſineſs with* Oldcorn, *and to tell him how I thought to anſwer to all Objections. Fourthly, My Letters writ with the Juyce of Oranges to* * *Mrs.* Ann, *are (I know not how) faln into their hands, whereby I plainly enough diſcovered my knowledg of it.*

* *Anne Vaux.*

Tort. Torti, pag. 286.

For all his ſtrong denials at firſt, this is enough to prove him guilty: And beſides, if he were not ſo, Why did he himſelf confeſs---*That he had often vowed, both by words and writing, to the Lay-Conſpirators, That he would never diſcover or betray any of them?* To this might be added, how he did acknowledg his offence, wiſhing it were *in his power to undo that which was done; and that if the whole world were his, he would willingly give it to quit himſelf from the guilt of Treaſon, which now troubled his Conſcience.* He alſo writ to his Favourite, Mrs. *Vaux*, his ſorrow that he could not dye for Religion, but for Treaſon. And many more Inſtances might be collected out of his Tryal; but this is enough to ſatisfie an honeſt man.

Yet he was very willing and earneſt to vindicate and clear himſelf from this Treaſon; in which he made a great deal of work with the Trick of *Equivocation*, of which he was a cunning and exquiſite Maſter, and as confident as ever man was: for this, one inſtance or two may ſerve.

Epiſt. If. Coſenb. ad Front Dut.

Being asked, Whether he had any diſcourſe with the Jeſuit *Oldcorn* ſince his Impriſonment? *Garnet* ſwearing upon his *Salvation*, with many other horrid Imprecations, denied again and again that he had any diſcourſe. Which being preſently proved againſt him, he confeſt it, begg'd pardon, affirming that his former Denial was by virtue of *Equivocation.*

Another time being asked, Whether he did well to ſwear upon the *Holy Evangeliſt*, That he had neither writ or ſent to the Jeſuit *Teſmond*, which he knew to be falſe? He replied, That he ſware ſo lawfully enough, becauſe then he did not think that his Letters were intercepted, and ſo they could not have diſproved him.

A little before the Queen's death, when they were buſie in their Plots to keep out King *James*; in vindication of this Jugling Faculty, there was compoſed a little Book entituled,

A TREATISE of EQUIVOCATION.

MS. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

But this Title it ſeems not pleaſing Father *Garnet*, he with his own hand had daſh'd it out, and beſtowed upon it this Name, writ alſo with his own hand:

A Treatiſe againſt Lying, and Fraudulent Diſſimulation.

Cap. 8. pag. 43, 44.

Yet for all this goodly and ſpecious ſhew of honeſty, it alloweth all manner of Diſſimulation, and to ſwear poſitive untruths, by their Law of *Directing the Intention.* As for example; In time of Plague a man cometh to *Coventry*; at the Gates, by the Officers is examined upon his *Oath, Whether he came from* London, *or no?* The Traveller, though he did directly come from *London*, yet may ſwear poſitively, That he did not

not come from *London*. His reaſon is, Becauſe he knoweth himſelf not infected to endanger *Coventry* by his entrance, which he ſuppoſed anſwer'd to the final intent of the Demand; although their immediate Intention were to know from him upon his *Oath*, only whether he came from *London* or no. And this man (ſaith the Book) the very Light of Nature would clear from Perjury. And he tells us of one Mr. *Southwell* who taught a yonng Gentlewoman, that if ſhe were examin'd, *If the ſaid* Southwell *were at her Father's Houſe?* She might ſwear, No; with this intention to her ſelf, That he was not there, ſo that ſhe was bound to tell them. At the end of this Book I find *Blackwell* their *Arch-Prieſt* of *England*, thus commend and allow it under his own hand: Pag. 39.

Tractatus iſte valde Doctus & vere Pius & Catholicus eſt. Certe Sa Scripturarum, Patrum, Doctorum, Scholaſticorum, Canoniſtarum *& Optimarum Rationum præſidiis pleniſſime firmat æquitatem* Equivocationis. *Ideoq; dignisſimus eſt qui typis propagetur ad Conſolationem afflictorum* Catholicorum, *& omnium piorum Inſtructionem.*

Ita Cenſeo

GEORGIUS BLACKWELLUS
Archipresbyter *Angliæ*, &
Protonotarius Apoſtolicus.

By this it ſeemeth it was intended for the Preſs; but, it may be, prevented by its ſeiſure; which was thus, as appears by the Teſtimony of Sir *Edward Coke*, under his own hand.

This Book, containing Sixty one Pages, I found in a Chamber in the Inner-Temple, *wherein Sir* Thomas Treſham *uſed to lye, and which he obtain'd for his two younger Sons.*

This *5th* of *December*
1605. *EDW. COKE.*

I have been the more punctual in tranſcribing theſe Teſtimonies from the Original Manuſcript, becauſe it hath been ſaid that there was never any ſuch Book. The Author of it is ſuppoſed to be Mr. *Francis Treſham* of *Northamptonſhire*, one very active in this Powder-Treaſon; but he * died of the Stranguary in the *Tower* of *London*, before his Tryal; yet his Head cut off, was ſet with the reſt on *London-Bridg*. This *Treſham* alſo compoſed another Book (not yet printed) which was alſo ſeiz'd on; it was call'd, * Novemb. 20.

De Officio Principis Chriſtiani.

In which he maintains the lawfulneſs of * depoſing Kings, an obſtinate Heretick having no right to Dominion. * Si Princeps Hæreticus ſit, & obſtinate ac pertinaciter intolerabilis, ſummi Paſtoris divina poteſtate deponatur & aliud caput conſtituatur, cui ſubditi ſe jungant, & legitimo Ordine & Authoritate Tyrannidem amoveant. Princeps indulgendo Hæreticis non ſolum Deum offendit, ſed perdit & Regnum & gentem. *De Officio Principis*, Cap. 5.

As for this knack of *Equivocation*, and how boldly they will allow themſelves to ſwear poſitive Untruths and Falſhoods, I ſhall refer you to Dr.* *Abbot*, afterwards Biſhop of *Salisbury*.

* Antilog. fol. 12.

But the Jeſuits, in *Garnet*'s Vindication, go a little farther, and will grant that he knew of the Treaſon; yet it being only told him in *Confeſſion*, he could not with a ſafe Conſcience diſcover it.

As for the Antiquity and Convenience of *Confeſſion*, I am no way concerned in at this time. And though I have a reverend eſteem both for it and its ſecreſie; yet I may think it had been more prudence for ſome rather to have ſpared than divulged ſome of their lofty and tow'ring Expreſſions, which might occaſion as much ill as good; as thoſe who are ſo poſitive to affirm, That it is not to be* diſcovered or reveal'd, though it were for the preſervation of the whole Kingdom or Countrey; though it were concerning the killing of the King. Nay, that it were better to have all the Kings murdered, than the Confeſſion reveal'd; which ſhould not be done, though it were to preſerve *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf.

* Vid. *Rob. Abbot*, Antilog, cap. 3. *Is. Caſaub.* Epiſt. ad *Front. Ducæum*, *Barth. Fum.* ſumma aurea, v. *Confeſſor.* §. 5. *Tho. Lans*, Conſult. *Germ.* p. 375.

Delrio the Jeſuit hath a paſſage ſo pat to the buſineſs, that I could almoſt be perſwaded that he was acquainted with the Treaſon, and ſo make the Plot a year or two older than ſome will grant; for he hath put the Caſe and Story ſo exactly, as if he publiſhed it before to give them the greater encouragement under the virtue and protection of Confeſſion. For, ſaith he, Suppoſe one in *Confeſſion* to a Prieſt, ſhould declare, That he or ſome other had ſo laid Gunpowder under ſuch a place, that (if not prevented) the Houſe would be blown up, the King deſtroyed, and the reſt in like danger; yet, ſaith *Delrio*, the Prieſt is not obliged to diſcover this.

Diſquiſit. Magic. Tom. 3. l. 6. c. 1. §. 3. p. 131.

His Trial.

Garnet himſelf declared, That if one *confeſt* to him, That the next day he intended to ſtab the King, yet he ſhould conceal it: And upon this ground it is, that * *Bellarmine* complaineth that *Garnet* was executed becauſe he would not reveal that, which with a ſafe Conſcience he could not do; which he ſaith a little* after, is never to be revealed upon what account ſoever.

* *Mat. Tort.* pag. 65.

* *Id.* pag. 94.

And *Emanuel Sa* hath a Trick to clear the Prieſt, if the Magiſtrates or any other ſhould preſs him hard to reveal what he knew, and that is this: *The* * Confeſſor (ſaith he) *may* ſwear *that he knew nothing of it, nor heard any ſuch thing in the* Confeſſion----Underſtanding, That *he did not ſo hear it, as to tell it*----And upon the ſame mental Reſervation may the *Penitent* alſo *ſwear*, That *he mentioned no ſuch thing in his Confeſſion*.

* Poteſt *Confeſſor* jurare ſe nihil ſcire, imo nihil ſe audiſſe tale in Confeſſione, ſubintelligendo ſic, Ut dicere teneatur: eodem modo poteſt *Pœnitens* jurare, ſe nihil aut nihil tale dixiſſe in Confeſſione *Em. Sa.* Aphoriſm. V. *Confeſſor* §. 23.

As for *Garnet*, what hath formerly been ſaid, doth ſufficiently teſtifie, That he knew of it, not by Auricular Confeſſion, but that he was alſo a ſtirring and active Agent in it; and *Garnet* did afterwards declare, That he was ſorry that he did not* reveal it.

* *Abbot.* Antilog. fol. 110, 196.

But if we ſhould grant (though an untruth), that *Garnet* knew nothing of it, but what was diſcovered to him by way of *Confeſſion*; yet will he not preſerve his Credit, nor ſave himſelf from being a Traytor. Their **Canon-Law* ſaith, that if any reveal a Confeſſion, he ſhall be degraded from his Prieſthood, and to live all his life after cloſe up in a Monaſtery. Now whether is better, for one man to undergo this puniſh-

* Decret. Greg. de Pœnit. & Remiſ. c. *Omnis utriuſq;*

puniſhment, or a Kingdom to be ruined, and the King, Princes, Biſhops, Nobles, and Commons, to be deſtroyed?

But again, the *Romaniſts* themſelves declare, That ſometimes a *Confeſſion* may be * revealed. And their great Cardinal * *Perron*, though he will not have the *Confeſſor* to name the Party or Penitent, yet upon ſuch eminent dangers he would have him, by ſome means or other, to give notice of the intended Villany, thereby to prevent the miſchief; and if *Garnet* had done this, he might have ſhewed himſelf a good Subject, which is a great part of a good Chriſtian.

* Vid. *Rob. Abbot*, Antilog. fol. 186, 187.
* Republique 653.

And laſtly, That *Confeſſions* have been revealed upon ſuch great dangers, Hiſtory will afford us ſome Examples: * *Thuanus* tells us, That *Charles*, Son to *Philip* II. King of *Spain*, confeſſing to a Prieſt, that he had a mind to kill a certain man; the Prieſt reveal'd it to the King; and *Philip* ſuppoſing himſelf to be the man, ſecur'd his Son. The *Sieur de Haulte Ville*, in his * Confeſſion told a Prieſt, That he once intended to kill King *Henry* II. of *France*. Which the Prieſt diſcovering, *Hault-Ville* was beheaded. *Pierre Barriere* confeſt to *Seraphino Banchi*, his intent to kill *Henry* IV. of *France*, which the *Dominican* diſcovered, whereby the Fellow was taken and executed. A Gentleman of *Normandy* in * Confeſſion told a *Franciſcan*, That he formerly had a deſign to kill *Francois* I. of *France*, for which he was now ſorry; yet did the Confeſſor divulge this, and the *Norman* was executed. And one *Radulphus* having deſigned to murther Pope *Innocent* IV. he in * *Confeſſion* told it to a Prieſt, who informed the Pope of it; and we need not doubt but that the Pope liked it well enough. Nor do we hear that any of theſe Prieſts were puniſh'd or check'd for their Revealings; and * *Matthew Paris* doth rather commend the latter, intimating as if he were bound to do it, or did the part of an honeſt man in diſcovering it.

* Lib. 43.
* Hiſt. de la paix entre les Roys de *France* & D' *Eſpagne*, pag. 307.
* *Jean Bodin* de la Republique, l. 2. c. 5. p. 387.
* *Mat. Paris*, An. 1247. p. 724.
*---Papæ *ſeducialiter* intimavit.

But we need trouble our ſelves no more about this matter, ſeeing 'tis impoſſible that all the cunning or wit of the whole Order of the Jeſuits, can quit Father *Garnet* from having been a Traytor againſt his Soveraign or Countrey.

Having of old been a great ſtickler to procure Troubles in this Kingdom.

Having been very active in the Invaſion of Eighty-Eight.

Receiving Bulls *from* Rome (*to diſpoſe of the Crown*) *againſt the Laws of the Land.*

Very earneſt to hinder King James (*right Heir to the Crown*) *to obtain it.*

One of the Grand Agitators in this Powder-Treaſon, *to deſtroy the King and Kingdom, he himſelf at laſt confeſſing it.*

That Catesby *had told him of the Plot, not by way of* Confeſſion.

That Greenwell *had told him of this, not as a* Fault (for how could they do ſo, that approved of it as Meritorious?) *but as a thing which he had Intelligence of, and told it him by way of Conſultation.*

That Catesby *and* Greenwell *came together to him to be reſolved.*

That Teſmond *and he had Conference of the particulars of the* Powder-Treaſon *in* Eſſex.

That Greenwell *asked him*, Who ſhould be Protector? Garnet *ſaid, That was to be referred till the Blow was paſt.*

That he confeſt, That he ought to have revealed it to the King.
That nothing deterred him from the diſcovery, ſo much, as his unwillingneſs to betray Catesby.
That he had greatly ſinn'd againſt God, the King, and the Kingdom, in not revealing it; *of whom he heartily begg'd pardon and forgiveneſs.*
And that the Sentence of Judgment and Death was juſtly paſt on him.

Yet will they tell great things of his Holineſs and Saintſhip, which may ſufficiently be confuted without any great trouble, if we do but conſider the Bloodineſs and Sodomy of his youth, the Seditions and Treaſons of his after-years, with his proneneſs to Perjury and Lying, all which are no ſigns of Holineſs. To which might be added, his noted familiarity (even in his later days) with Mrs. *Ann Vaux*, who ſeldom parted from his ſide, which occaſioned ſome (who knew not that he was in Orders) to think that he was married to her. Certain it is, that ſometimes ſhe went under the Name of *Anne Garnet*; and in her Letters writ to him, even when in Priſon for this laſt Treaſon, ſhe ſtill ſubſcribed her ſelf,

Vid. Biſhop *Abbot's* Antilog. cap. 9. fol. 135.

——*Yours, and not mine own*, A. G.

And we have it from good Authority, that *Robert Winter* of *Hoodington* in *Warwick-ſhire* (one of the Traytors) did freely and openly teſtifie, That the ſaid *Garnet* did lye with her in Mr. *Abington's* Houſe at *Henlip* in *Worceſter-ſhire*.

And yet, rather than fail in his Sanctity, they can invent a pretty Miracle to witneſs it: As, how one *John Wilkinſon* earneſtly deſiring to be a Spectator of *Garnet's* Martyrdom, not doubting but that God would ſhew ſome Miracle or other to demonſtrate h e Father's Innocency: Accordingly he went to the place of Execution (Saint *Paul's* Church-yard) ſetled himſelf as conveniently as he could, ſtaid till all was done, got nothing but an ear of *Corn* (tainted with a little of *Garnet's* blood) belonging to the Straw of the Hurdle or Scaffold: This he carrieth with him as an holy Relique; and after ſome time *Garnet's* Face miraculouſly appeareth as painted on it, a Crown on his Head, and a Starr and a Croſs on the Forehead, with a Cherubim hanging over his Chin, and Beams about all.

In ſhort, the truth of the ſtory was thus: *Wilkinſon* a zealous *Romaniſt*, and affected to the Jeſuits, might get a piece of a Straw tainted with *Garnet's* Blood; a *Straw*, or Ear of Corn, with ſome Blood on it, he carrieth to the Wife of *Hugh Griffith*, a *Traytor*, and *Romaniſt* by Profeſſion. This ſhe puts into a Cryſtal Caſe, and we need not doubt but that it was look'd upon with a great deal of Devotion, but as yet nothing of a Face could be ſeen by any eye.

At laſt, about the Eighteenth day of *September*, 1606, (*viz.* above ſix Months after *Garnet* was executed) ſome of the zealous *Romaniſts* looking upon it, ſaw that which they call'd the Face of a man. Thus is a Miracle found out, and *Wilkinſon* haſtes beyond Seas to the Jeſuits at St. *Omers*, telling them what a pretty wonder he had diſcovered for the honour of their Society, into which he was preſently enter'd.

But

But here we may obſerve, that they confeſs, that *Wilkinſon* came from the ſaid St. *Omers* into *England*, a little before *Garnet*'s Execution; and it may be ſent upon the cheat. Again, how cometh the Wonder to be above Four Months, or about Nineteen Weeks in doing? Or, Might it not be done by Art, ſince *Francis Bowen* (to whom it was ſhewn by *Garnet*'s Friend, Mrs. *Ann Vaux*) who had ſome skill in Painting, confeſt, an Artiſt might make one neater; and preſently upon the place, for a trial, one of the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*'s Gentlemen (whoſe Profeſſion was not Painting) drew one, which *Bowen* confeſt was like that of the Straw, but a little better proportion'd; and Practiſe daily teacheth us, that Faces may be done in a leſs Compaſs.

As for the thing it ſelf, 'twas only a few Lines drawn like a Face upon the outward Husk of a *Grain* of *Wheat*; but without any ſuch Beams or Glories about it, as the Jeſuits would make ſimple people believe; nor any more like *Garnet* (as *Hugh Griffith* the Taylor himſelf confeſt) than any other man that had a Beard.

They tell us, that St. *Luke* was an excellent Painter, and drew * ſeveral Pictures of the B. Virgin *Mary*; one of which, 'tis ſaid, Pope *Gregory* the *Great* * carried in his hand in the Proceſſion he made about *Rome*, to ſtop the Plague then raging there; which very Picture he ſent to St. *Leander* Biſhop of *Sevil* in *Spain*; which is yet kept to work wonders in the Monaſtery of *Santa Maria*, or *Nueſtra Sennora* at *Guadalupa* in *Eſtremadura*: Yet every Boy at *Rome* will tell us, that this Picture is in a little Chappel built on purpoſe for it on late days by Pope *Paul* V. within the great Church St. *Maria Maggiore*; and the *Guadalupians* will aſſure us, That there is a great wooden Statue, with a * *black* Face, Hands, *&c.* with white Raiment.

* *Pet. de Natalibus*, l. 9. c. 79
* Nonius c. 61
Jo. Euſ. Nieremb. de Mirac. l. 1. c. 39.
* *Mart. Zeilerus*, Itinet. *Hiſpan.* p. 198

Thus here is Miracle upon Miracle, the very ſame thing at the ſame time, both at *Rome*, and *Guadalupa*, and a curious painted Picture turn'd to a Wooden Statue, dawb'd over with black and white, which requireth no great skill. And ſomething like this, is the Straw-Miracle of Father *Garnet*, which at firſt was but a common *Ear* of *Wheat*, with a few Lines drawn upon one of the *Grains*; but is ſince wonderfully encreaſed by the Induſtry of the Jeſuits, for the honour of their Society, and Trayterous Martyr.

And to this might be added another Miracle: for though at firſt there was but one *Straw* and Face, yet it ſeemeth that they had afterwards an ambition to multiply them; and, for ought that I know, would make every *Straw* at his Execution, bear his Picture; for * one tells us, that he hath had ſeveral of them in his hands, but could obſerve no great matter in them, unleſs ruled by his Fancy; and theſe they ſold about for holy Reliques Thus they encreaſe and multiply, as *Falſtaff* did at *Gads-hill* in *Shakeſpeer*; and Miracles which are made a Trade and Gain, may well be ſuſpected, if not held palpable Cheats.

* *Oſborn's* Mem. of K. *James*, pag. 35

Thus this *Straw* amongſt that Society, got ſuch a Fame, that *Homer*'s Frogs, *Paſſeratus* his Aſſe, *Virgil*'s Flye, *Ovid*'s Flea, *Hienſius* his Lowſe, were not able to ſtand in competition with it; that methinks it was a great overſight in an Ingenious *Romiſh* Knight, not to remember it in his late *Song* in the Commendation of *Straw*.

Of this Straw-Miracle, *Gualterus Paulus*, a *German* Jeſuit, would perſwade the world to allow of this *Anagram*:

PATER HENRICUS GARNETUS.

Anagram:

Pingêre cruentus ariſta.

Which for all his pains will not hold, unleſs he will make an *I* ſtand for an *H*; a liberty that muſt not be allowed of: yet, as if it were Authentick, thus doth he gloſs upon it.

Quid petit hic vultus ſicca redivivus Ariſta?
Quid frons? Quid ſacris ora locuta notis?
Nominis augurio PINGERE CRUENTUS ARISTA,
Garnete; *agnoſco vultum, Opus, Artificem.*
Spica, Tabella; Deus, Pictor; Color, unda Cruoris;
Spica Crucem; vultum dat Deus; aſtra cruor.

Com. in *Apocalyps.* cap. 7. ver. 3.

But enough of this Straw, which * *Cornelius à Lapide* thinks worthy to illuſtrate and explain the *Revelations*. But poſſibly he thought *Garnet* happy, becauſe he dyed on the *Gallows*; ſuch a great eſteem did *a Lapide* ſeem to have for violent Deaths; ſtill pueling and lamenting that he could not dye a Martyr, ſtill ſighing and wiſhing that he might burn at the Stake; ſtill grieved and troubled that he ſhould dye in his Bed; now begging of the *Prophets*, then beſeeching the Virgin *Mary*, and anon deſiring *Chriſt*, that he might dye a Martyr, and not in his Bed, after the common way of Mankind: But for all theſe fond and idle thoughts, the little Jeſuit would ſecure himſelf, leaving it to the Hereticks or Pagans to fetch, take, and kill him; as for his part, he would neither go to them nor their Countreys; whereby (for all his ſeeming deſire of Martyrdom) he would make ſure of one.

As for Father *Garnet*, I ſhould ſcorn to have been ſo unworthy or uncivil, to have objected ſome of the former Crimes to him, or upbraided him with them; but that I perceive they will yet tax the King and Kingdom with Cruelty and Murther, by enrolling *Garnet* in their Catalogue of Martyrs, and proclaiming him the moſt Virtuous, Holy, and Innocent of men. *A Lapide* (as aforeſaid) muſt magnifie his miraculous *Straw*; * *Martinus Delrio* muſt compare him with *Dionyſius* the *Areopagit*; his Pictures muſt be hung up in Churches; and at *Lovain* it was once publikely pray'd——*Sancte Henrice, intercede pro nobis*---*O Holy* Henry *intercede for us*. And * *Gordon* the Jeſuit having placed *Garnet* in Heaven, deſires him to intercede there for the Converſion of *England*. But if ſuch people may obtain a *Beatitude*, we may have ſome cauſe to ſuſpect many of their Old Saints.

* *Caſaub.* Epiſt. ad *Front. Duc.*

* Opus Chronolog. Tom. 2. An. 1606.

* Dr. *Andrew Willet* tells us thus----*To* Baliol *Colledg* William Hammond *gave Fifteen thouſand pounds, though the greateſt part thereof, the Colledg was defrauded, by one* Anthony Garnet *a Popiſh Prieſt, ſometime Steward to the old Lord* Montague; *which* Garnet *notwithſtanding had been ſometime Maſter of the Colledg, and ſo ſtood by Oath perpetually bound unto it.*

* A Catalogue of Good Works.

What this *Anthony Garnet* was related to our *Henry*, I know not; but by the by this *Anthony* was Fellow of *Baliol* Colledg, 1550. was

Maſter

Maſter of it, 1560. *October* 27, and 1563, *Richard Hooper* ſucceeded him in the Headſhip. There was alſo of the ſame Colledg one *Richard Garnet*, Fellow 1567; who was turn'd out by their Viſitor, 1570, *October* 8. But this only by the way.

Chap. III.

The Romaniſts *threaten the Earl of* Salisbury. *King* James, *ſeeing them thus high, thought it beſt to bind them ſtrictly to him by the Oath of Allegiance. The Pope ſends forth two* Breves. *Conſtitutes Mr.* Birket *to be Arch-Prieſt, and orders the Oath ſhall not be taken.* Birket *accordingly ſending forth his Letters.* Newton's *Miracle to prove the Oath of Allegiance not to be taken. Pope* Urban *the Eighth, his* Breve *againſt the Oath of Allegiance.*

THE abominable Treachery and Villany of this Gun-powder Plot, undertaken under the pretence of maintaining and reſtoring the *Roman* Religion; engaged the Governours to conſult the preſervation of themſelves and the Kingdom. And conſidering the furious Zeal and wicked Principles of ſome men, in affirming the lawfulneſs of depoſing and killing Heretical Kings; That the Pope had power to deprive Temporal Princes, abſolve Subjects from their obedience, and ſuch like Villanous Poſitions, with the many wicked Practiſes yet freſh in memory, againſt the Crown and Life of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*.

Upon theſe and ſuch like Conſiderations, after ſeveral ſerious Conſultations to prevent the like miſchiefs; They thought fit to draw up a ſolemn Oath, whereby every one ſhould abjure ſuch Treaſonable Doctrines, and ſwear for the future to behave themſelves as became good Subjects.

The *Romaniſts* fancied *Robert Cecyl* (Earl of *Salisbury*, and Secretary of State) to be their greateſt Enemy, and the chief promoter of this Oath againſt them: Whereupon ſome of them thought, if they could any way deterr him from proſecuting them (as they call'd it) the King and others would trouble their thoughts the leſs with them; and ſo theſe Parliamentary Propoſals would fall of themſelves. Upon this fancy, this Threatning Letter was ſent to the ſaid Earl of *Saliſbury*.

My Lord,

"WHereas the late unapprovable and most wicked Design, for "destroying of his Majesty, the Prince, and Nobility, with "many other of Worth and Quality (attempted through "the Undertaking spirits of some more fiery and turbulent, than zea- "lous and dis-passionate Catholicks) hath made the general state of "our Catholique Cause so scandalous in the eye of such, whose corrup- "ted Judgments are not able to fan away and sever the fault of the "Professor, from the Profession it self; as that who now is found to "be of that Religion, is perswaded, at least in mind, to allow (though "God knoweth, as much abhorring as any *Puritan* whatsoever) the "said former most inhuman and barbarous Project.

"And whereas some of his Majesties Council (but especially your "Lordship, as being known to be, as the *Philosopher* termeth it, a *Pri-* "*mus Motor* in such uncharitable proceedings) are determined (as it "is feared) by taking advantage of so foul a scandal, to root out all "the Memory of Catholique Religion, either by sudden Banishment, "Massacre, Imprisonment, or some such unsupportable Vexations and "Pressures; and perhaps by decreeing, in this next Parliament, some "more cruel and horrible Laws against Catholiques, than already are "made.

Good men and *Roman* Catholiques,

"In regard of these Premises, there are *some good men*, who through "their earnest desire for the continuing the Catholique Religion, and "for saving many souls both of this present, and of all future poste- "rity, are resolved to prevent so great a mischief, though with a full "assurance aforehand of the loss of their dearest lives.

may murther Privy-Councellors,

"You are therefore hereby to be admonished, that at this present "there are *Five* which have severally undertaken your *Death*, and have "vowed the performance thereof, by taking already the *Blessed Sacra-* "*ment*, if you continue your daily plotting of so Tragical Strata- "gems against Recusants.

"It is so ordered, that none of these *Five* knoweth who the other "*Four* be, for the better preventing the discovery of the rest, if so any "one by attempting and not performing, should be apprehended.

"It is also already agreed who shall first attempt it by shot, and so "who in order shall follow.

"In accomplishing of it, there is expected no other than assurance "of death; yet it will willingly be embraced, for the preventing of "those general Calamities which by this your transcendant Authority "and grace with his Majesty, are threatned unto us.

"And indeed the Difficulties herein are more easily to be digested, "since *two* of the intended Attempters are in that *weak* state of body, "that they cannot live above three or four Months.

"The other *Three* are so distressed in themselves and their Friends, "as that their present Griefs (for being only Recusants) do much dull "all apprehension of Death.

Nor are they to be blamed for it.

"None is to be blamed (in the true censuring of Matters) for the "undertaking hereof: For we protest before God, We know no other "means left us in the World, since it is manifest, that you serve but as a "Match to give fire unto his Majesty (to whom the worst that we "wish, is, That he may be as great a Saint in Heaven, as he is

"King

"King on Earth) for intending all Miſchiefs againſt the poor diſtreſ-
"ſed Catholicks.

"Thus giving your Lordſhip this *Charitable Admonition*, the which
"may perhaps be neceſſary hereafter for ſome others your Inferiors
"(at leaſt in Grace and Favour) if ſo they run on in their former In-
"human and Unchriſtian Rage againſt us; I ceaſe: putting you in
"mind, That where once *True* and *Spiritual Reſolution* is, there (not-
"withſtanding all dangers whatſoever) the Weak may take ſufficient
"Revenge of the Great.

For 'tis a True and Spiritual Reſolution.

Your Lordſhip's well-admoniſhing Friends, &c.

A. B. C. *&c.*

"It may be your Lordſhip will take this but as ſome forged
"Letter of ſome *Puritans*, thereby to incenſe you more againſt
"Recuſants.

"But we *proteſt upon our Salvation*, It is not ſo: Neither can any
"thing in human likelihood prevent the effecting thereof, but
"the change of your courſe towards Recuſants.

This Letter at the beginning offers fair, ſeeming to deteſt the Gunpowder-Plot: but little of truth and ſincerity may be expected from it, when we conſider, that the deſign of it is to Apologize for Murther; to which it appears there is a Club or number of them conſenting and attempting: and they are not aſhamed to aſſert, *That though they murther* Privy-Councellors, *yet the Murtherers may be* good men; *nor are they to be* blamed for it, *for 'tis a True and* Spiritual Reſolution. But enough of this Letter, to which the Earl himſelf was pleaſed to give an Anſwer.

The *Oath of Allegiance* was prudently drawn up, and confirmed by *Act* of Parliament; which Oath being the Foundation and Sum of this Treatiſe, take as followeth word for word; and, for diſtinction ſake, divided into ſeveral Branches or Articles.

The Oath of Allegiance.

Anno Tertio Jacobi.

I A. B. *do truly and ſincerely Acknowledg, Profeſs, Teſtifie, and Declare in my Conſcience before God and the World, That our Soveraign Lord King ——— is Lawful and Rightful King of this Realm, and of all other his Majeſty's Dominions and Countreys.*

And that the Pope, *neither of himſelf, nor by any Authority of the Church or See of* Rome, *or by any other means, with any other, hath any Power or Authority to* Depoſe the King:

Or to diſpoſe *any of his Majeſties Kingdoms or Dominions:*

Or to Authorize *any Forreign Prince to Invade or Annoy him or his Countreys.*

Or to Diſcharge *any of his Subjects of their Allegiance and Obedience to his Majeſty.*

Or to give Licenſe *or Leave to any of them to bear* Arms, *raiſe Tumults*, &c.

Or to offer *any* violence *or* hurt *to his Majeſties* Royal Perſon, *State, or Government; or to any of his Majeſties Subjects within his Majeſties Dominions.*

Alſo I do ſwear from my heart, That notwithſtanding any Declaration, or Sentence of Excommunication *or* Deprivation *made or granted, or to be made or granted by the* Pope, *or his Succeſſors; or by any Authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him or his See, againſt the ſaid King, his Heirs or Succeſſors; or any* Abſolution *of the ſaid Subjects from their* Obedience: *I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors.*

And him and them will defend to the uttermoſt of my Power, againſt all Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made againſt his or their Perſons, their Crown and Dignity, by reaſon or colour of any ſuch Sentence or Declaration, or otherwiſe:

And will do my beſt endeavour to diſcloſe *and make known unto his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, all Treaſons and Trayterous Conſpiracies which I ſhall know or hear of to be againſt him, or any of them.*

And I do further ſwear, That I do from my heart Abhor, Deteſt, and Abjure, as Impious and Heretical, this Damnable Doctrine and Poſition, That Princes which be Excommunicated or Deprived by the Pope, may be Depoſed *or* Murthered *by their Subjects, or any other whatſoever.*

And I do believe, and in Conſcience am reſolved, That neither the Pope, *nor any Perſon whatſoever, hath power to* abſolve *me of this Oath, or any part thereof,*

Which I acknowledg by good and full Authority *to be* lawfully *miniſtred unto me.*

And do renounce *all* Pardons *and Diſpenſations to the contrary.*

And all theſe things I do plainly and ſincerely acknowledg and ſwear according by theſe expreſs words by me ſpoken, and according to the plain and common ſenſe and underſtanding of the ſame words, without any equivocation, *or* mental evaſion, *or ſecret* reſervation *whatſoever.*

And I do make this Recognition and Acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true Faith of a Chriſtian. So help me God.

A. B.

Unto which Oath ſo taken, the ſaid perſon ſhall ſubſcribe his or her Name or Mark.

Apol. for the Oath of Allegiance, pag. 49, 50, 51.

King *James* doubted not but that all honeſt and good Subjects would ſubmit to this Oath, Becauſe, as he ſaid, that he that ſhall refuſe to take this Oath, muſt of neceſſity hold all, or ſome of theſe Propoſitions following:

I. *That I, King* James, *am not the lawful* King *of this Kingdom, and of all other my Dominions.*

II. *That the* Pope *by his own Authority may* depoſe *me; if not by his own Authority, yet by ſome other Authority of the Church, or of the See of* Rome. *If not by ſome other Authority of the Church and See of* Rome, *yet by other means, with others help, he may Depoſe me.*

III. *That*

III. *That the* Pope *may* diſpoſe *of my Kingdoms and Dominions.*

IV. *That the Pope may give Authority to ſome Forreign Prince to* invade *my Dominions.*

V. *That the* Pope *may* diſcharge *my Subjects of their* Allegiance *and Obedience to me.*

VI. *That the* Pope *may give licenſe to one or more of my* Subjects, *to bear* Arms *againſt me.*

VII. *That the* Pope *may give leave to my* Subjects *to offer* violence *to my* Perſon, *or to my Government, or to ſome of my Subjects.*

VIII. *That if the* Pope *ſhall by Sentence* excommunicate *or* depoſe *me, my Subjects are not to bear* Faith *and* Allegiance *to me.*

IX. *If the* Pope *ſhall by Sentence* Excommunicate *or* Depoſe *me, my* Subjects *are not bound to* defend *with all their power my Perſon and Crown.*

X. *If the* Pope *ſhall give out any Sentence of* Excommunication *or* Deprivation *againſt me, my Subjects by reaſon of that Sentence are not bound to* reveal *all* Conſpiracies *and Treaſons againſt me, which ſhall come to their hearing and knowledg.*

XI. *That it is not* Heretical *and* Diabolical, *to hold, That Princes being* Excommunicated *by the* Pope, *may be either* Depoſed *or* Killed *by their Subjects, or any other.*

XII. *That the* Pope *hath Power to abſolve my Subjects from this* Oath, *or from ſome part thereof.*

XIII. *That this* Oath *is not adminiſtred to my Subjects by a* full *and* lawful *Authority.*

XIV. *That this* Oath *is to be taken with* Equivocation, Mental Evaſion, *or* ſecret Reſervation; *and not with the* Heart *and* good will, ſincerely, *in the true Faith of a Chriſtian man.*

Now whether there was juſt cauſe for drawing up and impoſing of ſuch an Oath, King *James* can tell you beſt himſelf. And firſt, that the *Romaniſts* had no reaſon to contrive his ruin, he declares at large in theſe words:

But now having ſacrificed (if I may ſo ſay) to the Manes *of my late Predeceſſor* [Q. *Elizabeth*, whoſe Government and Moderation he vindicates], *I may next with St.* Paul *juſtly vindicate my own Fame from thoſe innumerable Calumnies ſpread againſt me, in teſtifying the truth of my Behaviour toward the* Papiſts: *Wherein I may truly affirm, That whatſoever was her juſt and merciful Government over the* Papiſts *in her time, my Government over them ſince, hath ſo far exceeded hers, in Mercy and Clemency, as not only the* Papiſts *themſelves grew to that height of pride, in confidence of my mildneſs, as they did directly expect, and aſſuredly promiſe to themſelves* Liberty of Conſcience, *and equality with others of my Subjects, in all things; but even a number of the beſt and faithfulleſt of my ſaid Subjects, were caſt in great fear and amazement of my Courſe and Proceedings, ever prognoſticating, and juſtly ſuſpecting,* Apol. for the Oath of Allegiance, pag. 18, 19, 20.

ſpecting that ſowr fruit to come of it, which ſhew'd it ſelf clearly in the Powder-Treaſon.

How many did I honour with Knighthood, of known and open Recuſants? How indifferently did I give Audience and Aeceſs to both ſides, beſtowing equally all Favours and Honours on both Profeſſions? How free and continual Acceſs had all Ranks and Degrees of Papiſts in my Court and Company? And above all, How frankly and freely did I free Recuſants *of their ordinary Payments?*

Beſides, it is evident what ſtrait Order was given out of my own mouth to the Judg, *to ſpare the execution of all Prieſts (notwithſtanding their conviction) joining thereunto a gracious* Proclamation, *whereby all Prieſts that were at liberty, and not taken, might go out of the Countrey by ſuch a day, my General Pardon having been extended to all Convicted Prieſts in Priſon, whereupon they were ſet at liberty as good Subjects; and all Prieſts that were taken after, ſent over, and ſet at liberty there.*

But time and paper will fail me to make enumeration of all the beneſits and favours that I beſtowed in general and particular upon Papiſts; *in recounting whereof, every ſcrape of my Pen would ſerve but for a blot of the Pope's Ingratitude and Injuſtice, in meteing me with ſo hard a meaſure for the ſame.*

Yet for all theſe Favours, His Majeſty in another place tells us, That,

Monitory Preface to all Chriſtian Monarchs, p. 6,7,8,9. * His Majeſty alludes to *Parſons* Letter (againſt his Book) call'd, *The judgment of a Catholick Engliſh man*, p. 6. §. 10.

The never-enough wondred at, and abhorred POWDER-TREASON *(though the Repetition thereof grieveth, I know, the gentle-hearted Jeſuit* * Parſons), *This Treaſon, I ſay, being not only intended againſt me and my Poſterity, but even againſt the whole Houſe of* Parliament, *plotted only by* Papiſts, *and they only led thereto by a prepoſterous zeal for the advancement of their Religion; ſome of them continuing ſo obſtinate, that even at their death they would not acknowledg their* Fault; *but in their laſt words, immediately before the expiring of their breath, refuſed to condemn themſelves, and* crave Pardon *for their Deed, except the* Romiſh *Church ſhould firſt condemn it.*

And ſoon after, it being diſcovered that a great number of my Popiſh *Subjects of all* Ranks *and* Sexes, *both Men and Women, as well within as without the Countrey, had a confuſed Notion, and an obſcure Knowledg, that ſome great thing was to be done in that Parliament for the Weal of the Church; although, for Secrecy's cauſe, they were not acquainted with the Particulars: certain Forms of Prayer having likewiſe been ſet down and uſed for the good ſucceſs of that Great Errand.*

Adding hereunto, That divers times, and from divers Prieſts, the Arch-Traytors *themſelves received the* Sacrament *for* confirmation *of their Heart, and obſervation of Secreſie.*

Some of the principal Jeſuits *likewiſe being found* guilty *of the foreknowledg of the Treaſon it ſelf, of which number, ſome fled from their Trial, others were apprehended (as Holy* Garnet *himſelf, and* Oldcorn *were) and juſtly* executed *upon their own plain* Confeſſion *of* Guilt.

If this Treaſon now clad with theſe Circumſtances, did not miniſter a juſt occaſion to that Parliament Houſe, whom they thought to have deſtroyed, couragiouſly and zealouſly at their next ſitting down, to uſe all means of Trial, Whether any more of that Mind *were yet left in the Countrey; I leave it to you* [*i. e.* the Emperors, Kings, and Princes] *to judg, whom*

whom God hath appointed his higheſt Deputy-Judges upon Earth. And amongſt other things for this purpoſe, this Oath of Allegiance, *ſo unjuſtly impugned, was then deviſed and enacted.*

And in caſe any ſharper Laws were then made againſt the Papiſts, *that were not obedient to the former Laws of the Countrey; if ye will conſider the* Time, Place, *and* Perſons, *it will be thought no wonder, ſeeing that Occaſion did ſo juſtly exaſperate them to make ſeverer Laws than otherwiſe they would have done.*

The Time, *I ſay, being the very next ſitting of the* Parliament *after the Diſcovery of that Abominable Treaſon.*

The Place, *being the ſame where they ſhould all have been* blown up, *and ſo bringing it freſhly to their memory again.*

The Perſons, *being thoſe very* Parliament-men *whom they thought to have deſtroyed.*

And yet ſo far hath both my Heart and Government been from any bitterneſs, as almoſt never one of thoſe ſharp Additions to the former Laws have ever yet been put in execution.

And that ye may yet know further, for the more convincing theſe Libellers of wilful Malice, who impudently affirm, That this Oath of Allegiance *was deviſed for deceiving and intrapping of* Papiſts *in points of Conſcience.*

The truth is, That the Lower-Houſe *of Parliament at the firſt framing of this* Oath, *made it contain,* That the Pope had no power to excommunicate Me; *which I cauſed them to reform, only making it to conclude,* That no Excommunication of the Pope's, can warrant my Subjects to practiſe againſt My Perſon or State; *Denying the* Depoſition *of Kings to be in the Pope's Lawful Power. As indeed I take any ſuch Temporal Violence to be far without the limits of ſuch a Spiritual Cenſure as Excommunication is.*

So careful was I that nothing ſhould be contain'd in this Oath *except the Profeſſion of* Natural Allegiance, *and* Civil *and* Temporal Obedience, *with a Promiſe to reſiſt all contrary Uncivil Violence.*

This Oath now grounded upon ſo great and juſt occaſion, ſet forth in ſo reaſonable Terms, and ordain'd only for making of a true diſtinction *between* Papiſts *of* Quiet diſpoſition, *and in all other things* good Subjects; *and ſuch other* Papiſts *as in their hearts maintained the like violent* bloody Maximes *that the* Powder-Traytors *did.*

And in another place His Majeſty tells us to the ſame purpoſe, *viz.* That this Oath

"Was framed to be taken by my Subjects, whereby they ſhould make "clear Profeſſion of their Reſolution faithfully to perſiſt in Obedience "unto me, according to their *Natural Allegiance.* Apol. for the Oath of Allegiance, pag. 3, 4.

"To this end, that I might hereby make a *ſeparation*, not only be-"tween all my good Subjects in general, and unfaithful Traytors, that "intended to withdraw themſelves from my obedience; but eſpecially, "to make a ſeparation between ſo many of my Subjects, who although "they were otherwiſe *Popiſhly* affected, yet retain'd in their hearts the "print of their natural Duty to their Soveraign: And thoſe who being "carried away with the like *Fanatick Zeal* that the *Powder-Traytors* "were, could not contain themſelves within the bounds of their *Natu-"ral Allegiance*, but thought *diverſity of Religion* a fafe pretext for

"all

"all kind of Treaſons and Rebellions againſt their Soveraign.

"Which godly and wiſe intent, God did bleſs with ſucceſs accor-
"dingly: For many of my Subjects that were *Popiſhly* affected, as well
"Prieſts as Layicks, *did freely take the ſame Oath*; whereby they gave
"me occaſion to think the better of their fidelity; and likewiſe freed
"themſelves of that heavy *ſlander*, that although they were fellow-
"Profeſſors of one Religion with the *Powder-Traytors*, yet were not
"joined with them in Treaſonable Courſes againſt their Soveraign.

"Whereby all quietly-minded *Papiſts* were put out of deſpair; and
"I gave a good proof that I intended no Perſecution againſt them for
"Conſcience Cauſe; but only deſired to be ſecured of them for Civil
"Obedience, which for Conſcience Cauſe they were bound to per-
"form.

"But the Devil could not have deviſed a more malicious trick for in-
"terrupting this ſo Calm and Clement a courſe, than fell out by the
"ſending hither, and publiſhing a *Breve* of the *Popes*, countermand-
"ing all them of his Profeſſion to take this *Oath*; thereby ſowing
"new ſeeds of Jealouſie between me and my Popiſh Subjects, by
"ſtirring them up to diſobey that Lawful Commandment of their Sove-
"raign, which was ordain'd to be taken of them as a pledg of their
"fidelity.

His Majeſty here alludes to Pope *Paul* V. who upon the coming out of this Oath, ſends out a *Bull* or *Breve* againſt it, forbidding any of the *Romaniſts* to take the ſaid Oath. The manner of their procuring, and how the *Engliſh-Romaniſts* in this juncture behaved themſelves, take as followeth:

Vid. *Reg. Widdrington's* Theological Diſputation, Epiſt. Dedicat. to Pope *Paul* V. §. 6.

* Whoſe Title ran thus--*George Blackwell, by the grace of God, and the Ordinance of the Sea Apoſtolick, Arch-Prieſt of* England.

No ſooner was the *Oath* and *Act* of Parliament publiſhed, but there was a great and long Conſultation held at *London* by the Prieſts, aſſiſted by Mr. **George Blackwell* their *Arch-Prieſt*, what they and their Friends ought to do in this caſe. At laſt *Blackwell* did conclude, that this Oath (according to the plain and common underſtanding of the words) might with a ſafe Conſcience be taken by the *Romaniſts*; and with him agreed a greater part of the Prieſts, who went then to *London* to aſſiſt at this Conſultation.

But this Compliance was oppoſed by certain *Jeſuits*, and ſome other Prieſts, from whence aroſe all the ſtir and controverſie which afterwards made Diviſions amongſt them, concerning the taking of this Oath: Nor is the Diſpute yet ended.

The *Jeſuits* and their Faction reſolving not to be baffled, would carry the buſineſs with a high hand; to which purpoſe they threatned to procure a *Breve* from the Pope to hinder the taking of the ſaid Oath.

Blackwell and his party fearing the worſt, with all haſte diſpatched a Letter to Mr. *Nicholas Fitzherbert*, an Engliſh Prieſt then flouriſhing in *Rome*; fully relating to him how the caſe ſtood amongſt them, earneſtly deſiring him to deal effectually with ſome Cardinals, that the Pope might be perſwaded not to ſend over any *Breves* againſt the taking of the ſaid Oath, which would but encreaſe their Trouble, and render the Diviſions wider.

But it ſeems the *Jeſuits* were too quick and powerful for the other Prieſts; for their Letter came too late, and to no purpoſe; it being determined

termined at *Rome*, that a *Breve* ſhould be drawn up and ſent; the main Procurers of which, were ſuppoſed to be Cardinal *Bellarmine* and Father *Parſons*; the later of whom (as a fore-runner of the *Breves*) ſent a Letter into *England*; part of which, take as followeth:

About ſome four or five Months ago it was conſulted by ſeven or eight of the Learneſt Divines that could be choſen to give their judgment of it (*i. e.* the Oath): *Their Reaſons are many; but all reduced to this, That the Pope's Authority in chaſtiſing Princes upon a juſt Cauſe, is* de fide, *and conſequently cannot be denied when it is call'd into controverſie, without* denying of our Faith; *nor that the Pope or any other Authority can diſpence in this.* Id. cap. 10. Sect. 2. §. 53, 54, 55, 56.

For if the Queſtion were de facto, *and not* de jure, *to wit, Whether the* Pope *might* juſtly *in this or that occaſion Excommunicate or* Depoſe *this or that Prince upon theſe or theſe cauſes; or whether precedent* Popes *have done* well *therein, or no? Then might ſome of theſe Reaſons, which you ſay your Friends do alledg, be admitted into Conſideration; to wit, Whether it could be* in ædificationem, *or* deſtructionem, *do hurt or good, be profitable or improfitable? or, Whether the Cauſes be ſufficient or no? for without cauſe none holdeth that the* Pope *may* depoſe: *Or, Whether the due form of Admonition, touched in your Letters, were obſerved? But foraſmuch as the Queſtion is* de Poteſtate *of the See-Apoſtolick Power, What it may do upon any Cauſe, or againſt any Catholick Prince whatſoever; theſe Conſiderations of temporal hurt cannot enter.*

Beſides theſe, I have conferred the matter with Cardinal Bellarmine, *and ſundry others of great Learning and Conſcience; and all are of one opinion in this caſe, That the form of the* Oath, *as it lieth, is* Heretical, *and no way may be admitted by him that will not deny the* Catholick Faith.

I had occaſion twice to ſpeak with his Holineſs; *the firſt, in company of Mr.* * Thomas Fitzherbert, *where we propoſed certain manners of Mitigation ſuggeſted by Friends,* &c.

* Kinſman to the former Nic. Fitzherbert.

Whereto his Holineſs anſwered, That as for any Actual uſing Cenſures againſt his Majeſty, he meant not, but rather all Courteſie. But as for the Authority of the See-Apoſtolick (to wit, uſing of Cenſures) *he was reſolved, and would rather loſe his Head, than yeeld one jot.*

The ſecond; He being informed that ſome Prieſts *did ſeem to incline to the taking of the* Oath. *He anſwered,* He could not hold them for Catholicks, *&c.*

Thus we ſee how the Plot was carried, and how zealous the Pope and his Aſſiſtants were againſt the taking of this Oath, as if it were enough to overthrow their whole Religion: Though King *James* did aſſure them and the World, That no deciſion of any one point of Religion, was intended in this Oath.

For (ſaith he) *as for the Catholick Faith, Can there be one word found in all that Oath, tending or ſounding to matter of Religion? Doth he that taketh it, promiſe there to believe or not to believe any Article of Religion? Or doth he ſo much as name a true or a falſe Church there? And as for St.* Peter's Primacy, *I know no* Apoſtle's Name *that is therein named, except the Name of* JAMES, *it being my Chriſtian Name*——*Neither is there any mention at all made therein, either* diſertis verbis, *or by any* Apol. for the Oath, pag. 63

other indirect means, either of the Hierarchy of the Church, of St. Peter's Succeſſion, of the See Apoſtolick, or of any ſuch matter.

But however, as if this Oath quite overthrew the *Roman* Religion, and rendred the Pope no more powerful than his Predeceſſors were in the firſt Three hundred years, out comes a *Breve* from his Holineſs, right or wrong, expreſly commanding the *Engliſh* not to take the ſaid Oath upon any means whatever. Part of which, take as followeth.

Dilecti filii, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem.

MAgno animi mœrore Nos ſemper affecerunt Tribulationes & Calamitates, quas pro retinenda Catholica fide jugiter ſuſtinuiſtis. Sed cum intelligamus omnia hoc tempore magis exacerbari, Afflictio noſtra mirum in modum aucta eſt, *&c.*

——Non poteſtis, abſq; evidentiſſima graviſſimaq; Divini honoris injuria, obligare vos Juramento, quod ſimiliter maximo cum Cordis noſtri dolore audivimus propoſitum vobis fuiſſe præſtandum, infra ſcripti tenoris, *viz.*

Here was inſerted the Oath it ſelf.

Ego *A. B.* &c.

Quæ cum ita ſint, vobis, ex verbis ipſis perſpicuum eſſe debet, quod hujuſmodi Juramentum, ſalva fide Catholica, & ſalute animarum veſtrarum præſtari non poteſt, cum multa contineat, quæ fidei & ſaluti aperte adverſantur.

Propterea admonemus vos, ut ab hoc atq; ſimilibus Juramentis præſtandis omnino Caveatis. Quod quidem eo acrius exigimus a vobis, quia experti veſtræ fidei Conſtantiam, quæ tanquam aurum in fornace, perpetuæ Tribulationis igne probata eſt. Pro comperto habemus, vos alacri animo ſubituros

Dearly beloved Sons, Greeting, and Apoſtolical Benediction.

THE Tribulations and Calamities which you have continually ſuſtained for the keeping of the Catholique Faith, hath always afflicted us with great grief of mind. But for as much as we underſtand, that at this time all things are more grievous; our Affliction hereby is wonderfully encreaſed, *&c.*

——You cannot without moſt evident and grievous wronging of God's Honour, bind your ſelves by the *Oath*, which in like manner we have heard with very great grief of Heart, is adminiſtred unto you, of the tenor following, *viz.*

I *A. B.* &c.

Which things ſince they are thus, it muſt evidently appear to you, that ſuch an *Oath* cannot be taken without wrong to the Catholick Faith, and the ſalvation of your ſouls, ſeeing it contains many things plainly contrary to Faith and Salvation.

Wherefore we admoniſh you, That you do utterly abſtain from taking this, and the like Oaths. Which thing we do the more earneſtly require of you, becauſe we have experience of the conſtancy of your Faith, which is tried like Gold in the fire of perpetual Tribulation. We do well know, that

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eſſe quæcunq; atrociora Tormenta, ac mortem deniq; ipſam conſtanter oppetituros, potius quam Dei Majeſtatem ulla in re lædatis, *&c.*

--- Præcipimus vobis ut illarum Literarum verba ad amuſſim ſervetis, & ſimpliciter prout ſonant & jacent, accipiatis & intelligatis, ſublata omni facultate aliter illa interpretandi, *&c.*

you will cheerfully undergo all kind of cruel Torments whatſoever, yea and conſtantly endure Death it ſelf, rather than you will in any thing offend the Majeſty of God, *&c.*

We command you, That you do exactly obſerve the words of thoſe Letters, and that you take and underſtand them ſimply as they ſound, and as they lye; all power to interpret them otherwiſe, being taken away, *&c.*

Datum Romæ *apud S.* Marcum *ſub Annulo Piſcatoris* x. *Kal.* Octob. 1606, *Pontificatus noſtri Anno ſecundo.*

Dated at Rome *at S.* Marks *under the Signet of the Fiſher, the* 22*d of* Septemb. 1606, *the* 2*d year of our Popedom.*

This *Breve* being preſently ſent into *England*, was not inſtantly ſubmitted to by all the *Romaniſts*, ſome of them having taken the *Oath of Allegiance*, and thought they ought as good Subjects to ſtand to it; others of them who wiſh'd well to their own ſecurity, betwixt the two oppoſite Commands of the King and the Pope, were willing to think the former *Breve* to be but a Cheat, and ſurreptitiouſly procured without the Pope's knowledg [ſuch things hapning oft at *Rome*, the Pope (as well as other Princes) being ſeveral times abuſed both by their Secretaries and the *Datarii*]: And to this opinion were ſome of the wiſeſt and beſt of the *Engliſh Romaniſts* drawn, upon conſideration that the Pope [who ought to be Holy, Charitable, Merciful, a lover of Peace, a promoter of Obedience, not a buſie-body, nor a medler in other Princes Affairs] would not undertake to diſquiet the *Romaniſts*, raiſe diviſions in the Church, and thruſt his Friends into the danger of violating the Laws of their King and Countrey, to whom they owed all Obedience, and not upon any account whatſoever Trayterouſly to oppoſe and violate.

But the Pope, who thought his Kingdom, his Authority, his Supremacy, his Vicarſhip, his Infallibility, and all his other pretty pretended Trophies ſtruck at, was reſolved to have his Humour, let what miſchief ſo ever come of it; and ſo, as if to ſatisfie thoſe who doubted of the Reality of the former *Breve*, he forthwith ſent this other into *England*.

Dilecti Filii, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem.

REnuntiatum eſt nobis, reperiri nonnullos apud vos, qui, cum ſatis declaraverimus per literas noſtras Anno ſuperiore x *Kalend. Octob.* in forma *Brevis* datas, vos tuta Conſcientia præſtare non poſſe Juramentum, quod a vobis tunc exigebatur; & præterea ſtricte præceperimus, ne ullo modo illud præſtaretis:

Nunc dicere audent, hujuſmodi Literas de prohibitione Juramenti, non ex animi noſtri ſententia, noſtraq; propria voluntate ſcriptas fuiſſe; ſed potius aliorum intuitu atq; induſtria: eaq; de cauſa iidem perſuadere nituntur, mandata noſtra dictis literis non eſſe attendenda.

Perturbavit ſane nos hic Nuncius, eoq; magis, quia experti Obedientiam veſtram (filii noſtri unice dilecti) qui, ut huic ſanctæ Sedi obediretis, opes, facultates, dignitatem, libertatem, vitam deniq; ipſam pie & generoſe nihili feciſtis; nunquam ſuſpicati eſſemus, potuiſſe vocari apud vos in dubium fidem literarum noſtrarum Apoſtolicarum, ut hoc prætextu, vos ex mandatis noſtris eximeretis.

Verum agnoſcimus verſutiem atq; fraudem Adverſarii humanæ ſalutis, eiſq; potius, quam veſtræ voluntati tribuimus hanc renitentiam.

Ea proter iterum ad vos ſcribere decrevimus, ac denuo vobis ſignificare, Literas noſtras Apoſtolicas Anno præterito x Kalend. *Octob.*

Dearly beloved Sons, Greeting and Apoſtolical Benediction.

It is reported unto us, That there are found certain amongſt you, (*who*) when as we have ſufficiently declared by our Letters, dated the laſt year, on the xxij of *September*, in the form of a *Breve*, that ye cannot with ſafe Conſcience take the Oath which was then required of you; and when as we have further ſtraitly commanded you, that by no means you ſhould take it.

Yet there are ſome (I ſay) among you, who dare now affirm, that ſuch Letters concerning the forbidding of the Oath, were not written of our own accord, or of our own proper will, but rather for the reſpect, and at the inſtigation of other men: and for that cauſe the ſame men go about to perſwade you, that our Commands in the ſaid Letters are not to be regarded.

Truly this News did trouble us; and that ſo much the more, becauſe having had experience of your obedience (moſt dearly beloved Sons), who to the end you might obey this Holy See, have godlily and valiantly contemned your Riches, Wealth, Honour, Liberty, yea and Life it ſelf: We ſhould never have ſuſpected that the truth of our *Apoſtolical* Letters could once be call'd into queſtion amongſt you, that by this pretence you might exempt your ſelves from our Commandments.

But we do perceive herein the ſubtilty and craft of the Enemy of man's ſalvation; and we do attribute this your backwardneſs rather to him, than to your own will.

And for this cauſe we have thought good to write the ſecond time unto you, and to ſignifie unto you again, that our Apoſtolical

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datas de prohibitione juramenti, non ſolum motu proprio, & ex certa noſtra ſcientia; verum etiam poſt longam & gravem deliberationem de omnibus quæ in illis continentur adhibitam, fuiſſe ſcriptas, & ob id teneri vos, illas omnino obſervare, omni interpretatione ſecus ſuadente rejecta.

Hæc autem eſt mera, pura, integraq; voluntas noſtra, qui de veſtra ſalute ſoliciti, ſemper cogitamus ea, quæ magis vobis expediunt.

Et ut cogitationes & conſilia noſtra illuminet is, a quo Chriſtiano gregi cuſtodiendo noſtra fuit præpoſita Humilitas, indeſinenter Oramus: Quem etiam jugiter precamur ut in vobis filiis noſtris ſummopere dilectis, fidem, conſtantiam, mutuamq; inter vos Charitatem & Pacem augeat. Quibus omnibus cum omni Charitatis affectu, peramanter benedicimus.

Datum Romæ *apud Sanct.* Marcum, *ſub Annulo Piſcatoris* x. *Kalend. Septemb.* 1607. *Pontificatus noſtri Anno tertio.*

Petrus Stroza.

Letters, dated the laſt year, on the xxij of *Sept.* concerning the prohibition of the Oath, were written not only upon our proper motion, and of our certain knowledg; but alſo after long and weighty deliberation uſed concerning all thoſe things which are contain'd in them: and that for that cauſe you are bound fully to obſerve them, rejecting all Interpretation perſwading to the contrary.

And this is our meer, pure and perfect will, who being always careful of your ſalvation, do always mind thoſe things which are moſt profitable unto you.

And we do pray without ceaſing, That he who hath appointed to our *Lowlineſs* the keeping of the Flock of Chriſt, would enlighten our Thoughts and Counſels: whom we do alſo continually beſeech, that he would encreaſe in you (our moſt beloved Sons) Faith, Conſtancy, with mutual Charity and Peace one to another. All whom we moſt lovingly Bleſs with all Charitable affection.

Dated at Rome at *Saint* Marks, *under the Signet of the Fiſher, the* xxiii *of* Auguſt, 1607, *the third year of our Popedom.*

Peter Stroza.

Some Months after the publiſhing of the firſt *Breve*, Mr. *George Blackwell* [conſtituted the *Arch-Prieſt* 1598, by *Henry* Cardinal *Cajetane*, call'd *Protector* of the *Engliſh* Nation by the Appointment of Pope *Clement* VIII.] was ſeiz'd on, examined and impriſoned, and the Oath offer'd him, which he freely took.

Cardinal *Bellarmine* upon notice of this, writes a long Letter to *Blackwell*, telling him how *joyous the news* (of the Impriſonment) *ſeem'd* to him, becauſe (forſooth) *now you draw near unto the glory of* Martyrdom; *than the which, there cannot be a gift of God more happy*; and therefore bids him for the comfort of the Church, be valiant and ſtout. 'Tis eaſie giving advice afar off; but the Cardinal did not care to put himſelf into the danger of Hereticks, ever ſince he aſſiſted the Rebellious *League* againſt the *French* King.

But there is one thing that clouds all this Rejoycing, *viz.* that *Blackwell* ſhould take the Oath: This troubles the Cardinal, who tells the

Arch-Prieſt, That *the* Oath *is ſo craftily compoſed, that no man can deteſt Treaſon againſt the King, and make profeſſion of his Civil ſubjection, but he muſt be conſtrained* perfidiouſly *to* deny *the* Primacy *of the Apoſtolick See. But the Servants of Chriſt, and eſpecially the* Chief Prieſts *of the Lord, ought to be ſo far from taking an unlawful Oath, where they may endamage the Faith, that they ought to beware that they give not the leaſt ſuſpition of Diſſimulation that they have taken it———For if you will diligently weigh the whole matter with your ſelf, truly you ſhall ſee it is no ſmall matter that is called in queſtion by this* Oath, *but one of the* principal Heads *of our* Faith, *and* Foundations *of Catholique Religion.* And for proof of this, he produceth little ſcraps out of *Gregory* the Great, Pope *Leo*, and ſuch like Inſtances, nothing at all God wot to the Buſineſs in hand, as *Blackwell* himſelf in his Anſwer to *Bellarmines* Letter, may teſtifie.

The Pope conſidering Father *Blackwell*'s Humour, and it may be his Confinement, appointed (1608) Mr. *George* Birket to be *Arch-Prieſt*, and ſent him a *Breve* to forbid the taking of the Oath, and to deprive all Prieſts of their Faculties that ſhould take it. Part of which, take as followeth.

———Tibiq; injungimus & Mandamus, ac ſpecialem facultatem ad hoc tribuimus, ut Authoritate noſtra omnes & ſingulos Sacerdotes *Anglos*, qui quoddam Juramentum (in quo multa continentur, quæ fidei atq; ſaluti animarum aperte adverſantur) præſtiterunt: vel ad loca ad quæ *Hæretici* ad eorum ſuperſtitioſa Miniſteria peragenda convenire ſolent, conſulto acceſſerunt, aut qui talia licite fieri poſſe docuerunt, & docent, admonere cures, ut ab hujuſmodi erroribus reſipiſcant & abſtineant.

Quod ſi intra tempus (extrajudicialiter tamen) arbitrio tuo illis præfigendum hoc facere diſtulerint, ſeu aliquis illorum diſtulerit, illos ſeu illum facultatibus & Privilegiis omnibus ab Apoſtolica ſede ſeu illius Authoritate a quocunq; alio, illis vel cuivis illorum conceſſis, eadem Authoritate prives ac privatos, eſſe declares *&c.*

Datum Roma *apud S.* Petrum *ſub Annulo Piſcator. die* 1 *Feb.* 1608 *Pontificatus Noſtri Anno* 3.

———And we enjoyn and command you, and for this we give you ſpecial Faculty, that by our Authority you take care to admoniſh all and every *Engliſh* Prieſt, who have taken a certain Oath (wherein many things are contained which are manifeſtly againſt Faith and the ſalvation of ſouls) or do willingly repair to ſuch places where the *Hereticks* uſe to meet to celebrate their ſuperſtitious Services or Worſhip; or have taught and do teach that ſuch things may lawfully be done; that they may repent and abſtain from ſuch Errors.

And if within the time [*extrajudicialiter* notwithſtanding] by you as you think fit to be appointed unto them, they or any one of them ſhall defer to obey this; That then you by the ſame Authority do deprive and declare them or him to be deprived of all Faculties and Priviledges granted them or any of them from the See-Apoſtolick, or by her Authority from any other whatſoever, *&c.*

Dated at Rome *at St.* Peters, *&c.* 1 *Feb.* 1608.

Birket

Birket upon the receit of this *Breve*, draws up and ſends abroad this Admoniſhing-Letter.

To all the Reverend Secular Prieſts of *England.*

Moſt dearly beloved Brethren,

WHereas I have always deſired to live without Moleſting or Offending others, it cannot be but a wonderful Corſive, Sorrow and Grief unto me, that againſt mine own inclination I am forced (as you have ſeen by the Breve *it ſelf) to preſcribe a certain time for ſuch as do find themſelves to have been contrary to the points which are touched in the ſaid* Breve, *concerning the* Oath, *and going to* Church, *that they may thereby return and conform themſelves to the Doctrine declared by his* Holineſs, *both in this and the other former* Breves.

And therefore now by this Preſent do give notice unto you all, That the time which I prefix and preſcribe for that purpoſe, is the ſpace of two Months next enſuing after the knowledg of this my Admonition. *Within which time, ſuch as ſhall forbear to take or allow any more the* Oath, *or going to* Church, *I ſhall moſt willingly accept their doing therein.*

Yet ſignifying unto you withall, That ſuch as do not within the time preſcribed, give this ſatisfaction, I muſt (though much againſt my will) for fulfilling his Holineſs *commandment*, Deprive *them, and Denounce them to be Deprived of all their Faculties and Priviledges granted by the See-Apoſtolique, or by any other by Authority thereof unto them, or to any of them; and ſo by this preſent do* Denounce, *hoping that there is no man will be ſo wilful or diſobedient to his* Holineſs *Order, but will conform himſelf as becometh an Obedient Child of the Catholique Church.*

And ſo moſt heartily wiſhing this Conformity in us all, and that we may live and labour together Unanimes in Domo Domini, *I pray God give us the Grace to effect that in our Actions, whereunto we are by our Order and Profeſſion obliged.*

This 2d of *May*,
1608.

Your Servant in Chriſt,

GEORGE BIRKET,

Arch-Prieſt of *England*, and
Protonotary Apoſtolical.

Now were Pens employed on both ſides, the *Romaniſts* cuffing one another bravely about the Oath; Voluminous *Coquæus* comes railing from *France* againſt it; *Getſer* oppoſeth it in *Germany*; *Andræus Eudæmonioannes* of *Greece*, declares it Abominable; In *Italy*, Cardinal *Bellarmine* is very buſie againſt it; ſometimes under his own, other times masked under falſe Names, as *Tortus*, and ſome think *Schulckenius* was one and the ſame perſon with the Cardinal.

In *Spain* now flouriſh'd *Franciſcus Suarez*; he alſo, by order from the

the Pope and *Conclave*, is commanded to undertake it; which he doth: But the good old man thought he was hardly dealt withall by the Inquisitors, to whom having sent his Book for Approbation, they alter'd and added according to their own humours, as was *confest by Mr. *John Saltkill*, then *Suarez* his *Amanuensis*, but afterwards reconciled to the Church of *England*.

Vid. Bishop of *Chichester* (Dr. *King*) his Letter to *Is. Walton*, before *Hooker's* Eccles. Polity, Edit. 1666.

But above all the opposers of this Oath, none like Father *Parsons*; who to have the better pretence of Reviling, will father King *James* his Apology upon *Thomas Montague*, and (through that supposed Name) bespatter his Majesty. He tells us, that all the * Learned men beyond Seas cry it down as unlawful, as opposing matters of Faith; and he himself assures us, That none can take it **without peril of everlasting Damnation.*

* The Judgment of a Catholick English-man, §. 14. pag. 9.

* *Id.* pag. 14. §. 22.

At last, *Parsons* coming to argue against it, is driven to the Fanatical Argument, *Liberty of Conscience*; and thus boldly asserts it. *For* (saith he) * *neither Breathing, nor the use of common Air, is more due unto them* [*i. e.* good Subjects] *or common to all, than ought to be* Liberty of Conscience *to Christian men, whereby each one liveth to God and to himself, and without which he strugleth with the torment of a continual lingring death.* And then a little after, thus boasts--* *Let them shew but one only Authority, Sentence, Example, or Testimony out of any of these three kind of Witnesses, Scriptures, Fathers, or Councils, that we must obey Princes against our Conscience or Religion, and I will grant he saith somewhat to the purpose.*

* Pag. 38. §. 20.

* *Id.* pag. 51. §. 37.

Thus will they have all their Religion or Faith to hang upon the taking or not taking of this Oath. But in this zeal for liberty he meets with a Rub, and that is this: Why then do the *Romanists* force *Protestants* by their *Inquisitions* to abjure their Opinions; and if they refuse, punish them with Death, or as the Crime requireth?

Id. pag. 23. §. 36.

To this Objection, *Parsons* thinks he saith enough, by telling you, that the case is not the same; because (forsooth) the *Roman* Church hath *jus acquisitum*, ancient right over Hereticks; but the *Protestant* Church of *England* hath no such thing upon Catholicks. As Treasonable an Assertion as could be imagined, seeing according to his Consequence, and the thing in hand, A *Protestant* King can have no right over *Romanists*; and so *Protestanism* must *ipso facto* deprive Kings, and render them uncapable of Dominion, where the people are of the *Roman* Religion; so that *Henry* IV. was not, nor could be King of *France* till he was reconciled to *Rome*.

The truth is, all of them who write against the Oath, ground all their Exceptions upon this, That they think it takes away the Pope's power of depriving Kings, and absolving Subjects from their Allegiance; so that we may see what it is that pincheth them, and how much they look upon Loyalty and true Obedience to be an Enemy to their Interest and Church.

But to render this Oath more odious and terrible, they amaze the simple people with strange stories of God's Judgments against the takers of it; and this, with the Vulgar, they make one of their best Arguments.

Vid. *Rog. Widdrington's* Theolog. Disput. cap. 10. Sect. 4.

They alledg, That the Captain of them, *viz.* Father *Blackwell*, dyed suddenly: To which the other Party reply, That 'tis granted, that *Blackwell* on Saturday in the afternoon [*viz.* 25 of *January*, 1612] fell into a swoun (being well before), upon which he was had

to

to bed, whither ſome Prieſts came to him; to whom he affirmed, he had done nothing contrary to his Conſcience in taking the ſaid Oath, and that it was a lawful Oath; and ſo dyed a little after; but his death was five years after he had taken the Oath.

That if ſudden-deaths be Arguments, they could retort, and tell them of ſome Prieſts, Enemies of the Oath, who dyed by the ſame Judgments; as of one in the North, who (otherwiſe very healthy) was ſo ſuddenly ſtrucken with a deadly Diſeaſe, that he dyed within ſixteen hours. Of another that fell down a pair of Stairs, whereby he was ſo bruiſed, that he lived not long after. Of a third, who leaping haſtily over an Hedg, fell into a pit on the other ſide of the Hedg, and ſo was caſt away. To all theſe might be added, that one of the greateſt Champions the *Oath* had, was Mr. *Thomas* (or *Rowland*) *Preſton*, a learned *Benedictan Monk*, who lived many a fair year after his taking and defending the ſaid Oath; though the Pope and his Party might have wiſh'd that he had dyed ſooner, or writ leſs. Yet he diſguiſed his Writings under the Name of *Roger Widdrington* [who indeed was another *Romaniſt*, living in the North]; under which Name he oppoſed *Suarez*, baffled *Bellarmine*, confuted *Gretzer*, *Becanus*, and the reſt of their Party; whereupon ſome began to call it *Widdrington's Doctrine*, i.e. to defend the lawfulneſs of the Oath of Allegiance. The Jeſuits had ſeveral deſigns againſt him; once they plotted to ſeize upon him in a Boat upon the River *Thames*, and ſo to hurry him beyond Seas, where they would have claw'd him for his defending *Loyalty* and *Allegiance*: but he ſuſpected that the beyond-ſea Air would haſten his death; therefore for ſome years he ſecured himſelf in the *Clink*, where he lived with freedom, followed his Studies, and had an excellent Library of his own.

Again the other Party object, That Mr. *Jackſon* who took the Oath, dyed of the Plague. But this is nothing to the unwarrantableneſs of the Oath, unleſs we will argue, that it was unlawful to regain the *Holy-land* from the *Saracens*, becauſe S. *Lewis* ix, King of *France*, and one that is Canonized, is ſaid to dye of the Plague in that Expedition; or that we muſt not read *Sanders* his Book *de Schiſmate*, becauſe *Edward Riſhton*, a rebellious ungrateful Prieſt, publiſhed it, and made Continuations to it, and dyed of the Plague in *Lorrain*.

Nay, the *Anti-Loyaliſts* flye ſo low, that rather than have nothing to ſay, they would object as a fault the living or breathing at a Biſhops Houſe; and all this a-do, becauſe Mr. *William Warmington* lived in the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Houſe; whereas the Objection was occaſioned by their own uncharitableneſs: For *Warmington* having taken and engaged himſelf as a Champion of the Oath, his own *Roman* Friends and Kindred became his Enemies, withdrawing from him all the Benevolence they uſed to allow him.

Warmington put to this ſtreſs of Livelihood only for his Loyalty and Obedience, petitions the King for ſome Allowance. The King graciouſly accepts it, commends him to Dr. *Bilſon* the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with order to take him to himſelf to his own Houſe, there to provide for him. The Biſhop obeys, *Warmington* lives with him, wants nothing, hath liberty at pleaſure, and freedom of his Religion. And is not this a notable Argument to prove the Oath of *Allegiance* unlawful.

But if theſe ſhould fail, they can flye to their old trick of Miracles, and bring Heaven it ſelf to confute the Oath; and this they doubt not but will work much with the honeſt *Romaniſt*. One of their Stories take as followeth.

Mr. *Thomas Newton* of *Pickworth* in *Lincolnſhire*, a *Roman* Catholick, meeting at *Standford* with one Mr. *Edward Sutton* of *Kellam* in *Nottinghamſhire*, a diſorderly pretended *Proteſtant*, were there apprehended, and committed to the Town-Hall; at laſt were carried to *Thomas Cecyl* Earl of *Exeter*, who proffer'd them the Oath of Allegiance; *Sutton* after ſome excuſes took it, but *Newton* deſired time to conſider of it. Upon which, for want of Bail, and at the Conſtables deſire, they were return'd to the Town-Hall.

September 4. 1612. Here theſe two diſcourſed about the Oath; *Newton* aſſuring to his Companion its unlawfulneſs. To bed they go together. About midnight *Sutton* cryeth out, That he was damned only for taking the Oath, and declareth *Newton* happy for refuſing it. *Newton* bids him make the ſign of the Croſs; *Sutton* doth ſo; then creeps down into the bed, ſaying, he durſt not look up to behold the Viſion.

Newton looks up, ſees the Room full of light and brightneſs, the Myſtery of the Trinity repreſented to him; then there appears the Virgin *Mary* in a ſhining white Robe, with an infinite company of Angels about her, holding a Crown over her head, ſinging in honour of the Trinity, *Alleluia, Gloria in Excelſis Deo.* &c. Then *Newton* thought that the Virgin thus ſpake to him——*Behold, ſee and believe my* Aſſumption *in Body. Take not the Oath, but rather endure all Torments; for I will be with thee, and aſſiſt thee in all, and will ſtrengthen and preſerve thee from all pains and torments, with ſuch Conſolations as thou now feeleſt.*

This Viſion continued about half an hour; and a little before they vaniſhed, there appeared alſo a multitude of Saints and Martyrs, offering up (as it were) Incenſe unto Almighty God, and ſaying to him—— *Double thy Devotion unto Saints; for nothing is more acceptable unto Almighty God.* Thus was *Newton* confirmed in two points, which before (as he ſaid) he ſomewhat doubted of, *viz.* the Virgins Aſſumption, and Prayers to Saints.

The Viſion ended, *Newton* and *Sutton* roar out as loud as they could, *Alleluia, Gloria*, &c. and thus they continued balling for three or four hours, *Sutton* ſaying, that now he had learned how to pray.

In ſhort, *Sutton* turns ſtark mad, and becomes diſtracted. The Biſhop of *Peterborough* adminiſters the Oath of Allegiance to *Newton*, who for all the contrary Commands in the Viſion, took it, and ſo was ſet at liberty. And this is the ſum of the pretty Tale which Father *Preſton*, an honeſt *Romaniſt*, thinks ought to be aſcribed either * *to the vehement Imaginations of a troubled Brain, or elſe to be accounted a meer Illuſion of the Devil.* And ſo I leave it to the diſcretion of the Reader, with liberty to approve or diſprove theſe doughty Arguments againſt the Oath of Allegiance.

* Theolog. Diſput. cap. 10. Sect. 5. n. 23.

But leſt theſe Illuſions, Inventions, and idle Stories, ſhould not do the good or miſchief intended, the Pope muſt ever now and anon hurry over his *Bulls* into *England*, to rowſe up the *Romaniſts*, and put them in a poſture of Defence againſt the ſaid Oath.

In King *James* his time, there were ſeveral ſuch Papers; nor were they diſcontinued in King *Charles* 1. his days. In the beginning of whoſe Reign Pope *Urban* viii. one ſaid to have ſome affection to the *Engliſh* Nation, ſent over a *Bull* of Comfort to the *Romaniſts*; part of which, relating to the Oath, take as followeth.

Urbanus

URBANUS Pp VIII.

Dilectis Filiis Catholicis Angliæ.

Dilecti Filii, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem.

NON ſemper terræna fælicitas eſt beneficium Cœli & Patrimonium Pietatis; pacem enim peccatorum videns Eccleſia non raro experta eſt potentiam mortalium eſſe ſtipendium ſceleris. Quare Catenas Martyrum anteferimus exuviis Triumphantium, & Rex ſempiternus Principatus Cœleſtes pollicetur, non iis qui ſuperbo pede jura proterunt, ſed qui perſecutionem patiuntur propter juſtitiam, *&c.*

Quod ſi eouſq; vis progrediatur, ut vos ad *noxium illud, & illicitum Anglicanæ fidelitatis jura mentum* adigat, mementote Orationem veſtram ab univerſo Angelorum ſpectantium conſeſſu audiri. Et adhæreat lingua veſtra faucibus veſtris, priuſquam Authoritatem B. *Petri* ea jurisjurandi formula imminutam detis. Non enim ibi id ſolum agitur, ut fides Regi ſervetur, ſed at ſacrum Univerſæ Eccleſiæ ſceptrum eripiatur Vicariis Dei Omnipotentis.

Quod ſœliciis Recordationis *Paulus* V. Prædeceſſor noſter in tam gravi deliberatione decrevit, id omnino tanquam Decretum Veritatis ſervare debeatis. Dilecti Filii, Tributum hoc Principi Apoſtolorum debitum nullæ hominum minæ aut blanditiæ a vobis unquam extorqueant; qui ſecus ſuadent, ij viſionem mendacem & divinationem fraudulentam prophetant vobis: Citius enim viro Chriſtiano

Pope *URBAN* VIII.

To his beloved Sons the Catholicks of *England.*

Beloved Sons, Greeting and Apoſtolical Benediction.

TErrene fœlicity is not always the benefit of Heaven, and the Patrimony of Piety: For the Church, ſeeing the proſperity of ſinners, hath often found by experience, that the greatneſs of Mortals is the ſtipend of Impiety. Wherefore we prefer the Chains of Martyrs before the ſpoils of the Triumphant; and the Eternal King promiſeth Heavenly Principalities, not to them who proudly trample the Laws under their feet, but to thoſe who ſuffer Perſecution for Righteouſneſs ſake, *&c.*

And if Violence proceed ſo far, as to compel you to that *pernicious and unlawful Oath of Allegiance of* England; Remember, that your Prayers are heard in the whole Aſſembly of the Angels beholding you: And let your Tongue cleave to the roof of your mouth, rather than you permit the Authority of St. *Peter* to be diminiſhed with that form of Oath: For that is not all, that Fidelity be kept unto the King; but that the Sacred Scepter of the Catholique Church be wrung from the Vicar of God Almighty.

That which our Predeceſſor *Paul* V. of bleſſed memory, with ſo great deliberation decreed, that ought ye altogether to obſerve as a Decree of Truth. Beloved Sons, this Tribute due to the Prince of the Apoſtles, no threats or flatteries of men ought at any time to extort from you; and they who perſwade you otherwiſe, propheſie unto you a lying Viſion, and a fraudulent divination: for ſooner

debet

debet potentium gladius vitam eripere quam fidem. Quod si Angelus etiam e Cœlo descendens vos aliter, quam veritas Apostolica, doceat, Anathema sit, *&c.*

ought the Sword of the Mighty take from a Christian his life, than his Faith; yea if an Angel from Heaven teach you otherwise than the Apostolique Truth, let him be Accursed, *&c.*

Datum Romæ, *S.* Petri, *sub Annulo Piscatoris, die* XXX May, 1626. *Pontificatus nostri Anno tertio.*

Dated at Rome, *at St.* Peters, *under the Signet of the* Fisher, XXX *of* May, 1626, *the third year of our Popedom.*

FINIS.

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